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WORD FORMATION

IN THE

ROMAN SERMO PLEBEIVS

AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF VOCABULARY IN VULGAR AND LATE LATIN, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES

BY

FREDERIC TABER COOPER

A.B. (HARVARD), A.M., LL.B. (COLUMBIA)

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY COLUMBIA COLLEGE

BOSTON, U.S.A., AND LONDON
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PREFACE.

When in the Spring of 1891 I chose a subject for my Doctor's Dissertation, my somewhat ambitious design was to collect whatever the industry of modern scholarship had contributed to our knowledge of Plebeian Latin, and to recast the whole in the form of an Historical Grammar of the Sermo Plebeius, under the four heads of Sound-Change, Inflection, Word-Formation and Syntax. The collection of the necessary material was undertaken with the courage of ignorance, but it became evident from the overwhelming mass of material accumulated in the course of two years, that my plan could could not be carried out within the reasonable limits of any dissertation. I accordingly have confined my attention to the single division of Word-Formation, which is the most fruitful, and in many respects the most interesting branch of the subject. I have not, however, entirely lost sight of my original design, and if the present work should be fortunate enough to meet with approval I shall be encouraged to follow it with a volume on Plebeian Syntax, the material for which, already accumulated, nearly equals that of Word-Formation.

My endeavor has been to trace the development of those classes of words which have been regarded by the leading authorities as characteristic of the *sermo plebeius*, with special reference to their position in post-classical literature and their relation to the Romance languages. For the purpose of a consistent historical treatment I have gathered my material from literary sources, and relied mainly upon writers like Plautus, Vitruvius, Petronius and Tertullian, whose style approaches the border-line between the classical and popular speech. I have intentionally neglected the inscriptions as a source of Plebeian Latin, for aside from the consideration of the difficulty of assigning dates in a large number of instances,

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their chief value lies in tracing dialectic peculiarities, and this cannot be done profitably until the general history of the different forms has been established. A separate study of Word-Formation in inscriptions would however form a useful supplement to the present volume.

The progress of the work has often been hampered by the difficulty of obtaining the necessary special treatises: thus Schmilinsky, *De Proprietate Sermonis Plautini*, Barta, *Sprachliche Studien zu den Satiren des Horaz*, and Nipperdey's Caesar were only obtained after several years' search, while many others of equal importance, such as Paucker, *De Latinitate Scriptorum Historiae Augustae Meletemata*, Kretschmann, *De Latinitate L. Apulei Madaurensis*, have remained inaccessible. My endeavor throughout has been to give full credit for all aid received from the authorities consulted, and a list of the most useful ones is given below. I desire however to reiterate here my especial indebtedness to separate articles contained in Wölfflin's *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie*, and to the indefatigable labor of Carl von Paucker, without whose word-lists a work like the present would be wellnigh impossible.

In regard to citations from Latin Authors, the system of abbreviations and the editions followed are in the main those adopted in the German-Latin Lexicon of K. E. Georges (7th ed., Leipzig, 1880). A few exceptions however deserve mention: the references to Plautus have as far as practicable been revised in accordance with the text of the large edition of Loewe, Goetz and Schoell, (Leipzig, 1884–94);[1] for the R. R. of Cato and Varro, I have followed the edition of H. Keil, 1882–94; for the ecclesiastical writers, the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* has been used as far as it has yet appeared (Vols. I–XXVII, Vienna, 1866–94). The following recent additions to the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* have also been followed: *Marcelli de Medicamentis*, ed. Helmreich, 1889; *Pelagonius*, ed. Ihm, 1892; *Firmicus Maternus*, I, ed. Sittl, 1894; *Sidonius Apollinaris*, ed. Mohr, 1894; *Theodorus Priscianus*, ed. Rose, 1894. The last three, however, were received too late to be of service in the earlier portion of the work.

[1] The last two parts were received too late to be of service in the first fifty pages of this work.

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It is due to the printers of these sheets to acknowledge the care and fidelity with which they have performed their part, and I cheerfully assume the responsibility for whatever errors may remain. I am also under lasting obligations to Dr. Charles Knapp, of Barnard College, who has kindly assisted me in the arduous task of proof-reading, and has also allowed me the use of numerous manuscript notes on Aulus Gellius, which his familiarity with that author has rendered especially valuable.

In conclusion, I wish to express my sense of gratitude towards my honored instructor and friend, Professor Harry Thurston Peck, to whose suggestion the present work owes its origin, and whose kind attention and advice have never failed me; my best wish is that it may prove worthy of the interest he has taken in it.

FREDERIC TABER COOPER.

NEW YORK, March, 1895.

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INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. Definition of the Sermo Plebeius.—Notwithstanding the strides made by modern philology toward a knowledge of the Roman *sermo plebeius*, there is still a surprising lack of unanimity in regard to its nature and extent. The various and confusing senses in which different scholars have used and understood the terms *sermo plebeius*, *sermo cotidianus*, *lingua rustica*, etc., have been justly deplored by Ott,[1] in his able article on modern researches in the field of Bible-Latin, and such inconsistency is not lessened by the attitude recently assumed by scholars like Bonnet,[2] who maintains that Vulgar Latin, in the sense of a dialect distinct from the classic speech, never had an existence, save in the brain of a few savants, and Sittl,[3] who similarly asserts that the whole structure with which the Romancists are now dealing is a pure creation of phantasy. In view of these conflicting opinions, it has seemed advisable at the outset to define carefully the position which will be maintained throughout the present work.

It may be regarded as an established doctrine that the Romance languages are the descendants, not of the classic Latin, as seen in Cicero and Cæsar, but of the *sermo plebeius*,

[1] Ott, Neue Jahrb. f. Philol., 1874, p. 759, "Vulgärlatein ist heutzutage ein viel gebrauchtes und verschieden verstandenes Wort. Gewöhnlich bezeichnet man jede Spracherscheinung späterer Zeit, die den aus den besseren Classikern hergenommenen Sprachgesetzen, oder richtiger gesprochen den subjectiven Ansichten, die man sich hierüber gebildet, zuwiderläuft, als Vulgärlatein. Einige identificieren es geradezu mit Spätlatein, wieder andere verstehen darunter eine Art Mittelding zwischen dem höhern oder Litteratur- und dem niedern oder Volkslatein, eine conventionelle über alle Provinzen des Reiches verbreitete und überall verstandene Verkehrs- und Umgangssprache, also eine Art römischer Reichssprache." [2] Bonnet, p. 31, "On prête trop volontier à ce qu'on appelle le latin vulgaire les charactères d'une langue véritable, d'une langue à part, qui aurait existé à côté de la langue latine proprement dite, . . . Le latin vulgaire ainsi compris n'a jamais existé que dans les cerveaux de quelques savants." [3] Sittl, Jahresberichte, 58, p. 226, "Das Vulgärlatein, mit welchem die Latinisten operieren, ist ein Phantasiegebilde."

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the speech of the common people, at Rome and in the provinces.[1] The prevailing view of the relation existing between these two forms of speech is the one recently reiterated by Miodonski: that the *sermo plebeius* is neither the parent nor the offspring of the Classic Latin, but that the two developed side by side, as the twin product of the common speech of early Rome, the *prisca Latinitas*.[2] Accordingly, there is no question of two distinct and separate languages, but of two kindred dialects, which, while steadily diverging, continued to exert a more or less unconscious influence upon each other.

With the dawn of literature began the differentiation between the cultured and the popular speech. Too much weight cannot be given to the circumstance that the earliest development of a national literature was controlled by a foreign element: Livius Andronicus, Naevius, and Ennius were all natives of Magna Graecia, and even the *Bellum Punicum*, the first Roman epic of purely national interest, owed much to Greek sources.[3] Classical Latin was largely shaped by these early poets, who strove, with a degree of success surprising in

[1] Wölfflin, Philol. 34, p. 137, "Die romanischen Sprachen sind die Fortbildung, nicht des lateinischen, wie es die Klassiker geschrieben haben, sondern desjenigen, wie es im täglichen Leben gesprochen worden ist;" *conf.* Diez, p. 1; Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Roman. Spr., I., p. 6; Stolz, Hist. Gramm., p. 21; even Bonnet concedes this point: p. 30, "On est généralement d'accord aujourd'hui pour affirmer que ce qui forme la base, ou, si l'on veut, la substance des langues romanes, n'est pas le latin que nous connaissons par les livres, le latin littéraire, mais celui que parlait le peuple, le latin populaire." [2] Miodonski, ALL. VIII., p. 146, "Die plebejische Latinität ist weder aus dem sermo urbanus, . . . noch der sermo urbanus aus dem Plebejerlatein entstanden: beide wurzelten als Zwillingsdialekte in der urrömischen Volkssprache, in der prisca Latinitas;" *conf.* Schuchardt, Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins, I., p. 47, "Der sermo plebeius steht zum sermo urbanus in keinem Descendenz-, in keinem Ascendenz-, sondern in einem Collateralverhältnisse. In der urrömischen Volkssprache, in der prisca Latinitas, wurzelten beide, es waren Zwillingsdialekte;" Rebling, p. 14; Wölfflin, Philol. 34, p. 149, "Bekanntlich kann das plebeische Latein weder schlechtweg die Mutter, noch viel weniger die Tochter des classischen genannt werden; vielmehr gab es vor dem entstehen der Litteratur nur ein Latein, und erst von diesem Zeitpunkte an beginnen sich Schriftsprache und Volkssprache zu scheiden:" Ott, Jahrb. 109, p. 759, "Verfolgt man den Entwicklungsgang der römischen Sprache von seinem Ende rückwarts bis zu seinen Anfängen, so findet man dass sich derselbe in zwei grosse Arme gespaltet hat, Litteratur- und Volkssprache, die von einander unbeirrt, im Fortschritt der Zeit immer mehr auseinander giengen;" Stolz, Hist. Gramm. I., p. 23, "Aus dem archaischen Latein stammen als gleichberechtigt nebeneinanderstehende Erzeugnisse die Volks- und Schriftsprache." [3] Stolz, Hist. Gramm., I., p. 29, citing v. Scala, Festgruss aus Insbruck an d. Wiener Phil.-Vers., p. 119 *sq.*, and Maass, Deutsche Literaturzeitung, 1893, 1351 *sq.*

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view of their difficult task, to adapt the somewhat unwieldy and heavy forms of archaic Latin to the ease and grace of their Greek models. It is true that Livius Andronicus and Naevius still retained for epic verse the primitive Saturnian metre, and with it much of the roughness and irregularity characteristic of an uncultured speech.[1] It is Ennius, before all others, who succeeded in developing the natural resources of Latin along the lines of Greek literature, and without whom the high perfection of rhythm seen in the prose of Cicero and the artistic finish of the Augustan poetry would have been impossible.[2] How far the style of these early poets was artificial is best seen by comparison with the plays of Plautus, who, although not wholly free from the influence of the literary tendency, gives a fairly true picture of the popular speech of his time, with all its advantages and imperfections.[3]

The schism between the classic and the popular speech, once established, widened rapidly. The famous literary circle which gathered around the younger Scipio continued to polish and refine the language, always in accordance with Greek rules: and the best measure of their success is seen in the contrast offered by the comedies of Terence, trained under the influence of this school, to those of his predecessor Plautus, for in most respects his style approaches far nearer the Ciceronian than the Plautine standard.[4] In the following century the literary language reached its highest point in the harmonious periods of Cicero and the subtle versification of Horace. Fostered by the orators and poets, and elaborated by the grammarians, it was indeed a magnificent product: but it was essentially artificial.[5] Its forms had been crystallized and its

[1] Stolz, Lat. Gramm., in I. Müller's Handb., II², p. 245. [2] *Conf.* Schmalz, Lat. Syntax, in I. Müller's Handb. II², p. 386. [3] Lorenz ad Most., Einleit., p. 26, "Die Plautinische Sprache ist, dem griechischen Habitus und der einzelnen Graeca zum Trotz, ein Abbild der römischen Umgangssprache, mit der grössten Treue und Wahrheit weidergegeben . . . bei sämtlichen Personen herrscht die echte römische Volkssprache, mit allen ihren eigentümlichen Vorzügen und Mangeln;" *conf.* Schmalz, *l. l.*, p. 387. [4] *Conf.* Engelbrecht, Studia Terentiana, Vindobonae, 1883, and especially Slaughter, Ter., with comments on the latter by Stolz, Hist. Gramm., I., p. 30. [5] Paul Monceaux, Le Latin Vulgaire, in Revue des Deux Mondes (1891), 106, p. 434, "Le Latin classique était une œuvre d'art créée par la patience et le talent de plusieurs générations de lettrés: à mesure qu'il se développe ou tente de se fixer, on en voit mieux apparaître le charactère artificiel." I wish here to express my indebtedness for much in the present section to this excellent article of M. Monceaux, in regard to the merits of which

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progress checked before its natural resources had attained their fair development; its rules for quantity and accentuation were borrowed; while its vocabulary was so limited that even the genius of Cicero was unequal to the task of adapting it to the wider horizon of Grecian culture. Already in Livy one can perceive foreshadowings of the approaching decadence. The structure so laboriously reared was destined to a slow but steady disintegration, and the chief factor in its downfall was the unconscious but unremitting influence of the *sermo plebeius*.[1]

To understand the relation existing between these two branches of the language it is necessary to keep in mind the familiar linguistic doctrine that the amount of divergence between neighboring dialects depends directly upon the extent and facility of communication.[2] Thus even in the case of two distinct languages the idioms spoken near the border-line bear a much closer resemblance to each other than to the written speech of their respective countries: for instance, the North Italian dialects to-day resemble more closely the neighboring dialects of France than they do that of Tuscany or the Italian written language; and in like manner the Gascon idiom shows the transition from Provençal to Spanish. Still less can two dialects coexist in the same territory without exerting a marked influence upon each other. Accordingly it is evident that such reciprocal influence existed to a greater or less degree between the classic and popular speech throughout the entire extent of Latinity. In the early period it was necessarily slight, for the literary circle was strictly limited, and while the children reared within its radius naturally acquired the elegance of diction which prevailed in their home-life,[3] the great mass of the Roman people, artisan and tradesman, farmer and soldier alike, lived practically untouched by the new culture, except through casual contact with the upper classes, and continued to speak with little alteration the language of their fathers.[4] But as the power and prestige of Rome

I am quite in accord with Miodonski, who says, (ALL. VIII., p. 149), "Die anziehende Darstellung und die richtige Betonung der wirksamen Motive des Volkstümlichen verdienen hervorgehoben zu werden."

[1] *Conf.* Stolz, Hist. Gramm., I., p. 49. [2] *Conf.* Paul, Principles of Language, Engl. Transl. by H. A. Strong, New York, 1889, p. 30 *sq.* [3] *Conf.* Schmalz, *l. l.*, citing Cic. *Brut.* 58, 210 *sq.* [4] *Conf.* Wölfflin, Philol. 34, p. 149, "Der Mann aus dem Volke da-

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increased, the dissemination of knowledge became more general; scholars from the East flocked to the capital, which thus became the centre of learning in Italy. In the time of Cicero *urbanitas*, the language as spoken in Rome, became synonymous with the highest excellence in Latin speech, just as Ἀττικισμός denoted the perfection of Greek.[1] As the influence of this higher Latinity filtered slowly downward through the successive social strata, some tinge must soon have reached even the lowest classes within the city, whose language, while not ceasing to be plebeian, lost something of its native harshness of accent and uncouthness of phraseology. In the country districts the *sermo plebeius* remained longer unmodified, and it is a significant fact that the most usual antithesis to *urbanitas* is not the *sermo plebeius*, but the *lingua rustica*, or *rusticitas*.[2] Conversely the cultivated speech of the higher classes could not wholly escape contamination. As time steadily widened the breach between these two forms of speech, communication between the upper and lower classes was facilitated by a compromise in the shape of the *sermo cotidianus*, the free and easy medium of daily conversation, which, as Quintilian significantly points out, was used not alone between friends and relatives, but in communication with the slaves.[3]

Thus, while the view which Bonnet so strenuously assails,[4] of an early separation of the classical from the vulgar speech, is to be maintained, the line of demarcation must not be too sharply drawn. It has been well pointed out by Meyer-Lübke that between the *sermo cotidianus* and the crudest form of the *sermo rusticus* the language shaded off in countless gradations,

gegen . . . nahm von diesen Wahrsprüchen der obersten Jury wenig Notiz und vererbte hartnäckig manches auf die Kinder weiter, wie es die Eltern und Grosseltern gesprochen hatten."

[1] *Conf.* Quint. 6, 3, 107, *Nam meo quidem iudicio illa est urbanitas, in qua nihil absonum, nihil agreste, nihil inconditum, nihil peregrinum neque sensu neque uerbis neque ore gestuue possit deprehendi; ut non tam sit in singulis dictis quam in toto colore dicendi, qualis apud Graecos ἀττικισμός ille reddens Athenarum proprium saporem.* [2] *Conf.* Sittl, Verhandl. d. 40. Versamml. deutscher Philol. u. Schulm. in Görlitz, Leipzig, 1890, p. 385 sq., "Vor allem schied sich Stadt und Land; denn Cicero und die Späteren stimmen darin überein, dass selbst der ungebildete Bewohner Roms an der urbanitas teil hat und dessen bewusst die Sprache des Bauern, die rusticitas, selbstgefällig verhöhnt," cited with approval by Seelmann, Volkslatein, in Krit. Jahresber. ü. d. Fortschritte d. Roman. Phil., I, p. 51. [3] Quint. 12, 10, 40, *cotidiano sermoni . . . , quo cum amicis, coniugibus, liberis, seruis loquamur.* [4] Bonnet, p. 31, *not.* 1.

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according to social position, calling in life, education, etc.[1] I am quite in accord with Professor Stolz that with these limitations the distinction to be emphasized is that between the literary speech on the one hand, and the popular speech on the other, or that at the furthest we cannot with certainty make more than a triple division: viz., *sermo urbanus*, *cotidianus*, and *plebeius*.[2]

This triple division is in the main the one adopted throughout the present work. The relation between the *sermo cotidianus* and *sermo plebeius* is best illustrated by the *Cena Trimalchionis* of Petronius, in which, as pointed out by Friedländer,[3] the main narrative reflects the conversational style of the cultured class, while the language of Trimalchio and his *colliberti*, although somewhat toned down to adapt it to its literary setting, remains the best extant specimen of vulgar Latin. Another term which deserves a word of explanation is the *sermo rusticus*. As used in the present work it is neither distinct from, nor altogether synonymous with the *sermo plebeius*. It refers rather to the question of provincial distinctions in the *sermo plebeius*, discussed in the next section, and is used to denote those features which seem to prevail especially in the rustic speech of Italy itself, and which for the most part have remained prominent in modern Italian.

[1] Meyer-Lübke, Deutsche Literaturzeitung, 1891, p. 413 *sq.* [2] Stolz, Hist. Gramm., I., p. 23, "Mit der eben ausgesprochenen Einschränkung glauben wir an der älteren Ansicht, dass zwischen Volks- und Schriftsprache zu unterscheiden sei, festhalten zu dürfen," citing Schwan, Gramm. d. Altfranzösischen, Leipzig², 1883; Id., p. 42, "Nach dem oben Bemerkten ist streng genommen weder Seelmann im Unrechte, wenn er neben der allgemeinen Volkssprache noch eine Pöbelsprache unterscheidet . . . noch Sittl, der in einem auf der Philologenversammlung zu Görlitz (1889) abgehaltenen Vortrag die drei Abstufungen sermo cotidianus oder consuetudo (Umgangssprache der Gebildeten), oppidanum genus dicendi (Mundart der kleinen Städte), rusticitas (bäuerische Sprache) unterschieden wissen wollte. Mit einiger Sicherheit lassen sich jedoch nur Schriftsprache, Verkehrsprache der Gebildeten, allgemeine Volkssprache unterscheiden;" *conf.* Seelmann, *l. l.*, p. 51, "Insonderheit aber spielt das Moment der Bildung eine Rolle, und danach hat man die 'gebildete Umgangssprache,' die Alltagssprache des vornehmen Römers, den sermo cotidianus, . . . von der Sprache der niedern Plebs und des eigentlichen Vulgus, von 'Vulgärlatein' im engern Sinne, . . . wohl zu scheiden," citing Sittl, *l. l.* [3] Friedländer, Petr. 9, "Die Sprache der Erzählung ist die Umgangssprache der Gebildeten der damaligen Zeit, die sich manche in der strengern Schriftssprache nicht zulässige Freiheiten gestattet . . . Dagegen ist die Sprache, in der Trimalchio und seine Mitfreigelassenen reden, die damalige süditalische Volkssprache, allerdings nicht rein, sondern so weit 'stilisirt,' dass sie nicht zu stark mit der Eleganz der Erzählung kontrastirt."

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§ 2. THE SERMO PLEBEIUS IN THE PROVINCES: While the classic speech was pushed rapidly forward to maturity and came to an early and definite stand-still, the *sermo plebeius*, left to itself, remained a living, ever-changing source of free and untrammelled development.[1] It thus afforded an inexhaustible fund of new forms and phrases, apt turns of expression, the current slang of the streets of Rome, hardy neologisms and daring compounds, from all of which the literary language borrowed with increasing freedom throughout the progress of the Decadence.[2] Conversely, its early growth having been slower and more natural, the *sermo plebeius* retained in vocabulary and syntax, as well as in accent and pronunciation, many features of the *prisca Latinitas*, long after they had been discarded by classic Latin. In the time of Cicero archaism had become to a great extent synonymous with vulgarism.[3]

These two opposing characteristics of the popular speech, conservation of the old and creation of the new, are of prime importance in explaining the development of those local differences in provincial Latin which laid the foundation for the divergence of idiom resulting in the separate modern Romance languages. As the different provinces were successively acquired, it was the policy of Rome to further their rapid Latinization, and to this end Latin was made the official language,

[1] *Conf.* Ott, Jahrb. 1874, p. 759, "Während . . . die Schriftsprache, von Zeit zu Zeit in seinem Lauf reguliert, zu einem gewissen Stillstand gekommen und im grossen und ganzen auch darin verblieben ist, bis er unter den trümmern der zusammenbrechenden römischen Cultur verschüttet wurde, ergoss sich der andere zum teil in wildem Lauf unaufhaltsam wieder, um sich schliesslich in neue Arme, die romanischen Sprachen, zu teilen;" Paul Monceaux, *l. l.*, p. 432, "Le latin d'ouvrier et de paysan, relégué aux champs, à l'atelier, au bouge, à l'office, absolument rebelle aux leçons des maitres d'école, poursuivit son évolution naturelle, d'autant plus rapide que plus rien ne le retenait." [2] *Conf.* Miodonski, *l. l.*, "Wie die lebenden Volksmundarten mehr Quellbäche als Nebenkanäle, die Zuleiter also nicht die Ableiter der Schriftsprache sind, so war auch im alten Rom der Volksgeist ein Sprachschaffendes und der Literatur ein sprachbildendes Element: die Schriftsprache bedurfte einigermassen einer Ausgleichung mit dem Volksidiom." [3] Wölfflin, Philol. 34, p. 149, "So blieb das Vulgärlatein vielfach hinter den Fortschritten der gebildeten zurück, aber es bewahrte sich auch einen grösseren Reichthum an Formen und Worten. . . . Darum ist das vulgäre oft mit dem archaischen identisch, obschon weder alles archaische vulgär ist (denn manches starb doch im Laufe der Jahrhunderte im Volke ab), noch alles vulgäre archaisch zu sein braucht;" *conf.* Rebling, p. 15; G. Landgraf, Philol. Anz. XV., p. 608, "(citing Symm. Ep. 3, 44, ἀρχαισμὸν *scribendi non inuitus adfecto*), Archaismen aber sind in der Regel identisch mit Vulgarismen."

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in which all the local legislative and judicial proceedings must be conducted.[1] But while this system forced Latin upon the provinces, it naturally could not control the standard of Latinity. The *senatus consulta* and the procedure of the law courts were not the medium through which the new language was acquired, while the high officials from Rome, however correct their own speech may have been, played a minor part in promulgating it within their several jurisdictions. Among the families of rank in Spain, Carthage, Gaul, etc., a large proportion undoubtedly took pains to have their children learn Latin systematically, either at Rome,[2] or in the various schools which had been founded in the colonies.[3] A good example is afforded by the school founded by Sertorius at Osca, in Spain, where the sons of leading families of the different tribes could be trained in the culture of Greece and Rome; Plutarch tells of the pride felt by the parents in seeing their children attending this school in the purple-bordered *toga praetexta*, and presented by Sertorius himself with the golden *bulla*, the distinctive ornament of the sons of Roman patricians.[4] The libraries also, which Rome in pursuance of her policy had founded in the different provinces, tended to promote the use of classical Latin; but these also appealed chiefly to a limited cultured circle; compare, for instance, the one mentioned by Pliny, established in Africa soon after the conquest, confessedly for the benefit of the Carthaginian nobles (*regulis Africae*).[5]

The great mass, however, of the non-Latin population acquired the language by degrees from the class of Romans with whom they necessarily came in immediate contact, the petty officials, common soldiers, tradesmen, and artisans, the

[1] *Conf.* Ott, *l. l.*, p. 760, commenting on the statement by Val. Max. that the magistrates in Greece and Asia Minor were prohibited from using Greek, "Was hier von den Griechen gesagt ist, gilt natürlich auch, wenn nicht in noch höherm Grade, von den Puniern. So hatte also der Provinciale, wenn er verstehen und verstanden werden, wenn er seinen eigenen Vorteil wahren oder Einfluss und Ansehen sich erringen wollte, keine andere Wahl als sich die Sprache des Siegers und Herschers anzueignen." [2] *Conf.* Bonnet, p. 36, "sans doute les jeunes gens des grandes familles gauloises allaient à Rome pour apprendre le latin ou pour se perfectionner dans l'usage de cette langue." [3] On the question of schools in the provinces compare Budinsky, pp. 55 (Nth. Italy); 71 (Spain); 104 (Gaul); 257 (Africa). [4] Plutarch, *Sertorius*, 14. [5] Plin. 18, 22; *conf.* Ott, *l. l.*, p. 760.

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rank and file of the lower classes.[1] Accordingly, while it was not exclusively the Roman army which was responsible for the form of Latin spoken in the provinces, yet the importance in this connection of the *sermo militaris*, the common idiom of the camp, must not be underrated.[2] Aside from stray phrases learned from itinerant merchants, the first germs of Latin were sown in each land by the invading legions, and after conquest the Latinizing influence radiated most strongly from those garrison towns which sprang up around the permanent military stations. In Spain alone no less than 150,000 troops arrived from Italy in the brief period between 196 and 169 B.C. and many of these afterward settled permanently in the new

[1] Sittl, Verhandl. . . . in Görlitz, *l. l.*, "Die Aristokratie und Plutokratie der eroberten Länder hatte die Möglichkeit Hauslehrer kommen zu lassen, um sich und ihren Kindern die korrekte Latinität anzueignen, wie denn auch berichtet wird, dass schon frühzeitig viele Grammatiker das reiche Gallien aufsuchten . . . die grosse Masse der Provinzialen aber empfing das Lateinische im täglichen Verkehr . . . Cicero zählt *pro Fronteio* § 12 die Leute, die das Lateinische in die Provinzen trugen, auf: Kaufleute, Kolonen, Steuerpächter, Ackerknechte und Hirte." [2] Stolz, Hist. Gramm. I., p. 23, "Die römische Soldateska bei der Verbreitung der Lateinischen Sprache von den früher genannten Centren (den an die römischen Standlager sich anschliessenden Lagerstädten) römischen Wesens und römischer Cultur aus eine gewiss nicht zu unterschätzende Rolle gespielt hat;" W. Meyer, in Gröber's Grundriss, I., p. 353, "Die militärisch am stärksten besetzten Gegenden werden daher am schnellsten römisch: Spanien, Ostgallien (Trier);" *conf.* Pott, Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf. 12, p. 162. This view is assailed by Bonnet, p. 35, *not.* 8, who cites Ott, Jahrb. 109, p. 579, with the comment, "Pourtant déjà Ott déchargeait le légionnaire du soin d'enseigner le latin aux provinciaux, en faisant remarquer très justement qu'il entrait sans doute peu en rapport avec eux. . . . Dans les ouvrages de seconde main, la légende est accréditée et subsistera longtemps." This comment seems hardly justified, for while Ott considers that too much weight has been attached to the part played by the soldiers in Latinizing the provinces, he is far from denying them a share in it; his views are quite moderate and deserve to be quoted in full: "Insgemein nimmt man an dass es vorzüglich die römischen Heere gewesen, welche in den unterworfenen Landen überhaupt die Kenntniss des lateinischen und zwar in der gemeinen Sprechweise des niedern Volks verbreitet haben. Ohne im mindesten bezügliche Einflüsse bestreiten zu wollen, bin ich doch der Ansicht, dass man den Anteil des römischen Heeres bei der Einführung der neuen Sprache viel zu sehr überschätzt. So eben und Einfach gieng die Sache denn doch nicht. Ich will ganz davon absehen, dass der Verkehr zwischen dem Soldaten und dem Provincialen wol nicht so vertraut und ausgedehnt gewesen, als man ihn sich denken mag, und dass der Schmerz und Ingrimm des letztern ob des Verlustes seiner nationalen Selbständigkeit sich möglichst lange und energisch gegen die Sprache des Eroberers gesträubt hat; aber darauf lege ich Gewicht, dass der römische Soldat bei der Vielsprachigkeit des Heeres und dem zumeist niedern Bildungsstand der Elemente, aus denen es zusammengesetzt war, nicht der geeignete Missionär war, das Lateinische auf den Boden des eroberten Landes zu verpflanzen und dort zur Herrschaft zu bringen."

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land.[1] The earliest of the Roman cities in Spain, Italica, was founded 206 B.C., by P. Cornelius Scipio, for the benefit of the veterans of his army; while the story of Carteia, another of these Latin colonies, established to provide a home for upward of four thousand illegitimate children, the offspring of Roman soldiers and of Spanish women who frequented the camp, is significantly pointed out by Budinsky as a single instance of a widely active cause, through which a steadily increasing proportion of the inhabitants were speedily and simply Latinized.[2]

In this *sermo militaris*, or *castrensis*, which thus underlay the Latin of the provinces, the influence of local Italic dialects may be disregarded; I am quite in accord with Bonnet that the Romans who came to Gaul, civilians and soldiers alike, did not import the language of Praeneste or Lanuvium, of Teanum or Iguvium, any more than the French soldiers of to-day spread the patois of Picardy, Champagne, or Gascony in Algeria and Senegal. In individual cases, undoubtedly, certain peculiarities of accent or vocabulary may have persisted, but in the army especially all such local differences were gradually assimilated in the universal idiom of the camp.[3] But it is equally preposterous to claim that the latter was the language of Latium according to the standard of Rome, the proper form of communication between citizens throughout the empire: on the contrary, it was the *sermo plebeius* pure and simple, less extreme perhaps than the *sermo rusticus*, but

[1] Budinsky, p. 70, citing Ihne, R. G. III., p. 319 Anm. [2] Liu. 43, 3, *Ex militibus Romanis et ex Hispanis mulieribus, cum quibus conubium non esset, natos se memorantes, supra quattuor milia hominum orabant, ut sibi oppidum, in quo habitarent daretur. Sanatus decreuit . . . eos Carteiam ad Oceanum deduci placere; conf.* Budinsky, p. 70, "die Stadt Carteia, offenbar nur die vereinzelte Folge einer ganz allgemein wirkenden Ursache, durch die ein stetig wachsender Theil der Einwohnerschaft auf kürzestem Wege der Romanisirung zugeführt wurde." [3] *Conf.* Bonnet, p. 34, "Si l'on veut essayer de prendre une idée plus juste du latin qui se répandit dans les provinces, et spécialement en Gaule, il faut faire abstraction des patois ou dialectes italiques aussi bien que de leur influence sur la langue commune. Les Romains qui venaient en Gaule, fonctionnaires civils, officiers de l'armée, soldats, négociants, industriels, n'y parlaient pas la langue de Préneste ou de Lanuvium, ni celle de Teanum ou d'Iguvium, pas plus que nos militaires et nos colons ne vont parler picard, champenois ou gascon en Algérie et au Sénégal." I cannot, however, agree with M. Bonnet's conclusion, that "ils y parlaient latin, c'est-à-dire la langue de Latium telle qu'elle était parlée à Rome, et telle qu'elle devait servir dans les relations entre citoyens des différentes parties de l'empire."

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many degrees removed from the *sermo cotidianus*, the current speech of the upper classes.

Accordingly, since the Roman element in all the provinces was essentially the same—military encampments, colonies of veterans, tradesmen, skilled laborers, etc., all speaking a distinctly plebeian Latin,—it is not surprising that many vulgarisms of form and syntax are found throughout every part of the Roman Empire, in the inscriptional, as well as the literary monuments. Indeed, the coincidences are so numerous and so striking that some scholars have been led to deny the existence of local differences.[1] This view was adopted by as early an authority as Erasmus, who maintained that in all the provinces the Roman tongue was equally intelligible, provided that the speaker affected a plebeian style,[2] while Niebuhr has declared that the African Latin shows no more marked characteristics than those which distinguish the French of Geneva from that of Paris.[3] Such a view, however, is not only opposed to all linguistic principles, as we see them working at the present day, but is directly contradicted by the testimony of ancient authorities. Cicero speaks of the prevalence of provincial expressions in Gallic Latin, and adds, *sed haec mutari dediscique possunt*,[4] implying that the Gallic accent of which he next speaks, was ineradicable; similarly Augustine remarks the lack of discernment shown in African Latin in the quality and quantity of vowel-sounds,[5] while Spartianus is authority

[1] Bonnet, p. 40, "Frappés de la prédominance de certains caractères identiques de toutes les provinces, plusieurs savants sont allés jusqu'à nier toute influence locale. Pour quiconque a eu l'occasion d'observer l'étonnante persistance de certains accents étrangers, une telle négation équivaut à l'affirmation d'un miracle;" Boissier, Commodien, p. 51, "Il faut croire que le latin s'est corrompu d'après certains lois générales, qui ont agi partout de la même façon et produit dans tous les pays du monde des résultats semblables;" B. Kaulen, Handbuch d. Vulgata, p. 4, "Was man öfter Africanismus der Latinität genannt hat, ist einfach der Charakter des Vulgärlateins und kann als solcher mit gleichem Recht Gallicismus, Pannonismus oder Italicismus heissen:" *conf.* Kübler, ALL. VIII., p. 162, "Man hat selbst vom Vulgärlatein behauptet, dass es durch das ganze römische Gebiet im wesentlichen die gleichen Erscheinungen zeige. Solchen Aussprüchen gegenüber erwächst die Notwendigkeit, die Spuren provinzieller Färbung in der schriftlichen Ueberlieferung nachzuweisen." [2] Erasmus, Epist. 633, Vol. III., p. 723 D (Lugduni, 1873), "Constat autem apud Hispanos, Afros, Gallos, reliquasque Romanorum prouincias, sic sermonem Romanum fuisse uolgo communem ut *Latine* concionantem intelligerent etiam cerdones, si modo qui dicebat paululum sese ad uulgarem dictionem accommodarent." [3] Niebuhr, Vorträge, bearbeit. v. Schmitz und Zeuss, II., p. 324. [4] *Conf.* Cic. Brut. 46, 17. [5] Augustin.

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for the statement that the speech of the emperor Septimius Seuerus retained to his dying day strong evidence of his African origin.[1] Considerable attention has been devoted in recent years to this question of provincial Latin, and especially to the *sermo Africus*. Of particular importance in this connection are the recent articles in Wölfflin's Archiv, *Die Lateinische Sprache auf Afrikanischen Inschriften*, by B. Kübler (Vol. VIII., pp. 161–202), and *Die Lateinische Uebersetzung des Buches der Weisheit*, and *Die Lateinische Uebersetzung des Buches Sirach*, by Ph. Thielmann (Ib., pp. 235–277; 501–561).

In attempting to account for these local differences, some authors have been inclined to overrate the importance of the influence exerted upon Latin by the native speech of the conquered peoples.[2] The evidence of the Romance languages tends to show that such influence was comparatively slight,[3] and mainly confined to peculiarities of pronunciation and to a limited number of loanwords. The local differences in the Sound-System of Vulgar Latin are much more striking than in any other department, and it has been ingeniously suggested by W. Meyer that this was in part due to the fact that a large proportion of the male inhabitants of the conquered lands were pressed into military service, and being constantly transferred from post to post, and thrown in contact, in their camp-life, with a great variety of other nations, all acquired a certain uniformity of speech, the *sermo castrensis* already mentioned, while the women, left behind, learned the language more imperfectly, and the children, as they grew up naturally spoke after the fashion of their mothers, Latin with a pronounced foreign accent.[4]

Doct. Chr. 4, 24, *Afrae aures de corruptione uocalium uel productione non iudicant: conf.* Boissier, Commod., p. 56.

[1] Spart. Seuer. 19, 9, *canorus uoce, sed Afrum quid dam usque ad senectutem sonans.* [2] Compare for example Paul Monceaux, *l. l.*, p. 441, "Le voisinage de ces trois langues sémitiques (le libyque, le punique, l'hébreu) nous explique bien des charactères du latin d'Afrique;" Id., p. 445, "Pourquoi ce même patois (le latin vulgaire) est-il devenu, ici le portugais, là le roumain, en Italie le toscan ou le milanais, en Espagne le castillan . . . ? Pour résoudre sûrement le problême, il nous manque un élément essentiel, la connaissance des langues qui en Gaule, en Espagne, en Italie, au bord au Danube, ont précédé le latin et agi sur lui;" *conf.* further the criticism of Miodonski, ALL. VIII., p. 149. [3] *Conf.* Stolz, Hist. Gramm. I., p. 5, citing Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Roman. Spr., I., p. 29 *sq.* [4] W. Meyer, in Gröber's Grundriss, I., p. 353, "Die Translokationen und Mischungen bedingen Gleichmässigkeit der Sprache in Flexion und Wortschatz. Das stabile Element bilden die Frauen. Namentlich in neu eroberten

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The principal cause, however, of the differences in provincial Latin lay in the instability of the *sermo plebeius* itself, which, as we have already seen, changed materially from year to year; the Latin which Cæsar's legions first made familiar to the Gauls was richer in its variety of forms, and less archaic, and in every way quite different from that which a hundred years earlier had been naturalized in Spain and Africa. In and around Rome this influence of classicism gradually tended to modify the harsher archaisms of the popular speech, but the latter, when isolated in the provinces, was practically beyond the radius of this influence, and free to develop unrestrained. Accordingly the idioms of the separate Roman provinces represent a varying degree of archaism, in the order of their dates of conquest.[1] This view is amply corroborated by the numerous dialectic peculiarities now recognized in the style of Roman writers from the separate provinces, and in inscriptions; especially notable is the strongly archaic element of the *sermo Africus*, which, as seen in Fronto, Apuleius, Tertullian, etc., presents so many striking analogies with the language of Plautus. This phenomenon is easily accounted for, when we remember that the first germs of Latin were carried to Africa by the Roman soldiers and colonists who flocked there after the fall of Carthage, in 146 B.C.[2]

Ländern wird nahezu die ganze Jungmannschaft, sofern sie nicht gefallen oder zu Sklaven gemacht war, ausgehoben und versetzt, so in Dakien, Rätien. Kinder und Frauen bleiben und nehmen in fast ganz römischer Umgebung bald die neue Sprache an, sprechen sie aber mit einheimischem Accente und conservieren diesen besser, da die Nivellierung, die nur bei häufigem Wechsel der Umgebung möglich ist, fehlt. Kinder von Colonen und Soldaten, mit fremden Weibern erzeugt, sprachen naturgemäss die Sprache der Mutter, lateinisch mit fremden Accente."

[1] G. Gröber, ALL., I., p. 211, "Die am weitesten entwickelte, dem Latein am fernsten gerückte Vulgärsprache lebte danach auf dem heimatichen Boden Italiens fort, wo sie ihre Gesammtentwicklung durchlief; eine etwas weniger vorgerückte Vulgärsprache wurde dagegen nach den, erst in der Kaiserzeit der römischen Sprache erschlossenen Gebieten der rumänischen und rätoromanischen Sprache getragen: eine noch weniger entwickelte gelangte nach den schon in republikanischer Zeit unterworfenen ausseritalischen Provinzen, nach Gallien, Südfrankreich, Spanien und eine vom archaischen und Schriftlatein kaum abweichende nach dem für Rom gewonnenen Sardinien;" *conf.* J. A. Hagen, Sprachl. Erörterungen zur Vulgata, p. 61; W. Meyer, in Gröber's Grundriss, I., p. 359, "Die Verpflanzung des Lateins auf fremden Boden hat einen Stillstand oder eine Entwickelung in anderer Richtung zur Folge, die Sprache der zuerst kolonisierten Gegenden weist auf das älteste, die der späteren auf jüngeres Vulgärlatein zurück;" Stolz, Hist. Gramm. I., p. 24. [2] Ott, *l. l.*, p. 767, "Die Anfänge der Latinisierung des proconsularischen Africa fallen in die Zeit bald nach der zerstörung Karthagos, also

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But the best demonstration of this theory in its entirety is afforded by a comparison of the system of phonetics in the modern Romance languages, so admirably set forth by Gröber, in his article *Vulgärlateinische Substrate Romanischer Wörter*, in the first volume of Wölfflin's Archiv. It is there pointed out that the dialect of Sardinia, the earliest acquired territory outside of Italy (including Sicily), possesses the greatest number of archaisms of all the Romance languages, while Spanish, Portuguese, Catalonian, Provençal, French, Rhaeto-Romanian and Rumanian show in the order given successive stages of the *sermo plebeius*, and Italian, representing the vulgar speech in its native land where its ultimate development was attained, is furthest removed from the classic Latin.[1] Thus for instance the k sound before e and i; accented ĭ and ŭ; final s and t in declension and conjugation, are all retained in Sardinian; the first three sounds however have undergone changes in the other Romance languages, even in the earliest records;[2] final s has survived in the inflectional systems of all but the two latest branches, Ruman. and Ital., and final t is retained in French, and to some extent in Old Span., Old Port., and Provenç., but has entirely disappeared in Rhaeto-Rom., Ruman. and Ital.

This principle of the conservation of archaism in provincial districts is aptly illustrated at the present day by many so-called Americanisms, which in reality were in good usage in Elizabethan English, but have died out in the mother-country, while they survived in the speech of the New England colonists.[3] Bonnet, however, while conceding the analogous ar-

noch in die archaische Periode des Lateins. Das Sprachmaterial ist darum wesentlich archaisch, hin und wieder von höchster Altertümlichkeit und Ursprünglichkeit;" Ph. Thielmann, ALL. VIII., p. 241, "Interessant sind weiter namentlich diejenigen Elemente, die seit dem Ende der archaischen Periode aus der Litteratur verschwanden, um dann erst bei den Afrikanern wieder aufzutauchen. Wir müssen annehmen, dass solche Bestandtheile seit dem J. 146 v. Chr. mit den römischen Soldaten und Beamten nach dem überseeischen Land kamen und sich dort erhielten, während sie in Italien selbst im Laufe der Zeit ausstarben."

[1] Gröber, *l. l.*, p. 210 *sq.* [2] Excepting accented ŭ in Ruman. and Albanian; *conf.* Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Roman. Spr., I., p. 120; *conf.* Id. ib., pp. 81, 318. [3] Compare for instance the entertaining and suggestive article by Henry Cabot Lodge, Shakespeare's Americanisms, in Harper's Monthly (Jan., 1895), XC., p. 252 *sq.;* the case is well stated on p. 253, "The English speech was planted in this country by English emigrants, who settled Virginia and New England at the beginning of the seventeenth century . . . The language which these people brought with them to

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chaisms in the French of Quebec and of the colonies of refugees in Germany and Holland, claims that in these instances the loss of political identity and the consequent interruption of communication were the proximate causes, while in the case of Rome, there was a constant coming and going of travellers, soldiers, and officials, a continuous political, commercial, and personal connection.[1] It is, however, a well-settled linguistic doctrine that uniformity of language demands a geographical as well as a political continuity.[2] The ties of government which bound the Roman possessions to the Capital were more than offset by the intervening distances and the consequent delays and dangers of communication. Carthage, which as a hostile state was considered an unpleasantly close neighbor, was a three-days' voyage from Rome, while the distant parts of Gaul and Spain were a matter of several weeks' journey. It must also be borne in mind that in ancient times communication, as a factor in linguistic development, was primarily *oral*

Virginia and Massachusetts, moreover, was, as Mr. Lowell has remarked, the language of Shakespeare, who lived and wrote and died just at the period when these countrymen of his were taking their way to the New World. . . . It followed very naturally that some of the words thus brought over the water, and then common to the English on both sides of the Atlantic, survived only in the New World, to which they were transplanted."

[1] Bonnet, p. 41, *annot.* 4 (citing Hagen, Sprachl. Erört. z. Vulg., p. 61), "Il y aurait donc là le même phénomène que nous observons chez les français du Canada et chez nos réfugiés en Allemagne et en Hollande. On oublie que dans ces examples modernes tous les liens avec la mère-patrie ont été longtemps rompus, tandis qu'entre Rome et ses provinces, il y avait un va et vient de voyageurs, un échange de population civile et militaire, des rapports politiques, commerciaux et personnels incessants. M. Groeber . . . va bien plus loin dans la même voie. . . . Il paraît croire que chaque province s'est ouverte une fois pour laisser entrer le vainqueur et s'est aussitôt refermée à jamais pour garder pieusement le dépôt du latin que lui enseigna la première légion emplantée sur son sol." [2] *Conf.* Paul, *l. l.*, p. 25, "Individual languages, therefore, are driven to form groups according to the natural environing circumstances which determine the relations between them, as well as according to their political and religious circumstances." The article by Lodge, above cited, contains so good an illustration of the effect of geographical isolation that it deserves to be quoted in full: after citing Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act. I., Sc. 1, "They say many young gentlemen flock to him every day, and fleet the time carelessly," he says (*l. l.*, p. 256), "'Fleet,' as a verb in this sense of 'to pass' or 'to move,' . . . has certainly disappeared from the literature and the ordinary speech of both England and the United States. It is still in use, however, in this exact Shakesperian sense in the daily speech of people on the island of Nantucket, in the State of Massachusetts. I have heard it there frequently, and it is owing no doubt to the isolation of the inhabitants that it still lingers, as it does, an echo of the Elizabethan days, among American fishermen in the closing years of the nineteenth century."

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communication. Education was, to a large extent, a privilege of the upper classes, while the price of books made them inaccessible, excepting to the favored few; indeed the development of the *sermo plebeius* presupposes a wide-spread ignorance of the literary language. In the provinces the proportion of the population whose speech would be influenced through the medium of the written language must have been still smaller, since many, even of the upper classes, undoubtedly acquired a knowledge of spoken language, long before they could read or write it. In modern times facilities for direct communication are supplemented by a higher general standard of learning, the telegraph and the press; a speech delivered in London one evening may appear the following morning in the leading journals of the English-speaking world, and even among the lower classes those lacking the ability to read it are the exception and not the rule. Thus a powerful check has been placed upon local differentiation in the formal and syntactical aspect of language and the survival of provincial archaisms is to be regarded not as due to, but rather in spite of, modern conditions.

Another line of opposition is adopted by Sittl, who raises the historical objection that in the year 19 A.D. the province of Sardinia was not yet wholly subdued, to say nothing of its being Latinized.[1] This objection, however, has been well answered by Stolz, who justly claims that the Romanization was at first confined to a comparatively small territory within which a local dialect developed, and that this local dialect, whose extreme archaism is well attested by linguistic evidence, afterwards prevailed over the whole island, in spite of more or less regular intercourse with Rome.[2] Accordingly, as none of the objections hitherto raised appears convincing, the present investigation has been conducted from the standpoint of Gröber's theory.

§ 3. Word Formation in Classic Latin: In a study of the *sermo plebeius* the relative importance of vocabulary can hardly be overestimated, both on account of its intrinsic interest, and of the abundance and continuity of material afforded by literary records, throughout the whole extent of Latinity. It is true that Accent and Sound-Change played an even

[1] Sittl., Bursians Jahresbericht, 68, p. 226 *sq.* [2] Stolz, Hist. Gramm. I., p. 24.

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greater part in the separation of the plebeian from the classic speech, and especially in the differentiation of local dialects, but errors of pronunciation leave only sporadic traces in the literature of a language, and we must rely for our knowledge mainly upon inscriptional evidence; and the same may be said, to a large extent, of irregularities of inflection. Word-Formation and Syntax stand upon a somewhat different footing; plebeian words and phrases are to be detected even in the most careful writers, while their steady encroachment upon the literature of the decadence was the chief factor in the gradual transition from the prose of Cicero to that of Gregory of Tours.[1] The syntax, however, of any fully developed language, such as Latin, possesses a flexibility which insures considerable permanence; but in any progressive community additions to vocabulary are essential, to keep pace with the advance of civilization. This was especially the case at Rome, where the rapid dissemination of Greek culture created an insatiate demand for new words, with which to express the newly acquired ideas.[2] In the *prisca Latinitas* the vocabulary was a somewhat limited one, as was natural among a people whose time was largely divided between simple pastoral pursuits and local warfare. They inherited, however, from the common Indo-Germanic stock abundant facilities for forming new derivatives and compounds at pleasure. When the schism arose between the classic and plebeian speech, the latter naturally retained these facilities, and, if we may take Plautus as a criterion, availed itself of them with characteristic license.[3] The literary language here presents a marked contrast: the early poets, it is true, Naevius, Ennius, etc., hampered by the poverty of the existing vocabulary, frequently took advantage of the greater freedom which the popular speech afforded, so that in this respect their style

[1] Bonnet, p. 751, "C'est la syntaxe, avec le vocabulaire, qui s'éloigne le plus du Latin classique." [2] *Conf.* Draeger, Hist. Synt., I., Einleit., p. x., "Die Lateinische Sprache hat während der langen Zeit in welcher sie zu den lebenden gehörte und eine Literatur hervorbrachte, . . . in ihrer grammatischen Gestaltung verhältnissmässig geringe Veränderungen erfahren. Anders steht es mit dem Wörtschatz der Sprache; hierin hat sie während ihrer ganzen Lebensdauer und besonders in der nachklassischen Zeit unaufhörliche Anstrengungen gemacht, um sich zu bereichern." [3] Draeger, *l. l.*, p. xi., "Die kühner Neubildungen, besonders in den Compositis, welche Plautus sich erlaubt, beweisen, dass das Latein in hohem Grade bildungsfähig war."

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often had a somewhat plebeian coloring.[1] But under the formalizing influence of classicism, Word-Formation, in common with all other linguistic growth, came to a standstill, at the very time when Rome was most in need of a wider vocabulary. The consequent inferiority which Latin, in this respect, shows to Greek has been frequently acknowledged by Roman writers; Gellius dwells at length upon the difficulty of properly rendering Greek compound words, either by a single word or a periphrasis,[2] while his citation of the diverse attempts of the early grammarians to render *προσῳδίαι*, by *notae uocum, moderamenta, accentiunculae, uoculationes*, aptly illustrates the inaptitude of the language for technical expressions.[3] Lucretius, Cicero, and Seneca, in turn complain of the lack of a philosophic terminology: yet philosophy is but one instance of the many avenues of Greek thought opened to the Roman mind only by deliberate coinage of the necessary vocabulary.[4] The same difficulty confronted the medical writers; Celsus expressly deplores the superiority of the Greek lan-

[1] Stolz, Hist. Gramm., I., p. 32, "Andererseits aber lehnt sich doch wieder die Sprache der Dichter unmittelbar an die lebende Sprache an, insbesondere in der Wörtbildung, die eine grössere Mannigfaltigkeit aufweist als in der classischen Sprache. Man vergleiche z. B. die Substantive auf *-ela -monium -tudo* und die zahlreichen später ausser Curs gesetzten Adverbien auf *-iter* von adjectivischen o-Stämmen. [2] Gell. 11, 16; *conf. infra*, p. 298. [3] Gell. 13, 6; *conf.* Draeger, *l. l.*, p. xx. [4] Lucr. 1, 138, *Multa nouis uerbis praesertim cum sit agendum Propter egestatem linguae et rerum nouitatem;* Id. ib. 830, *homoeomerian Quam Grai memorant nec nostra dicere lingua Concedit nobis patrii sermonis egestas;* Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 1, 4, 8, *Complures enim Graecis institutionibus eruditi, ea quae didicerant, cum ciuibus suis communicare non poterant, quod illa quae a Graecis accepissent, Latine dici posse diffiderent;* Id. *Tusc. Disput.*, 2, 15, 35, *Graeci, quorum copiosior est lingua quam nostra;* Id. *Acad. Post.* 1, 2, 4 *sq.:* Sen. *Ep.* 6, 6, 1, *Quanta uerborum nobis paupertas immo egestas sit, numquam magis quam hodierno die intellexi; conf.* Quint. 1, 5, 32, *feliciores fingendis nominibus Graeci:* Id. I., 5, 70; 12, 10, 33 *sq.*, *Itaque tanto est sermo Graecus Latino iucundior, ut nostri poetae, quotiens dulce carmen esse uoluerint, illorum id nominibus exornent. His illa potentiora, quod res plurimae carent appellationibus, ut eas necesse sit transferre aut circumire; etiam in iis, quae denominata sunt, summa paupertas in eadem nos frequentissime reuoluit;* compare Prof. Peck's comment, in his article *Onomatopoetic Words in Latin*, p. 227, "It was quite natural, in a field which had been first opened to the Romans by Greek instructors, and in which the models, the text-books, and the traditions were all of Greek origin, that the highest excellence should be found only in the closest approximation to the Hellenic ideal. . . . And so, in his linguistic criticisms, Quintilian is thoroughly convinced of the inferiority of the Latin language to the Greek,—of its comparative poverty, its inflexibility, its unwillingness to receive new and expressive formations into its vocabulary."

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guage,[1] while both he and his successors adopt the expedient of introducing Greek medical terms in their writings, usually accompanied by an attempt at translation or paraphrase.[2] The ecclesiastical writers were still more hampered, owing to the wider gulf which separated their teachings from the daily life and thought of classic Rome. In spite of the industry of Tertullian, who is rightly regarded as the creator of ecclesiastical Latin,[3] his successors, like Hieronymus, often felt the poverty of the language, in contrast with the richness of the Greek and Hebrew, which they were striving to interpret.[4]

There were, as Cicero himself has pointed out, three ways in which the deficiencies of the vocabulary could be supplied; either by the transfer of a Greek word bodily into the Latin, by the use of an existing Latin word in a new sense, or by the formation of a new word.[5] But in the classic period the use of foreign words was felt to be contrary to good taste[6] and was accordingly avoided as far as possible, while unusual expressions, either archaisms or neologisms, were severely discoun-

[1] *Conf.* for example, Cels. 6, 18 (*partes obscoenae*), *quarum apud Graecos uocabula et tolerabilius se habent, et accepta iam usu sunt; quum id omni fere medicorum uolumine atque sermone tactentur*; *apud nos foediora uerba, ne consuetudine quidem aliqua uerecundius loquentium commendata sunt;* Id. 5, 26, 31, *Id genus (cancer) a Graecis diductum in species est; nostris uocabulis non est.* [2] *Conf.* Paucker, Spicilegium, p. 227, *annot.*, "Coelius Aurelianus, sollertissimus nocabulorum, ut ita loquar, technicorum de graeco translator," citing Cael. Aur. *Chron.* 1, 1, 40, *ptarmicum, quod sternutamentum dicere poterimus;* Id. *ib.* 2, 4, 84 (*odontagogum — dentiducum*); Id. *Acut.* 2, 28, 148 (*dyspnoicus — anhelosus*); Id. *ib.* 3, 9, 98 (*pheughydros — aquifuga*), and many others. [3] *Conf.* B. Aubé, Revue Archéologique 41 (1881), p. 250, "Ce sont les pères et les docteurs de l'église d'Afrique qui ont fondé, si l'on peut dire, le latin ecclésiastique. . . . Le génie le plus puissant, le plus libre, le plus inventif et le plus original comme écrivain est incontestablement Tertullian. Il est, on peut le dire, le créateur de la langue de l'église d'Occident;" Paucker, Zeitschr. f. Oest. Gymn, 1881, p. 484 "(Tertullianum) ecclesiastici eloquii quasi informatorem." [4] *Conf.* Hier. *in Galat.* 1, *ad* 1, 11 *sq.*, *Si hi, qui disertos seculi legere consueuerunt, coeperint nobis de nouitate et utilitate sermonis illudere, mittamus eos ad Ciceronis libros, qui de quaestionibus philosophiae praenotantur; et uideant, quanta ibi necessitate compulsus sit tanta uerborum portenta proferre, quae numquam Latini hominis auris audiuit, et hoc, cum de Graeco, quae lingua uicina est, transferret in nostram. Quid patiuntur illi, qui de Hebraeis difficultatibus proprietates exprimere conantur?* [5] Cic. *Acad. Post.* 1, 7, 25, *quin etiam Graecis licebit utare, cum uoles, si te Latina forte deficient. . . . Dialecticorum uero uerba nulla sunt publica, suis utuntur. Et id quidem commune omnium fere est artium; aut enim noua sunt rerum nouarum facienda nomina aut ex aliis transferenda. Quod si Graeci faciunt, qui in his rebus tot iam saecula uersantur, quanto id nobis magis concedendum est, qui haec nunc primum tractare conamur? conf.* Quint. 1, 5, 58, *confessis quoque Graecis utimur uerbis, ubi nostra desunt.* [6] *Conf. infra*, § 79, p. 315 *sq.*

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tenanced.[1] Even Cicero, who did more than anyone else toward giving currency to new formations, introduced many excellent and sorely needed words with hesitation and apology.[2] Quintilian, while admitting that new words must occasionally be risked, says frankly that even when received into the language they brought little credit to their author, and if rejected led only to ridicule;[3] and Gellius, still more emphatic, declares that new and unknown words are worse than vulgarisms.[4]

This extreme attitude, however, had become untenable long before the time of Gellius; a point had been reached where growth of vocabulary was essential to the life of the language. But it was a natural consequence of such conservatism that no process existed for forming a literary vocabulary possessing distinctive features which might stamp it as a cultured product; no scientific nomenclature corresponding to the *-ologies*, *-isms*, and *-anas* of our own language; there was not a single suffix which could be regarded as distinctly classic, and which was not comparatively more abundant in authors of inferior Latinity. Even the words coined by Cicero, including numerous ἅπαξ εἰρημένα, belonged principally to certain classes of verbal derivatives, such as those in **-tio**, abundant at all periods, and which in plebeian Latin seem to have been formed from any and every verb at will;[5] indeed we are not in a po-

[1] *Conf.* Fauorin. ap. Gell., 1, 10, 4, *Viue ergo moribus praeteritis, loquere uerbis praesentibus atque id, quod a C. Caesare . . . scriptum est, habe semper in memoria atque in pectore, ut tamquam scopulum, sic fugias inauditum atque insolens uerbum;* Quint. 1, 6, 41, *ut nouarum optima erunt maxime uetera, ita ueterum maxime noua:* Id. 8, 3, 30, *Fingere, ut primo libro dixi, Graecis magis concessum est, . . . Nostri autem in iungendo aut in deriuando paulum aliquid ausi uix in hoc satis recipiuntur.* [2] *Conf.* for example, Cic. *Tim.* 7, *uix enim audeo dicere medietates, quas Graeci μεσότητας appellant; sed quasi ita dixerim intelligatur;* Id. *Acad. Post.* 1, 6, 24, *iam corpus et quasi qualitatem quandam nominabant; dabitis enim profecto, ut in rebus inusitatis . . . utamur uerbis interdum inauditis;* Id. *Nat. Deor.* 1, 34, 95, *aut ista siue beatitas, sine beatitudo dicenda sunt (utrumque omnino durum, sed usu mollienda nobis uerba sunt);* compare especially Goelzer, p. 19. [3] Quint. 1, 5, 71, *Vsitatis tutius utimur, noua non sine quodam periculo fingimus. Nam si recepta sunt, modicam laudem afferunt orationi; si repudiata, etiam in iocos exeunt. Audendum tamen; namque, ut Cicero ait, etiam quae primo dura uisa sunt, usu molliuntur; conf.* Id. 8, 3, 35, *audendum itaque; neque enim accedo Celso, qui ab oratore uerba fingi uetat.* [4] Gell. 11, 7, 1, *sed molestius equidem culpatiusque esse arbitror, uerba noua, incognita, inaudita dicere quam inuolgata et sordentia.* [5] Goelzer, p. 24, "Le Latin obéissait déjà inconsciemment à cette loi dont nous voyons les effets dans les langues romanes, où chaque verbe est capable de donner naissance à un nom d'agent."

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sition to determine in any given case whether a word is a neologism, or a borrowing from the *sermo plebeius.* What was more natural than that the latter should become a favorite source from which to replenish the overtaxed resources of the classic speech, and that, beginning with Livy, an ever broadening stream of popular words found their way upward into literature? There was, moreover, a growing proportion of writers on architecture, surveying, medical and veterinary topics, gastronomy, etc., whose attainments were too meagre to enable them to write correctly, however much they wanted to, and their works naturally contained a strong coloring of plebeian vocabulary.[1] An important influence was also exerted by the no less numerous class of writers whose birthplace was outside of Italy, and whose speech, in spite of education and long residence at the capital, retained, to a varying degree, traces of their alien origin.[2] Even Livy, born in Northern Italy, incurred censure for his *Patauinitas.*[3] Under the empire, the provinces became even more fertile than Rome itself in the production of men of genius; Spain and Africa especially became the centres of veritable schools of literature, possessing marked characteristics, which reacted strongly upon the literature of Rome; thus the two Senecas, Columella, Quintillian, and Martial, all Spaniards by birth, did much toward shaping the development of Silver Latin, and the comparatively archaic character of Spanish Latin is indicated by the numerous analogies which Thielmann has pointed out between their vocabulary and that of the *sermo Africus.*[4] But the chief contribution which provincial Latin made to the literary vocabulary came through the African ecclesiastical writers. The Latin which was first carried to Carthage, as Ott very justly emphasizes, was still highly archaic, and the differentiation between the classic and popular speech had but just begun.[5] Consequently, even in the narrow literary circle which afterward sprang up

[1] *Conf.* Miodonski, ALL. VIII., p. 146. [2] *Conf.* Paul Monceaux, *l. l.*, p. 437. [3] Quint. 1, 5, 56; 8, 1, 3. [4] *Conf.* Thielmann, ALL. p. 513 *sq.*, concluding (p. 515), "Damit ist die These betr. den Zusammenhang des Afrikanischen Dialekts mit dem spanischen und oberitalischen erwiesen. Es ist auch klar, dass die Provinzen, in die das Latein seit 222 bzw. 206 und 146 gebracht wurde, einen gewissen Grundstock in der Sprache gemeinsam haben müssen, nämlich alle diejenigen Elemente, die sich bis 222 entwickelt hatten und seitdem in Italien bis mindestens 146 sich erhielten." [5] *Conf.* Ott, Jahrb. 109, p. 767.

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in that province, the language remained many degrees behind that of Rome, and preserved far more of its native vigor and spontaneity. Tertullian and the unknown translator of the so-called *Itala* did not write in Vulgar Latin, pure and simple, although the latter formed a large ingredient of their style. Their vocabulary especially contained a curious mixture of archaic, poetic, and vulgar elements:[1] but its distinguishing feature was its freedom of Word-Formation, and in this it had a positive advantage over the language of the Golden period. Undoubtedly this power was abused by the African writers, as it was wherever the influence of the *sermo plebeius* was felt; we can see this in their needless use of prepositional compounds, their false analogies, their preference for derivatives in place of primary forms, merely for the sake of greater length. But a considerable proportion of the neologisms of Tertullian and the other early African fathers were valuable additions to the language, and the only wonder is that they were not formed much earlier. With the spread of Christianity, many peculiarities of African vocabulary were adopted as the common property of ecclesiastical writers throughout the whole extend of the empire, and so eventually came to play no small part in the development of the Romance languages.

Thus, while it is true that the vocabulary of the literary language was never actually stationary, it is not too much to say that the history of Word-Formation, as seen in Roman literature throughout its full extent, is in the main only a reflex of its history in the Roman *sermo plebeius*.

§ 4. Literary Sources of Plebeian Vocabulary: It is clear, from the preceding section, that the literary sources available for the history of plebeian Word-Formation are extensive. The process of eliminating vulgar and archaic forms from the vocabulary continued down to the time of Cicero; with Silver Latin, plebeian formations began once more to creep into the literature. Accordingly all authors of the archaic period and, with few exceptions, the entire literature of the decadence, are available for our purpose; even in the

[1] *Conf.* Ott, *l. l.*, "Der Wortschatz ist vom Standpunct der classischen Zeit aus besehen aus archaischen, vulgären, poetischen, neologischen Elementen zusammengewürfelt, verliert aber viel von dieser Buntscheckigkeit, wenn man im Auge behält dass derselbe noch nicht differenziert vom Mutterlande herüberkam."

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interval of classicism, considerable material is afforded by the more colloquial tone of the epistolary and satiric style, and by writers of inferior Latinity, such as Vitruvius and the authors of the *Bellum Africanum* and *Bellum Hispaniense*, all of which are particularly valuable, not merely because they bridge the gap in the chain of historical evidence, but because, being contemporaneous with the masterpieces of Roman literature, they illustrate most forcibly the gulf which then separated the two forms of speech.

The lists contained in the following pages, however, are not intended to be exhaustive; indeed, the mass of material afforded by the above-mentioned sources is so great, and their relative value so unequal, as to make any such design impracticable. Accordingly it has seemed advisable to select a limited number of authors, at least for the post-classical period, relying chiefly upon those, who, like Tertullian, are recognized as representing definite epochs in the language. For archaic Latin there is no such superabundance; since the literary remains, even including the various *Fragmenta*, are unfortunately scanty. A supplemental collection of rare and curious words belonging to the older language might be gathered from the lexicographical writers, such as Festus, and the recension of the latter by Paulus, Nonius Marcellus, Isidorus, etc., and from the Glossaries,[1] but the exact periods to which such words belong are too far a matter of conjecture to make them available for careful historical treatment. The literary material, on the contrary, is all too valuable to be spared, especially in view of the close connection between archaism and vulgarism. Accordingly, for the archaic period all the following authors have been utilized: Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Ennius, Plautus, Terence, and the other early dramatic poets, as contained in Ribbeck's edition of the *Fragmenta;* the early historians, in the edition of Peter, Cato (whose *De Agri Cultura* is especially valuable, as affording the earliest specimen of the *sermo rusticus*),[2] and Lucilius. Lucretius and Varro,

[1] *Conf.* Stolz, Hist. Gramm., I., p. 40, "Die vorzüglichsten Fundgruben des altlateinischen Sprachschatzes sind des Verrius in dem doppelten Auszuge des Festus und Paulus Diaconus erhaltenes Werk 'de uerborum significatu,' die alten Dramatiker, die Reste der daktylischen Poesie und die Glossensammlungen, die vieles Alterthümliche erhalten haben." [2] *Conf.* E. Hauler, Lexikalisches zu Cato, ALL. I., p. 582 *sq.*

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although their lives cover the earlier portion of the classic period, stand upon the border-line, and in Word-Formation at least, are closely identified with archaic Latin.[1] But for the period as a whole there is one central figure, Plautus, who stands out as the best criterion of the early *sermo plebeius;* all the others are chiefly valuable in corroboration. How far he fell short of the accepted standard of Latinity was evidently recognized by Quintilian, who lamented the poverty of Roman comedy,[2] while the enthusiasm which he inspired in Aulus Gellius is undoubtedly due, as Stolz suggests, to the latter's well-known love of archaism.[3]

For the classical and Silver Latin periods we have a much wider range from which to choose. The *Cena Trimalchionis* of Petronius, "that artistic mosaic of the Campanian dialect," as it has been styled by Ott, is and must remain our chief source in ante-Hadrian Latin.[4] Second only to this in importance are the Letters of Cicero, especially those to Atticus. The language of these, as Sittl rightly insists,[5] is far from being plebeian Latin, in spite of Cicero's jesting admission to the contrary; they form, however, the best extant specimen of the *ser-*

[1] *Conf.* for example Draeger, Hist. Synt., Einleit. p. xvii., "Varro gehört nur der Zeit nach und weil er nicht anders unterzubringen ist, zu den Klassikern; die Form der Darstellung scheint ihm ziemlich gleichgültig gewesen zu sein, seine Neigung zu Archaismen wirkt äusserst störend, und oft ist er vulgär;" Stolz, Hist. Gramm., I, p. 45, "Die Sprache der epischen Dichter gestatett auch manche Archaismen. In dieser Richtung steht obenan Lucretius, der nicht nur in der Formenlehre sondern auch in der Wortbildung sehr häufig nach älteren Mustern greift," citing Draeger, *l. l.*, p. xi. [2] Quint. 10, 1, 99, *In comoedia maxime claudicamus, licet Varro musas Aelii Stilonis sententia, Plautino dicat sermone locuturas fuisse si Latine loqui uellent.* The Latinity of the early comic poets was often criticized by classic writers; *conf.* Cic. *ad Att.* 7, 3, 10, *non dico Caecilium, . . . malus enim auctor Latinitatis est;* Id. *Brut.* 258 *nam illorum* (*i.e. C. Laelii, P. Scipionis*) *aequales Caecilium et Pacuuium male locutos uidemus;* Vell. Pater. 2, 9, 6, *Pomponium, sensibus celebrem, uerbis rudem;* Fronto *ad M. Caes.* 4, 1, p. 62 *N.*, *Nouium et Pomponium et id genus in uerbis rusticanis et iocularibus ac ridiculis,* etc. [3] Stolz, Hist. Gramm., I. p. 30, "Sicherlich mehr auf Rechnung archaistischer Liebhaberei ist es zu setzen, wenn Gellius VI. 17, 4 Plautus als 'homo linguae atque elegantiae in uerbis latinae princeps' und xix. 8, 6 als 'linguae latinae decus' bezeichnet;" *conf.* Knapp, Gell., p. 132. [4] Ott, Jahrb. 109, p. 763: "Ein sprechender Beweis hierfür ist uns die Cena Trimalchionis des Petronius, dieses kunstreiche Mosaikbild des campanischen Dialekts": *conf.* Wölfflin, Philol. 34, p. 145 "(Petronius) ist durch und durch vulgär, auch noch durch die Form der Satura Menippea, die er sich gewählt; vulgär und nicht archaisch, weil in seinem Jahrhundert niemand daran dachte künstlich einen alterthümlichen Stil zu copiren." [5] Sittl (Verhandl. d. 40. Versamml. . . . in Görlitz), cited by Seelmann, Vulgärlatein, Krit. Jahresb., I, p. 51.

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mo cotidianus, showing, as they do, the lapses from good usage which even the master of Latin prose permitted himself in the private relations of life. They are especially valuable in their bearing upon Word-Formation, for in this department the distinction between colloquial and plebeian Latin is least obvious. The separate supplements to Cæsar's *Bellum Gallicum*, already mentioned, are also of high importance, while the plebeian element in the poems of Catullus, the Satires of Horace, Persius, and Juvenal, and the epigrams of Martial, is too generally admitted to need further comment.[1] There are also numerous writers on technical subjects, whose importance, as a class, has already been pointed out in the preceding section. Foremost among these is Vitruvius, who (notwithstanding Sittl to the contrary) must be recognized as distinctly vulgar.[2] For the *sermo rusticus* we have Columella, whose Spanish origin also tends to give his vocabulary an archaic tone (*conf.* for instance his fondness for compound verbs in **con-** and **ex-**, neither of them characteristics of rustic Latin). The medical work of Celsus, although comparatively pure in style, owes considerable to plebeian Word-Formation.[3] But the most fertile source of technical terminology is undoubtedly the elder Pliny, whose *Historia Naturalis* is confessedly a piece of literary patchwork. With what impartiality he borrowed from all the separate treatises which came under his notice, we may infer from the statement of the younger Pliny, that his uncle considered no book so poor that it did not contain some

[1] Compare in general Wöfflin, Philol., 34, pp. 138–153. [2] Stolz, Hist. Gramm., I., p. 44, "Mir kommt die Annahme vollkommen wahrscheinlich vor, dass es auch Schriftsteller gegeben hat, die nicht gelehrte Bildung genug besassen, um ihre Schriften in vollständig correctem Schriftlatein abzufassen, und daher aus der ihnen geläufigen Volkssprache Anleihen für ihre schriftstellerischen Leistungen machten. Dazu gehört vor Allen der Architekt Vitruvius, der nach Sittl Burs. Jahr. LXVIII. 277 nur gesucht und schwerfällig geschrieben haben soll. Ich stimme in dieser Hinsicht mit den Ausführungen von Miodonski Archiv f. Lat. Lex. VIII. 146 f. überein und halte die Besonderheiten des Vitruvianischen Stils wenigstens zum grossen Theil, so z. B. die Eigenthümlichkeiten in der Wortbildung, für vulgär"; *conf.* Wölfflin, Philol. 34, p. 148; Teuffel, I., § 264; Schmilinsky, p. 2; and especially Miodonski, *l. l.*, citing Vitr. p. 8, 8 R., *non enim architectus potest esse grammaticus;* Id. p. 11, 1 *peto ut si quid parum ad regulam grammaticae fuerit explicatum, ignoscatur.* [3] *Conf.* Helmreich, ALL. I., p. 328, "Celsus dessen Sprache Klassizität erstrebt und sich von Vulgarismen ziemlich frei gehalten hat, gebraucht *hirudo* nicht mehr" (using in place of it the vulgar form *sanguisuga*).

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passages worthy of quotation.[1] Accordingly, it is not surprising, when statistics show that, in treating such special topics as architecture, botany, medicine, etc., his vocabulary contains a larger plebeian element than that of any other writer of Silver Latin.

The authors selected from the later period vary somewhat with the different lists; for the rarer suffixes, it has been necessary to take material from wherever it could be obtained; but in the longer lists, such as substantives in **-tio**, a few writers are sufficient to show the general course of development. Of first importance is the group of archaistic writers, Fronto, Gellius, and Apuleius, whose style is the outcome of the retrogressive movement, which began under the Emperor Hadrian,[2] mingled with a large element of the *sermo Africus*. Although the birth-place of Gellius is still an open question, Sittl's hypothesis of his African origin has much to recommend it,[3] and for practical convenience, has been assumed throughout the present work. This assumption is still further justified by the results, for although many of his peculiarities can be explained as due to intentional archaism, or the influence of Fronto, there are numerous points in Word-Formation where Gellius's usage closely coincides with that of Tertullian and other later African writers, as, for instance in his fondness for substantives in **-ntia**, adjectives in **-bilis**, **-bundus**, **-iuus**, verbs compounded with **con-**, etc. Apuleius is certainly the foremost figure of this epoch. It would seem at first sight as though his *Metamorphoses* must rank in importance second only to the *Cena Trimalchionis* of Petronius, being the only other surviving specimen of the Latin Novel; yet Wölfflin's view is undoubtedly correct, that in an author who claims Greek as his native tongue, and acquired Latin only by painstaking efforts, errors of style must not be too rashly identified with plebeian Latin.[4] Yet in Word-Formation

[1] *Conf.* Plin. *Ep.* 3, 6, 10, *Nihil enim legit quod non excerperet; dicere etiam solebat nullum esse librum tam malum ut non aliqua parte prodesset.* [2] Knapp, Gell., pp. 137-39, and authorities there cited. [3] Sittl, Lokalen Verschiedenheit., p. 144, *sq.* [4] Wölfflin, *l. l.*, p. 145, "Der Stil des vielgereisten und vielbelesenen Apuleius dagegen (*i.e.* in contrast to Petr.), der das Griechische seine eigentliche Muttersprache nennt und das Lateinische mühsam erlernt hat, ist ein solches mixtum compositum, dass es übereilt wäre, alles was uns stilistisch in seinem Werke aufstösst, sofort mit dem Vulgärlatein zu identifizieren."

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at least Apuleius contains a large plebeian element, while almost every page reveals his African birth.

In tracing the development of the ecclesiastical vocabulary, I have relied mainly upon Tertullian, Arnobius, Ambrosius, Hieronymus, and Augustinus. The early versions of the Scriptures, the so-called "Itala," and the Vulgate, notwithstanding their great importance, have been omitted, as the ground has already been ably covered by Rönsch, in his admirable work, the *Itala und Vulgata*, to which cross-references have constantly been made. The remaining writers utilized may here be briefly catalogued; the Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Ammianus; the medical writers Plinius Valerianus, Theodorus Priscianus, Marcellus Empiricus (important for Gallic Latin), and the two Africans Caelius Aurelianus and Cassius Felix; and for the *sermo rusticus*, Gargilius Martialis, Palladius, and the two veterinary treatises by Pelagonius and Vegetius.

The plan pursued throughout the lists has been to group the words under the writer in whose works they first appear, adding in the notes below as complete a list as possible of the authors who have subsequently used them. For all authors earlier than Cicero, the lists contain only such words as seem to have been subsequently avoided in the classical period; but, beginning with Vitruvius, the design has been to present complete lists of the neologisms which each of the above-mentioned authors has contributed to the Latin vocabulary. Of course it would be preposterous to assert that each and every one of the words thus included is in and of itself distinctly plebeian; such a claim can be made only in the comparatively rare cases where the Roman writers themselves have stigmatized a word with some such expression as *uerbum sordidum*, *rusticum*, *castrense*, *ex consuetudine uolgi*, *ut uolgo dicitur*, etc. All which we can reasonably maintain, from a long series of examples, is that a given suffix is or is not characteristic of the *sermo plebeius*.

Accordingly the main characteristics of plebeian vocabulary, which can thus be deduced, may be briefly summarized in the following section.

§ 5. General Characteristics of Plebeian Vocabulary: All popular dialects, unchecked by a literary standard, are

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naturally prolific in new formations; indeed, it is not possible to conceive of a spoken language apart from continuous differentiation. The action of analogy tends constantly to develop new derivatives, but such analogical new formations have not the power at once to drive out of use pre-existing forms of similar meaning;[1] accordingly where parallel methods of derivation arise, as for example, in Latin, the formation of abstract substantives in **-tas** and **-tudo**, a divergence of usage must ensue, since certain individuals persistently maintain the older forms, while others give preference to the new; the method which must ultimately prevail depends, as Paul has well expressed it, "upon their relative strength."[2] In the Roman *sermo plebeius*, and to a growing extent in post-classical literature, the relative strength of Latin words depended chiefly upon their length and volume of sound; quantity, rather than quality, set the standard which controlled alike the formation of new words and the conservation of archaisms.[3] Accordingly plebeian Latin differed in its vocabulary from the literary language, not alone in the extent to which it permitted neologisms, but especially in its inordinate love for ponderous derivatives and compounds. The language was burdened with substantives in **-bulum**, **-mentum**, and **-monium**, adjectives in **-arius**, **-icius**, and **-osus**; cumbersome archaic suffixes here play a prominent part; compare the abstract substantives in **-ela** and **-tudo**, adjectives in **-bilis**, **-bundus**, and **-lentus**, and adverbs in **-ter** from adjectives in **-us**, all retained apparently for the sake of their length. Frequentative, inchoative, and desiderative verbs, diminutives and prepositional compounds, are, from the earliest period, freely used in place of the simple word, with little or no distinction of meaning. On all sides there is the same apparent effort to conceal, by an exaggerated and bombastic diction, the lack of dignity and poverty of thought which characterize the popu-

[1] Paul, Principles of Language, p. 106. [2] Paul, *l. l.*, p. 108. [3] Compare for instance, Guericke, p. 30, "Homines plebei grauiores longioresque uerborum exitus ualde adamabant, ut uocabulis et ita orationibus maior sonus et dignitas redderetur, quo factum est, ut sermo plebeius urbanum et copia uerborum et rationibus formationum longe antecederet, quia scriptores urbani ut Quinctilianus dicit, nihil generare audebant, rustici autem non solum illa uerba antiqua quae apud Catonem et poetas tragicos comicosque legimus, retinuerunt, sed etiam uel eisdem suffixis noua formauerunt, uel interdum uni suffixo alterum addiderunt, itaque uocabula longiora rediderunt."

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lar mind. It was a natural consequence of such misuse of language that the words themselves quickly wore out; the value of prepositions and suffixes became so weakened from being constantly employed without cause, that even when used in the right connection they ceased to convey their proper meaning.[1] It accordingly became necessary to strengthen them, either with some qualifying word or phrase, such as *saepe, uehementer, etiam atque etiam,* with frequentative verbs; *paruus, paruulus, minutus,* with diminutives; or by some further process of derivation or composition. Hence arose the double diminutive, like *homullulus, lapillulus;* double frequentatives like *cantitare, ductitare;* bi-prepositional verbs, and in some cases reduplication of the same preposition, as *adalligare, concolligere;* and compound prepositions and adverbs, such as *circumcirca, desub, praeterpropter;*—all of which occur with growing frequency in the later language. Another instance of double formations is afforded by the addition of derivative adjective suffixes directly to genuine adjectives, without modification of meaning: compare forms in **-alis,** *aeternalis, hibernalis, perpetualis;* in **-anus,** *medianus, uarianus;* in **-osus,** *improbosus, rabidosus, scabrosus,* etc. The same striving for increased emphasis is seen in the analogous lengthening of endings, either through a process of secondary derivation, as in **-bili-tas, -osi-tas, -tor-ius, -ill-are,** by the deliberate compounding of separate suffixes, as **-ast-ellus, -ul-aster, -idini-tas, -eli-tas,** (seen in *libidinitas, cautelitas*), or as a result of false analogy; compare diminutives in **-culus, -cellus** from stems of the first and second declensions, and in **-unculus** from the stems other than those in **-o, -onis;** adjectives in **-ianus** from consonant stems, etc. Furthermore, the two processes of derivation and composition are largely used conjointly, especially in the later

[1] *Conf.* Paul Monceaux, *l. l.*, p. 447, "Puis, dans le latin populaire, les mots s'usaient très vite: on devait remplacer le simple par le composé: on abusait du comparatif et du superlatif, des diminutifs et des fréquentatifs: on redoublait les pronoms, les adverbes, les prépositions. Tout cela entraînait une certaine emphase. En revanche, le latin vulgaire conservait beaucoup de liberté et d'initiative; il creait sans cesse des mots composés ou dérivés, des termes abstraits souvent empruntés à la langue des métiers ou du droit. Sous des influences de toute nature, le sens de ces noms et de ces verbes se modifiait rapidement: on le voit s'étendre ou se restreindre, passer du concret à l'abstrait, ou réciproquement. . . . La langue populaire, n'étant retenue ni par la littérature ni par tradition du bon usage, portait infiniment plus d'activité et de mobilité dans la vie des mots."

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language: a growing proportion of the frequentative and inchoative verbs are compounded with prepositions, while a notable share of the derivative substantives and adjectives are formed from compound verbs, both prepositional and nominal; compare *famigeratio*, Plaut., *morigeratio*, Afran., *aequilatatio*, Vitr., *uiuificatio*, Tert., *stultiloquentia*, *uaniloquentia*, Plaut., *blandiloquentia*, Enn., *maleficentia*, *graueolentia*, Plin., *multinubentia*, *multiuorantia*, *subtililoquentia*, Tert., *suauifragrantia*, Augustin., *famigerator*, *lectisterniator*, *ludificator*, Plaut., *sanctificator*, *uiuificator*, *uociferator*, Tert., etc. Conversely, many derivatives from compound verbs are still further compounded with prepositions, notably with **in-** privative; compare such examples as *incommobilitas*, Apul., *incongruentia*, *inexperientia*, *inrecogitatio*, Tert., *incomprehensibilitas*, *inconstabilitas*, Intpr. Iren., *inaccessibilitas*, Augustin., *incoinquinabilitas*, Fulg. Rusp. Similar formations result from derivatives of biprepositional verbs, such as *excommunicatio*, Hier., *superabnegatiuus*, Boeth.

But, aside from this fondness for lengthened forms, the *sermo plebeius* shows a far greater general freedom than the classic speech, both in the formation and the use of words. Even the line of demarcation between the separate parts of speech is far less rigid in the former. Aside from such questions as the substantive use of the infinitive, as *tuom amare*, Plaut. *Curc.* 28; *hoc ridere meum*, Pers. 1, 122, or the substitution of adjective for adverb, which belong to the province of plebeian syntax, the interchange of substantive and adjective presents much which bears directly upon Word-Formation. Several of the most numerous classes of substantives are formed directly from adjectives, such as those in **-arius**, **-orius**, **-inus**, etc., while in the later language almost any derivative adjective might (by aid of a simple ellipsis) be used as a noun. Another evidence of plebeian license in the use of words is the absence of a sharp distinction between abstract and concrete derivatives: thus the suffix **-tura**, (**-sura**), comes in late Latin and in the Romance languages to denote concrete objects, while conversely **-ium**, **-men**, **-mentum** were used by the ecclesiastical writers with growing frequency to form abstract substantives.

Turning from a general consideration of the *sermo plebeius* to the Latin of the separate provinces, we find that the distinctions due to the different dates of settlement are much less

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marked in the department of Word-Formation than in that of Phonetics, since the principles of the former exhibit a much greater degree of permanence. Nevertheless, there are certain classes of words prevalent in early Latin, which reappear as part of the archaic element in the later Spanish and African writers, and in the modern Romance languages are most abundant in the older branches, Spanish, Portuguese, Provençal, French, but rare, and often wanting altogether, in Rumanian. Thus, substantives formed with **-ities**, in place of **-itia**, are distinctly archaic, and in later Latin are confined almost wholly to the *sermo Africus*, (Apul.; Tert.; Arnob.; Ps.-Lact.; Fulg. Myth.); in the modern languages **-ities** has not survived outside of the Span.-Port. territory. Substantives in **-tor** are numerous in Plautus, and are especially characteristic of the African writers Apuleius and Tertullian; they are, however, rare in Silver Latin, outside of the Spaniards, L. Seneca, Columella, and Martial. They are abundant in all the modern branches, excepting Ruman., where the suffix is largely replaced by the later form **-torius**. Adjectives in **-eus** and in **-bilis** are both frequent in early writers, but rare in Silver Latin; in the later language the former gradually went out of use, while the latter remained as a marked characteristic of African Latin. Both suffixes are wanting in Ruman. Conversely, the abstract substantives in **-tus**, (**-sus**), whose period of greatest fertility begins with the elder Pliny and ends with Tertullian, and accordingly coincides with the conquests along the Danube, have left scanty traces in the Romance languages, excepting in Ruman., in which they can be formed from almost any verb at pleasure.

But the greatest number of provincialisms in vocabulary are either those which are peculiar to the African territory, or which, originating there, overspread their boundary only at a comparatively late period. Unfortunately the *sermo Africus* has left no representative in the family of Romance languages which might serve us as a guide and a corrective,[1] and much

[1] *Conf.* Thielmann, ALL. VIII., p. 284, "Speziell afrikanische Vulgarismen zu entdecken, ist schwer, nicht nur, weil hier die Grenzen zwischen Schrift- und Volkssprache viel weniger scharf gezogen sind als in andern Ländern, sondern auch, weil das afrik. Latein keine Tochtersprache hinterlassen hat, an der wir Kontrolle üben könnten.

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must rest upon conjecture; there are, however, a certain number of peculiarities in Word-Formation which are now generally recognized as characteristic of the African writers, and these may be briefly summarized as follows:

I. Derivatives, a. Substantives: abstracts in **-ntia** (notably compounds, compare *multinubentia*, etc.); in **-bilitas** and **-ositas**;[1] datives in **-tui** from substantives in **-tus**; *nomina personalia* in **-tor**, **-trix** very numerous, especially in Tert. and Augustin. Diminutives of all classes are abundant.

b. Adjectives: most distinctive are those in **-aneus**,[2] **-bilis**, **-osus**, and **-icius**; forms in **-iuus** and **-torius** are also frequent in the later African writers, notably Caelius Aurelianus.

c. Verbs: a large share of the frequentatives in the later language are due to African Latin; the substitution of the ending **-escere** for **-ascere** in inchoatives is also an African tendency; the most prominent features, however, are the denominative verbs formed from substantives in **-do**, **-go**, and from adjectives in the superlative.

II. Compounds: a. prepositional compounds of all kinds are abundant; most distinctively African are compounds with **con-** of all kinds, substantives with **in-** privative, adjectives with **sub-** and bi-prepositional verbs.

b. Nominal composition is also much freer than in classic Latin; especially frequent are the verbs in **-ficare**, adjectives in **-ficus**, substantives in **-ficatio**.

Finally the African, like the Campanian Latin, has a large element of Greek words. This is only one of the many points of resemblance between these two dialects, which have often been commented upon; and undoubtedly depend in part upon the comparatively easy communication between Southern Italy and the African coast, but partly also upon the element of archaism which the two localities had received and retained in common.[3]

In conclusion a few words must be said in regard to the

[1] Thielmann, ALL. VIII., p. 527. [2] B. Kübler, ALL. VIII., p. 170. [3] *Conf.* Rönsch, p. 7; Budinsky, p. 261; Kübler, ALL. VIII., p. 202, "Aus den Analogieen Petrons (mit dem afr. Lat.) folgt weiter nichts, als dass das campanische Latein in ähnlicher Verwandtschaft mit dem Afrikanischen stand, wie das spanische, und dass, was wohl nicht bestritten wird, in afrikanischen Latein vulgäre und, was ziemlich dasselbe ist, archaische Elemente besonders stark vertreten sind;" Thielmann, ALL. VIII., p. 244.

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sermo rusticus in Italy. As has already been observed, its history in the main coincides with that of the *sermo plebeius*, but a few distinctive features may be pointed out; such are, substantives in **-tura** (**-sura**), in **-ago**, **-igo**, **-ugo**; in **-aca**, **-ica**, **-uca**; nouns denoting localities in **-etum**, **-ile**; adjectives in **-arius** (especially in the earlier language), in **-aceus**, **-icius**, **-uceus**, and in **-osus**. All of these have survived in large numbers in modern Italian, notably the forms in **-c-eus**, which are sometimes even found in combination: *conf.* *-ucci-accio.*

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PART I.

DERIVATION.

I.—SUBSTANTIVES.

§ 1. Abstract Substantives: One marked characteristic of classical Latin is the predominance of concrete expressions. The Roman mind was by nature practical and little inclined to abstruse speculation, and consequently the language, while rich in verbal forms, was poor in means of expressing abstract ideas.[1] Classical writers, in their constant strife for accuracy of expression, preferred to employ various periphrases, such as relative clauses, indirect questions, acc. with infin., etc.,[2] all of which tended to give the language the concrete precision and clearness which fitted it to become the vehicle for legal utterance rather than philosophical or religious controversy. This was a weakness in the language, and was recognized as such by the Roman writers, notably by Cicero,[3] who, in his philosophical writings, enriched it enormously with verbal abstracts, but so foreign were they to the spirit of classic Latin that a large share either failed to maintain themselves in the language, or reappeared only in the literature of the decadence.

The *sermo plebeius* in this respect exhibits quite a contrast to the classic usage. Its partiality for abstract substantives is apparent in the vocabulary of Plautus,[4] who employs freely

[1] "Une langue bien pauvre en abstractions," Goelzer, p. 16. [2] Klotz, Stilist., p. 90; Nägelsbach, Stilist. 8th ed. § 85 sq.; Goelzer, p. 16. [3] Comp. *supra*, Introd. § 1, *not.* 3. [4] "In der Sprache des Volkes waren die Subs. abstr. gerade nicht unbeliebt, wie ein Blick auf den Wortschatz des Plautus zeigt," Schmalz, Stilist. p. 534, § 2.

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large numbers of these words, which do not recur in later literature; such as: in **-tio**, *amatio, clamitatio, muttitio, risio, rogitatio, uelitatio;* in **-tus**, *extersus, obsonatus, frustratus;* in **-tura**, *cubitura, desultura, insultura, polluctura;* in **-ntia**, *incogitantia, stultiloquentia;* in **-tas**, *cruciabilitas, confirmitas, uaciuitas*, etc. The preference for verbal abstracts is especially noticeable: the popular speech, in which archaism plays so large a part, retained in this class of derivatives much more of the original verbal force than was felt in the classic language, forming them from verbal stems almost as freely as supines or infinitives, and in the case of substantives in **-tio**, attributing to them some purely verbal functions.[1]

Another feature which identifies these substantives with the *sermo plebeius* is their prevalence in rustic Latin. Agriculture was the one pursuit approaching the dignity of a natural science for which the Romans were not, in a greater or less degree, indebted to Greek culture. Its methods and consequently its terminology were of purely Latin development, and it is instructive to note that the *nomina actionis* expressing the various processes of farming, viticulture, and other rustic pursuits, are formed with the same suffixes (notably **-tio**, **-tura**), as the technical vocabulary of philosophy, medicine, or religion. The *agricolatio, frondatio, plantatio, porculatio, stercoratio*, etc., of the Scriptt. R. R., do not differ organically from the *demonstratio, euolutio, definitio, infinitio, intellectio*, of Cornif. Rhet., and Cic., the *corporatio, exaltatio, flagellatio, ieiunatio, profanatio, resurrectio*, of the Scriptt. Eccl., or the *cruditatio, exsudatio, purulentatio, sanguinatio*, of Cael. Aur. But the philosophers, the medical writers and theologians felt it necessary to apologize for their use of such formations;[2] the Scriptt. R. R. did not. The former were conscious that such words were unclassical and justified only by the exigencies of new and abstruse subjects; the Scriptt. R. R. were conforming to the language of the class for whom they wrote.

The following sections, from § 2 to § 13, inclusive, will treat of all the important classes of abstract substantives, followed by lists of the rarer forms. Those in **-tas** and **-or** have been more briefly treated, as presenting little of importance to this subject.

[1] See *infra*, § 2. [2] See *supra*, Introd. § 1, sq.

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§ 2. SUBSTANTIVES IN **-tio, sio**: The words of this class are of peculiar interest. Their number in classic Latin far exceeds that of any other class of abstract nouns, as the needs of a philosophical vocabulary were chiefly supplied by this suffix: Thielmann[1] cites nearly 50 words in **-tio**, from Cornif. Rhet. alone, used to translate Greek philosophical terms, while Cicero's additions amount to several hundred.

On the other hand, the fondness of the *sermo plebeius* for verbal abstracts in **-tio, -sio** has often been noticed.[2] With *esse* they filled in the earlier language many verbal functions, and must have been felt to be true verbal forms derivable from any verb at pleasure. Thus they stood for the infinitive, as Plaut., *Poen.* 1096. *acerba amatiost = acerbum est amare;* for the gerund, as Id., *Pseud.* 170, *cautiost mihi = mihi cauendum est;* but most frequently in questions, in place of the simple verb, either transitive or intransitive, as Id. *Amph.* 519, *quid tibi hanc curatiost rem, uerbero, aut muttitio?;* Caecil. *Com.* 62, *quid tibi aucupatiost argumentum aut de amore uerbificatiost patri?;* Ter., *Eun.* 671, *quid huc tibi reditiost? quid uestis mutatiost?*[3]

Such constructions must have given rise to a continual coinage of new forms, though only a limited number maintained themselves in literature. Thus, out of the 94 in *Plaut.*, 25 were avoided by the classic writers. Cic., however, was the first—and the last—classic writer to make an extended use of these words. Paucker,[4] fixing the total number at 3124, *uett.* 1450, attributes 862, or more than two-thirds of the *uett.*, to Caes. and Cic., chiefly to the latter. Many, however, are found only in his philosophical works, as translations of Greek words, e.g., *Fin.* 1, 6, 21, *infinitio* = ἀπειρία;[5] many others, borrowed from the *sermo cotidianus*, are confined to his letters,[6] early writings,[7] or Philippics;[8] but the strongest proof of the unpopularity of these substantives is the large number of them which not even

[1] Thielm. Cornif., p. 95. [2] "Verbalsubstantiva auf *to*, die die Handlung des Verbums bezeichnen müssen in der Volkssprache sehr beliebt gewesen sein," Lorens ad Most. 6; comp. Id. ib. 34; 377; Id. ad Pseud. 141; "Quamuis horum substantiuorum tabula generalis mihi non praesto sit, persuasum habeo, longe plurima substantiua hoc suffixo deriuata sermonis esse uulgaris," Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI., p. 133, citing Schmil. p. 32; Stinner, p. 7; comp. Rönsch, p. 69 sq.; Slaughter, p. 24. [3] Schmalz, Stil. 1 § 2; Kühner, II., p. 195; Slaughter, p. 27. [4] Pauck., Silb. Lat. p. 8. [5] Nägelsb. Stil. p. 222. [6] Stinner, p. 7. [7] Hellmuth, Act. Sem. Erl. I. 125. [8] Hauschild, Diss. Hal. VI. p. 246.

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the authority of Cic. could bring into general usage. Goelzer gives a list of 45 occurring in Cic. alone, and of an odd hundred found in Cic. (or Cornif. Rhet.), and elsewhere only in late Latin—Tert., Hier., etc., and his lists do not pretend to be complete.[1] There were scarcely 500, or less than one-fifth the entire number, in general usage. Vitr. added 94 and writers of Silver Latin[2] 339,—Plin. 97, Sen. phil. 74 (like Cic., largely as translations of Greek words), Col. 34, Cels. 21; Gell. has at least 20, Apul. 40; Tert. 136;[3] Arnob. 32. Hier. has over 60 new forms, and Paucker, commenting on his fondness for derivatives of this class, old and new, does not hesitate to place the total sum in the neighborhood of a thousand.[4]

An interesting feature of these words, already alluded to, is their prevalence in the *sermo rusticus*. The Scriptt. R. R. are full of such forms, referring to agricultural pursuits. Thus Varr. has *arundinatio, messio, porculatio, stercoratio;* Col., *agricolatio, castratio, desectio, frondatio, germinatio, pampinatio, pastinatio, sarritio, stabulatio;* Plin., *fruticatio, incubatio, plantatio, regerminatio, saginatio, sarculatio, uermiculatio;* Pall., *infossio, inspersio, subligatio, superfusio;* and many others. There is one striking passage in the *Cato Maior* of Cic., in which he describes the pleasures of agriculture, perhaps in conscious imitation of the rustic style of Cato's *R. R.*, which for the number of substantives in **-tio**, can hardly be paralleled elsewhere in Cic.: "*Cuius quidem non utilitas me solum, ut ante dixi, sed etiam cultura et natura ipsa delectat: adminiculorum ordines, capitum* iugatio, religatio *et* propagatio *uitium, sarmentorum ea, quam dixi, aliorum* amputatio, *aliorum* immissio. *Quid ego* irrigationes, *quid* fossiones *agri* repastinationesque *proferam* . . . ? . . . *Nec* consitiones *modo delectant, sed etiam* insitiones," Cic. *Sen.* 15, 54. It is interesting to observe that out of the ten words in the above passage, *religatio* is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον; *amputatio, consitio, immissio, insitio, iugatio, repastinatio,* are not found elsewhere in Cic., but occur in Varr., Col., or Plin., and *propagatio* is elsewhere used by Cic. only in a figurative sense; *irrigatio* occurs again *de Off.* 2, 4, 14; *fossio, N. D.* 2, 9, 25. These ten words, so thoroughly in keeping with the character of the speaker, but elsewhere avoided by Cic., are full of significance, and certainly

[1] Goelzer, p. 79 sq. [2] Pauck., Silb. Lat. 8. [3] Schmidt, Tert. I. p. 17.
[4] Pauck. Hier. p. 24; *conf.* Goelzer, p. 25.

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sustain the view that the substantives in the **-tio, -sio,** are prevalent in the *sermo rusticus.*

The number of these words is so large that it has been necessary to confine the following list within somewhat narrow bounds; of the *recc.* only those from Gell., Apul., Tert., the Scriptt. Hist. Aug., Arnob., Chalcid., Ambros., Amm., Hier., Augustin., and Cael. Aur. are cited; but they will serve as a general index to the astonishing fertility of the later language in words of this formation.

PLAVTVS.

abitio,[1] *Rud.* 503
amatio, *Merc.* 749; *al.*
auscultatio,[2] *Rud.* 502
circumductio,[3] *Capt.* 1031
clamitatio, *Most.* 6
conduplicatio,[4] *Poen.* 1155
consuetio,[5] *Amph.* 490
edictio, *Pseud.* 143; *al.*
famigeratio, *Trin.* 692
frustratio,[6] *Amph.* 875
indicatio,[7] *Pers.* 586
inscensio,[8] *Rud.* 503
muttitio, *Amph.* 519
palpatio,[9] *Men.* 607
parasitatio, *Amph.* 521
partio,[10] *Truc.* 196
pultatio, *Id.* 258
risio, *Stich.* 658
rogitatio, *Curc.* 509
suauiatio,[11] *Bacch.* 116; *al.*
subigitatio, *Capt.* 1030
uelitatio, *Rud.* 525; *al.*
uentio,[12] *Truc.* 622

TERENTIVS.

deambulatio,[13] *Haut.* 806
exclusio,[14] *Eun.* 88
integratio,[15] *Andr.* 555
monstratio,[16] *Adelph.* 714
raptio,[17] *Id.* 336

CATO.

depugnatio,[18] *Re Mil. Fr.* 10
educatio,[19] *Id. Fr.* 12
euectio,[20] *Fr. Or.* 2
pelliculatio, *Oratt. Inc. Fr.* 9
politio,[21] *R. R.* 136
usio,[22] *Id.* 149, 2

LVCILIVS.

deletio, *Sat.* 29, 1

AFRANIVS.

morigeratio, *Com.* 380

VARRO.

admissio, *R. R.* 1, 1, 18
anquisitio, *L. L.* 6, 90; *al.*
apertio,[23] *R. R.* 1, 63, 1
arundinatio, *Id.* 1, 8, 3
attractio,[24] *L. L.* 5, 6
calatio, *Id.* 5, 13
cauatio,[25] *Id.* 5, 20; *al.*

[1] Ter.; Paul. ex Fest.; Iul. Val. [2] Sen. [3] Vitr.; Hygin.; Quint.; Macr.; Cod. Theod.; Boeth. [4] Cornif. Rhet. [5] * Ter. [6] Varr.; Planc. ap. Cic. Ep.; Liu.; Col.; Quint.; Iustin.; Dig. [7] Plin.; Vlp. Dig. [8] Auct. Itin. Alex. [9] Cypr. Ep.; Vulg.; Cassian. [10] Afran.; Varr.; Gell. [11] Gell. [12] M. Caea. ap. Front. [13] Vulg.; Hier.; Augustin.; Cael. Aur.; Pelag. Vet. [14] Vitr.; Vlp. Dig. [15] Symm.; Non. Val. [16] Vitr. [17] Arnob.; Auson. [18] Veget.; Firm. Math. [19] Lact.; Pall. [20] Paul. ex Fest.; Apul.; Symm.; Augustin.; Cod. Iust. [21] Vitr. [22] Scaeu. ap. Gell.; Varr.; Arnob.; Dig. [23] Apul.; Pall.; Seru. ad Verg.; Cael. Aur.; Th. Prisc. [24] Pall. [25] Seru. ad Verg.

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cursio, *Id.* 5, 11
demptio,[1] *Id.* 5, 6; *al.*
depolitio, *Sat. Men.* 589
dormitio,[2] *Id.* 485
exemptio,[3] *R. R.* 3, 16, 34
februatio, *L. L.* 6, 13
hiematio, *R. R.* 3, 16, 34
impositio,[4] *L. L.* 10, 51; *al.*
irrugatio, *ap. Seru. ad Aen.* 1, 648
litteratio,[5] *ap. Aug. de Ord.* 2, 12, 35
messio,[6] *R. R.* 1, 50, 1
nutricatio,[7] *Id.* 1, 44, 3
opertio, *L. L.* 5, 72
passio,[8] *ap. Charis.* p. 241, 33
porculatio, *R. R.* 2, 4, 13
praebitio,[9] *Sat. Men.* 143
praefectio, *L. L.* 7, 70
praegnatio,[10] *R. R.* 1, 44, 4
scansio,[11] *L. L.* 5, 168
stercoratio,[12] *R. R.* 2, 2, 12
uinctio,[13] *L. L.* 5, 62

CATVLLVS.
argutatio, 6, 11
basiatio,[14] 7, 1
fututio,[15] 32, 7

CICERO, (EPISTT.).
aberratio, *ad Fam.* 15, 18; *al.*
abrogatio,[16] *ad Att.* 3, 23, 2
apparitio,[17] *ad Fam.* 13, 54; *al.*
assessio,[18] *Id.* 11, 27, 4
circumuentio,[19] *ad Att.* 2, 16, 4
compilatio, *ad Fam.* 2, 8, 1
consalutatio,[20] *ad Att.* 2, 18, 1
conuictio (conuiua), *ad Q. Fr.* 1, 14, 12
delegatio,[21] *ad Att.* 12, 3, 2
deuitatio,[22] *Id.* 16, 2, 4
eiectio,[23] *Id.* 2, 18, 1
erogatio,[24] *Id.* 4, 3, 3
impugnatio,[25] *Id. ib.*
inhibitio, *Id.* 13, 21, 3
introductio,[26] *Id.* 1, 16, 5
obiratio, *Id.* 6, 3, 7
pacificatio,[27] *ad Fam.* 10, 27, 2
pellectio, *ad Att.* 13, 1, 1
prensatio, *Id.* 1, 1, 1
properatio,[28] *ad Fam.* 5, 12, 2
reductio,[29] *Id.* 1, 7, 4
remigatio, *ad Att.* 13, 21, 3
ruminatio,[30] *Id.* 2, 12, 2
uelificatio,[31] *ad Fam.* 1, 9, 21

VITRVVIVS.
aequilatatio, 9, 7, 3.
aggeratio,[32] 10, 16, 9
alligatio,[33] 7, 3, 2; *al.*
apportatio, 2, 9, 16
arenatio, 7, 3, 9
catenatio,[34] 2, 9, 11; *al.*
circinatio, 1, 6, 6
circumactio,[35] 9, 8, 15
circumlatio,[36] 9, 4, 8
coaxatio,[37] 6, 3, 9
coctio,[38] 8, *praef.* 2

[1] Itala; Gloss. Labb. [2] Tert.; Arnob.; Hier.; Vulg.; Augustin.; Inscrr. [3] Col.; Symm.; Dig.; ICt. [4] Vulg.; Augustin. [5] Mart. Cap. [6] Hier.; Vulg. [7] Gell.; Apul. [8] Vell.; Apul.; Arnob.; Augustin.; Sulp. Seu.; Cael. Aur.; Th. Prisc. [9] Iust.; Aur. Vict.; Vulg. [10] Apul. [11] Vitr.; Donat.; Seru.; Baeda. [12] Col.; Plin. [13] Cels.; Tert.; Arnob.; Cael. Aur. [14] Mart. [15] Mart. [16] Val. Max. [17] Symm.; Amm.; Augustin.; Dig. [18] Augustin.; Cod. Iust. [19] Arnob.; Hier.; Augustin.; Cod. Iust.; Dig. [20] Tac.; Suet. [21] Sen. Ep.; ICt. [22] Augustin. [23] Vitr.; Firm. Math.; Vulg.; Cael. Aur. [24] Plin.; Frontin.; Tac.; Apul.; Tert. [25] Hier.; Cassian. [26] Tert.; Vulg. [27] Gell. [28] Q. Cic. ap. Cic. Fam.; Sall.; Amm. [29] Vitr.; Augustin. [30] Plin.; Seru. ad Verg. [31] Amm. [32] Iustin. [33] Hyg.; Col.; Ambr.; Augustin. [34] Petr. [35] Gell.; Chalcid. Tim.; Mart. Cap. [36] Tert.; Chalcid. Tim.; Hier.; Seru. ad Verg. [37] Plin. [38] Plin.; Paul. ex Fest.; Vulg.; Cassiod.; Cod. Theod.

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commodulatio, 3, 1, 1
comportatio, 1, 2, 8; *al.*
concameratio,[1] 2, 4, 2; *al.*
confornicatio, 5, 6, 5
congestio,[2] 6, 8, 5
decussatio, 1, 6, 7; *al.*
*deformatio,[3] (1. *deformo*), 1, 1, 1
depressio,[4] 1, 3, 2
*dilatatio,[5] 9, 8, 1
directio,[6] 1, 6, 8
disparatio,[7] 2, 9, 1
ductio,[8] 10, 13, 6; *al.*
duplicatio,[9] 3, 4, 3; *al.*
erectio,[10] 10, 6, 4
examinatio,[11] 10, 3, 4
expertio, 8, 4, 1
expressio,[12] 9, 8, 4; *al.*
extentio,[13] 9, 1, 13; *al.*
exuberatio,[14] 1, 4, 8
fibulatio, 10, 2, 3
figuratio,[15] 3, 3, 6
fistucatio, 10, 3, 3
formatio,[16] 2, *praef.* 3
fornicatio,[17] (*fornicatus*), 6, 8, 3
*fricatio,[18] 7, 6, 2
fundatio,[19] 3, 4, 1; *al.*
intersectio, 3, 5, 11
inuolutio,[20] 10, 6, 2
laxatio,[21] 4, 7, 4
leuigatio,[22] (1. *leuigo*), 7, 1, 4
libratio,[23] 8, 5, 3
*limitatio,[24] 10, 16
lineatio,[25] 9, 1, 13; *al.*
loricatio,[26] 7, 1, 5
lotio,[27] 7, 9, 1
maceratio,[28] 7, 2, 1
materiatio, 4, 2, *in.*
ministratio,[29] 6, 6, 2
mixtio,[30] 1, 4, 7
modulatio,[31] 5, 9, 2
moratio,[32] 9, 1, 11
multiplicatio,[33] 9, *praef.* 4; *al.*
nodatio, 2, 9, 7
operatio,[34] 2, 9, 9
ornatio,[35] 5, 8, 8
palatio, 2, 9, 10
pandatio, 7, 1, 5
percolatio, 8, 6, 15
perductio, 8, 5, 1
perlibratio, 8, 5, 1
*pistatio, 7, 1, 3
ponderatio,[36] 10, 3, 7
praecinctio,[37] 2, 8, 11
praecipitatio,[38] 5, 12, 4
praeclusio,[39] 9, 8, 6
praeseminatio, 2, 9, 1
proclinatio, 5, 12, 4; *al.*
profusio,[40] 10, *praef.*
quadratio, 4, 3, 9
recessio,[41] 1, 6, 9
redundatio,[42] 9, 1, 15
refectio,[43] 6, 3, 2
retractio, 3, 4, 4
roratio,[44] 8, 2, 2

[1] Plin.; Frontin.; Dig.; Inscrr. [2] Mamert.; Pall.; Ambros.; Augustin.; Macr.; Dig. [3] Hyg.; Firm. Math.; Iul. Rufin.; Mart. Cap. [4] Macr. [5] Tert.; Vulg.; Eccl. [6] Quint.; Apul.; Vulg.; Prisc.; Cassian.; Boeth. [7] Amm. [8] Cels.; Vlp. Dig. [9] Chalcid. Tim., Gai. Inst.; Vlp. Dig.; Mart. Cap. [10] Vulg.; Amm. [11] Cypr.; Vlp. Dig.; Mart. Cap. [12] Acron ad Hor.; Chalcid. Tim.; Pall.; Ambros.; Augustin. [13] Cael. Aur.; Prisc. [14] Th. Prisc. [15] Hygin.; Plin.; Quint.; Frontin.; Fronto; Gell.; Apul.; Arnob.; Lact. [16] Sen. Ep.; Philastr.; Augustin. [17] Sen. Ep. [18] Col.; Plin.; Cael. Aur. [19] Chalcid. Tim. [20] Cael. Aur. [21] Cael. Aur. [22] Chalcid. Tim.; Iul. Val.; Diom. [23] Vulg.; Min. Fel. [24] Col. [25] Firm. Math. [26] Paul. Dig. [27] Plin. Val. [28] Arnob. [29] Vulg.; Inscrr. [30] Pall.; Vulg. [31] Sen. Suas.; Quint.; Gell. [32] Cael. Aur. [33] Col.; Sen.; Frontin.; Boeth. [34] Fest.; Tert.; Lact.; Vulg.; Prud.; Heges.; Donat.; Iul. Val.; Inscrr. [35] Inscrr. [36] Vulg.; Fulg. Myth.; Th. Prisc. [37] Caelestin. Pap. Ep. [38] Sen.; Apul.; Vulg. [39] Veget. [40] Cels.; Plin. Ep.; Suet.; Tert.; Lact.; Inscrr. [41] Hier.; Eccl. [42] Plin.; Quint. [43] Sen.; Cels.; Col.; Quint.; Plin. Pan.; Suet.; Amm.; Cassian. [44] Plin.; Apul.; Cassiod.

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[1] Ambros.; Lucif.; Hier. [2] Arnob.; Paul. Nol.; Vlp. Dig.; Inscrr. [3] Arnob.; Pa.-Ambros.; Hier.; Vulg.; Augustin.; Mart. Cap. [4] Lampr.; Augustin.; Cael. Aur. [5] Vulg. [6] Solin.; Cod. Theod.; Cod. Iust. [7] Augustin. [8] Eccl. [9] Eccl. [10] Eccl. [11] Hilar. [12] Augustin. [13] Arnob.; Lact. [14] Amm.; Cassian. [15] Cael. Aur. [16] Paul. Dig.; Inscrr. [17] Hier.; Vulg.; Iul. Rufin.; Isid. [18] Augustin.; ICt. [19] Intpr. Iren.; Lact.; Hier.; Vulg.; Augustin.; Eccl. [20] Lact.; Hier.; Vulg.; Augustin. [21] Arnob.; Lact.; Hier.; Vulg.; Augustin. [22] Hilar.; Vulg.; Hier.; Sidon. [23] Vulg. [24] Chalcid. Tim. [25] Arnob.; Firm. Math.; Pall.; Inscrr. [26] Hier.; Vulg.; Eccl. [27] Paul. Dig. [28] Hier.; Vulg.; Amm.; Augustin.; Greg. M. [29] Ambros.; Hier.; Rufin. [30] Cypr.; Thom. Thes. [31] Ennod.; Dig. [32] Intpr. Iren.; Cypr.; Ambros.; Hier.; Vulg.; Augustin.; Sulp. Seu. [33] Cypr.; Ambros.; Augustin. [34] Vulg.; Cassian. [35] Chalcid. Tim. [36] Vulg. [37] Ambros.; Macr.

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allusio,[1] 7, 23
circumiectio,[2] 2, 43
circumuentio,[3] 5, 3
concrepatio, 2, 42
consertio, 3, 13
contamination,[4] 5, 18
*contractatio, 1, 47, *cod.*
delusio,[5] 4, 1
dilaceratio,[6] 2, 45
dissignatio,[7] 7, 9
eneruatio, 3, 10
euaginatio, 1, 50
excitatio,[8] 7, 32
illigatio,[9] 5, 2
immersio,[10] 2, 7
impertitio,[11] 2, 3
*incumulatio, 3, 14 *H.*
interstinctio, 6, 12 ; *al.*
intortio,[12] 3, 14
mactatio,[13] 7, 4 ; *al.*
munctio, 3, 13
nexio,[14] 5, 2
obluctatio,[15] 2, 50
obsecutio, 6, 17 ; *al.*
obtentio, 5, 36 ; *al.*
obumbratio,[16] 5, 41
perrectio, 7, 24
pulsio, 4, 4
submersio,[17] 5, 35
subrectio,[18] 5, 39

LAMPRIDIVS.
attritio,[19] *Heliog.* 19, 5
rumigeratio, *Id.*, 10, 4

VOPISCVS.
constipatio,[20] *Aurel.* 21, 1
liquatio, *Id.* 46, 1

CHALCIDIVS.
absconsio,[21] *Tim.* 123
assecutio,[22] *Id.* 46 *A.*
circumuolutatio, *Id.* 43 *D.*
conuegitatio, *Id.* 93
detuitio, *Id.* 239
effulsio, *Id.* 71 ; *al.*
excussio,[23] *Id.* 52 *E.*
exsaturatio, *Id.* 166 ; *al.*
extricatio, *Id.* 120 ; *al.*
insertio,[24] *Id.* 12
intuitio, *Id.* 239 ; *al.*
obliquatio,[25] *Id.* 87
praecessio,[26] *Id.* 86 ; *al.*
praeponderatio, *Id.* 352
raptatio, *Id.* 81 ; *al.*
regradatio[27] (regrador) *Id.* 74 ; *al.*
restrictio,[28] *Id.* 3

PALLADIVS.
affusio, 3, 28, 2
aggestio,[29] 2, 13, 3 ; *al.*
annexio,[30] 4, 10, 36
infossio, 3, 16, 1
inspersio, 4, 9, 13
pollutio,[31] 9, 10, 2
subligatio, 1, 6, 10
superfusio,[32] 1, 17, 1

AMMIANVS.
anteuersio, 21, 5, 13

[1] Cassiod. [2] Cael. Aur. [3] Augustin.; Cod. Iust.; Dig. [4] Iul. Obseq.; ICt. [5] Auct. Schem. Dian. [6] Vulg.; Oros.; Cod. Theod. [7] Inscrr. [8] Chalcid. Tim.; Heges. [9] Mart. Cap. [10] Schol. Gron. in Cic. [11] Iulian. ap. Augustin. [12] Augustin. [13] Symm. Ep.; Isid. [14] Mart. Cap. [15] Lact.; Ambros.; Mart. Cap. [16] Chalcid. Tim.; Vulg.; Rufin.; Augustin.; Max. Taur. [17] Firm. Math.; Chalcid. Tim.; Augustin. [18] Arator. [19] Augustin.; Mart. Cap. [20] Nazar. Pan.; Amm.; Augustin. [21] Vulg. [22] Augustin. [23] Hier.; Vulg.; Cael. Aur. [24] Augustin.; Macr.; Isid. [25] Macr. [26] Augustin.; Boeth. [27] Augustin. [28] Augustin.; Plin. in. Val. [29] Mart. Cap. [30] Iul. Rufin. [31] Vulg.; Eccl. [32] Ambros.; Amm.; Seru. ad Verg.

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*conuectio, 14, 10, 4
lacessitio, 19, 3, 1
obmurmuratio,[1] 26, 2, 3
praescitio, 29, 1, 31
*scitatio, 18, 5, 1
submigratio, 25, 9, 1

AMBROSIVS.

acclinatio, *in Ps.* 118, *Serm.* 4, 19; *al.*
auxiliatio,[2] *Id.* 61, 17
commaceratio, *Id.* 27, 59
exutio, *in Luc.* 8, 64
iactitatio, *De Helia* 8
intextio, *in Luc.* 10, 23
offusio, *Hexaem.* 1, 8, 32; *al.*
praecognitio,[3] *de Fide* 2, *Praef.* 14
reclinatio,[4] *de Bona Morte*, 2, 12
refusio,[5] *Apol. Dauid.* 8, 42
semiperfectio, *Ep.* 44, 8
subaemulatio, *in Ps.* 36, 10
subrogatio, *Ep.* 13, 2
superordinatio, *Id.* 12, 5
umbratio, *De Sacram.* 1, 6, 22

HIERONYMVS.

abactio,[6] *in Ierem.* 1, *ad* 5, 15
ablactatio,[7] *Hebr. Qu. in Gen.* 21, 14
absconsio,[8] *Nom. Hebr. col.* 23; *al.*
accensio, *in Ezech.* 14, *ad* 45, 10
accinctio, *Ep.* 78, *m.* 29
adapertio,[9] *Nom. Hebr. col.* 42; *al.*
aggeniculatio, *Hebr. Qu. in Gen.* 41, 43
aggranatio,[10] *in Ezech.* 8 *ad* 27, 25
amplexatio,[11] *in Abac. praef.*
annumeratio,[12] *adu. Rufin.* 3, 6
antepassio, *Ep.* 79, 9
appensio,[13] *in Dan.* 5, 25
apprehensio,[14] *in Ezech.* 5, 25
circumdatio,[15] *Id.* 29, 13
clamatio,[16] *in Ps.* 119
coangustatio, *in Ezech.* 9, 1
coargutio, *Ep.* 41, 4
comminutio,[17] *in Is.* 51, 6
comparticipatio, *in Eph.* 3, 5
complacitio, *Nom. Hebr. col.* 69
completio,[18] *in Abac.* 1 *ad* 2. 5; *al.*
compugnatio, *in Ezech.* 11, *ad* 38, *col.* 451
confortatio, *in Zacch.* 8, 13
consessio, *in Sophon.* 1, 4
consutio,[19] *in Ezech.* 2, *ad* 7. 23
conuictio,[20] (*conuinco*), *in Osee* 3, 3
crucifixio,[21] *in Galat.* 5, 24
dealbatio,[22] *in Ezech.* 27, 4
deosculatio, *adu. Rufin.* 1, 19
depompatio, *Id.* 1, 31
desponsio,[23] *adu. Iouin.* 1, 3
detrusio, *in Iesai.* 6 *ad* 13, 6
dilutio, *c. Ioann.* 5
ebullitio,[24] *in Naum.* 2, 10
edissertio, *in Matth.* 21, 6
efflatio, *Ep.* 65, 5
enutritio, *in Matth.* 24, 19
exauditio,[25] *in Osee*, 1, *ad* 2, 20
excernicatio, *in Naum.* 3, 1.
excommunicatio,[26] *adu. Rufin.* 2, 21
exhilaratio,[27] *in Abac.* 1, *ad* 2, 5
expansio,[28] *in Ezech.* 16; *al.*
exspoliatio,[29] *adu. Iouin.* 1, 38
exsufflatio,[30] *in Malach.* 1, 10
extorsio, *in Matth.* 8, 30; *al.*
fixio, *in Ezech. Hom.* 1. 5

[1] Isid. [2] Cassiod.; Non. [3] Ennod.; Boeth. [4] Augustin. [5] Macr. [6] Thom. Thes.; Gloss. Lab. [7] Vulg. [8] Vulg. [9] Vulg.; Augustin. [10] Salu.; Arnob. Iun.; Greg. M. [11] Cassiod.; Isid. [12] Cod. Theod.; Rufin. [13] Iulian. ap. Aug. [14] Macr.; Cael. Aur. [15] Vulg.; Augustin. [16] Philaster.; Cael. Aur. [17] Cl. Mam. [18] Vulg.; Augustin.; Iust. Inst.; Paul. Diac. [19] Ps.-Soran. [20] Augustin. [21] Prosp.; Alcim. Auit. [22] Augustin.; Isid. [23] Cael. Aur.; Gloss. Lat.-Gr. [24] Fulg. Myth.; Mythogr. Lat.; Ps.-Soran.; Seru. ad. Verg.; Gloss. Paris. [25] Vulg.; Augustin. [26] Augustin. [27] Augustin. [28] Arnob. Iun.; Cael. Aur. [29] Acron ad Hor.; Augustin.; Isid. [30] Gennad.; Caelestin. Pap.

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floritio, *Homil.* 2, *in Cantic.*
foederatio,[1] *Ep.* 117, 2
illisio, *id.* 98, 13; *al.*
immemoratio, *Intpr. Sap.* 14, 26
illuuio, *in Ioel.* 2, 1
impactio, *in Matth.* 15, 12
imperturbatio, *Ep.* 133, 3
incircumcisio, *in Ierem.* 9, 26
indisciplinatio[2] *in Iesai*, 18, *ad* 65, 6
minoratio,[3] *in Ezech.* 10, 1
oblatratio, *Ep.* 133, 13.
obuersio, *Id.* 66, 5
offirmatio, *Ep.* 121, 5; *al.*
pausatio, *Id.* 28, 2
placitio, *Orig. in Ezech. hom.* 9, 5
pomatio, *Ep.* 57, 11
praestolatio,[4] *Nom. Hebr. col.* 100
prolongatio, *Id.* 13
propassio,[5] *in Matth.* 5, 28
prospectio,[6] *in Ezech.* 7, 5.
redactio,[7] *Id.* 9, 1
rediscussio, *in Naum* 2, 10
rememoratio,[8] *Chron. Euseb.* 37
reseratio,[9] *in Matth.* 3, 17; *al.*
reuolutio,[10] *Ep.* 120, 6
serratio, *In Ierem.* 1, 11, 12
stannatio, *in Amos.* 7, 7
stillatio,[11] *in Mich.* 2, 6
subdiusio, *Ep.* 58, 8
subrisio,[12] *in Amos.* 5, 8
tonsio,[13] *Nom. Hebr. col.* 62
transanimatio,[14] *Ep.* 124, 4
transcensio,[15] *in Ezech.* 11, 1
tripartitio,[16] *Id.* 1. 16
uacuefactio, *Nom. Hebr. col.* 24

AVGVSTINVS.
abstentio,[17] *Ep.* 81
admemoratio, *Id.* 59, 1
breuiatio, *Id.* 199, 20
candidatio,[18] *in Ps.* 71, 18
coaptatio, *Ciu. Dei* 22, 24; *al.*
complicatio,[19] *Mus.* 1, 19
concalefactio, *de Ord.* 1, 8, 24
confricatio, *Conf.* 4, 8; *al.*
conscissio, *Ep.* 51, 3; *al.*
contemperatio, *Doctr. Chr.* 2, 30
conuictio, (conuinco), *Trin.* 13, 1; *al.*
cubitio, *Ep.* 3, 1
depropiatio, *Qu. in Heptat.* 2, 133
diffamatio, *Ciu. Dei*, 3, 31
dilapsio, *Id.* 22, 12, 2
euigilatio, *Id.* 17, 18, 1; *al.*
excaecatio, *Ep.* 88, 12; *al.*
excommunicatio,[20] *Fid. et Opp.* 2, 3; *al.*
exhonoratio, *Ciu. Dei*, 21, 6, 1
imperfectio, *in Galat.* 12
incrispatio, *Ep.* 112, 22; *al.*
irreptio, *de Ord.* 2, 38
manducatio, *Tract.* 27 *in Ioann.*
mansuefactio, *Nat. et Grat.* 15, 16
peremptio, *c. Faust.* 19, 23; *al.*
perfructio, *Quant. Anim.* 33
perfruitio, *Ep.* 102, 27; *al.*
ploratio, *Serm.* 351, 1
praeposteratio, *Mus.* 3, 9, 20
reportatio, *de Gest. Pelag.* 5
retrocessio, *Quant. Anim.* 22, 37
saturatio, *Tract. in Ioann.* 24
secutio, *de Mor. Eccl. Cath.* 1, 11
trituratio, *Tract. in Ioann.* 27, 11

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
affricatio, *Acut.* 1, 14, 106; *al.*
appropriatio, *Chron.* 2, 13, 151
asperatio, *Acut.* 2, 7, 33

[1] Cassiod. [2] Vulg.; Cassiod.; Greg. M.; Eccl. [3] Vulg.; Hilar.; Alcim. Auit.; Boeth. [4] Ps.-Cypr. [5] Isid. [6] Intpr. Origin. in Matth.; Cod. Theod. [7] Boeth. [8] Arn. Iun. [9] Ennod. [10] Augustin.; Mart. Cap.; Dion. Exig.; Fulg. Serm.; Schol. Luc. [11] Plin. Val. [12] Auct. Com. in Amos. [13] Vulg. [14] Gloss. [15] Cassiod.; Isid. [16] Augustin.; Aggen. Verb., Gloss. [17] Cael. Aur. [18] Cassiod. [19] Cael. Aur. [20] Gest. Collat. Carthag. 2. 281.

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calculatio, (calculus) *Chron.* 5, 4, 60
carnatio, *Id.* 1, 4, 113
concubatio, *Acut.* 2, 37, 193
condensatio, *Id.* 3, 18, 187
crassificatio, *Id.* 1, 14, 115; *al.*
cruditatio, *Chron.* 5, 2, 29
cucurbitatio, *Id.* 2, 1, 32
defricatio, *Acut.* 1, 1, 96; *al.*
delocatio, *Chron.* 2, 1, 14
depurgatio, *Acut.* 3, 4, 34
desponsio, *Id.* 2, 32, 167; *al.*
detersio, *Chron.* 2, 14, 203
eliquatio, *Acut.* 2, 32, 166
elutio, *Chron.* 1, 1, 12
exsudatio, *Id.* 5, 10, 105
extimatio, *Id.* 3, 4, 56
fortificatio, *Id.* 4, 3, 44
fumatio, *Id.* 1, 4, 136; *al.*
granatio, *Acut.* 2, 32, 171; *al.*
humectatio,[1] *Chron.* 3, 2, 18
impalpebratio, *Id.* 2, 5, 87
incoctio, *Id.* 4, 3, 62
insertatio, *Id.* 1, 1, 43
interuallatio, *Sig. Diaet. Pass.* 42
limatio, *Chron.* 5, 4, 141
masticatio, *Id.* 4, 3, 70
meatio, *Acut.* 2, 18, 105
obdensatio, *Chron.* 1, 1, 47
perforatio,[2] *Id.* 2, 1, 59
praecantio, *Acut.* 1, 15, 131
praetectio, *Chron.* 3, 8, 131
purulentatio, *Id.* 5, 10, 95; *al.*
pustulatio, *Acut.* 3, 16, 135; *al.*
rasio, *Chron.* 1, 4, 134; *al.*
reclusio,[3] *Id.* 2, 1, 8
rugatio, *Id.* 2, 1, 8; *al.*
saliuatio, *Acut.* 3, 2, 7
sanguinatio, *Chron.* 4, 6, 87
spumatio, *Acut.* 3, 2, 8
subunctio, *Id.* 3, 3, 22
superpositio, *Chron.* 1, 1, 18; *al.*
superunctio, *Acut.* 3, 4, 34
supinatio, *Chron.* 4, 3, 64
suprapositio, *Chron. praef*, 1
tardatio, *Chron.* 2, 1, 28
tenebratio, *Id.* 1, 2, 51; *al.*
tenuatio, *Id.* 2, 1, 3
transforatio, *Id.* 1, 3, 56
transuersio, *Acut.* 2, 39, 225
uentriculatio, *Id.* 3, 17, 143
uentrificatio, *Chron.* 3, 8, 142
uncatio, *Acut.* 2, 32, 168

§ 3. SUBSTANTIVES IN **-tus, -sus**: Abstract substantives in **-tus, -sus**, were often formed in Latin from the same verbal stem as those in **-tio, -sio**, as *motus, motio; actus, actio.* In classic times these forms were not quite synonymous, but the ones in **-tio** denoted the action of the verb, those in **-tus** the result of the action;[4] consequently the two sets of words developed side by side, though they were to some extent interchangeable, even in Cicero, who uses forms in **-tio** to supply those cases in which words in **-tus** were not used, as *concursus, concursionibus.*[5] On the whole, however, the preponderance of forms in **-tio** over those in **-tus** is considered characteristic of the *sermo quotidianus.*[6] Thus in Plautine Latin, out of 70

[1] Cassiod.; Isid. [2] Inscrr. [3] Isid.
[4] Goelzer, p. 86, citing Gossrau, Lat. Sprachlehre 2, § 206, 7; *comp.* Schmalz, Stil. 1, § 2. [5] Goelzer, p. 86; Nägelsbach 8, Stil. p. 218. [6] Slaughter, p. 24.

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words where the language affords a choice, three-fifths are in **-tio,** where the classic language employs three-fifths in **-tus,**[1] while in tragic and epic poetry the preference for the latter is still more marked.[2] But beginning with Silver Latin it ceased to be characteristic of a more elevated style, and came into general use. Paucker, in summing up his careful computations on this point, gives the ratio of Seneca's preference for forms in **-tus** as 2 to 1, compared to the Ciceronian usage, and that of Plin. as 4 to 1.[3] No other class of substantives in Plin. is more numerous, and in Apul. they outnumber the new formations in **-tio.** But after Tert. formations in **-tio** again prevail, effectually checking further development of those in **-tus.**

It has been claimed that this class of substantives, like the preceding, is far more numerous in the plebeian than the classic language,[4] but this is probably equally true of nearly all classes of derivatives. The *sermo plebeius*, unrestrained by scholastic rules, availed itself to the utmost of whatever opportunity for flexibility and expansion the language afforded, especially in vocabulary, but this tendency alone is not sufficient to stamp any particular suffix as plebeian. In the present case statistics indicate that **-tus** was far from being a favorite suffix in plebeian Latin. Paucker[5] placing the whole number at 1004, *uett.* 695, *recc.* 309, attributes 149 to Silver Latin, (Plin. 74 or one-half the entire number, Col. only 7, Cels. 5, Petr. 4), and double the number to Cic. or Caes., or about three-sevenths of all the *uett.* Plaut.[6] has 99, all but 21 of which become classic: the Scriptt. R. R. add very few; in the following list Cato gives 2, neither from the *R. R.;* Varr. 23, but only 7 from the *R. R.;* Col. 6.; Pall. 2. The vulgar writer Vitr. has a paltry 11, against an odd hundred in **-tio.** But after Plin. the formation becomes more frequent; Apul. has an odd 50 and Tert.[7] 38, when the derivation again weakens; The Scriptt. Hist. Aug. add a scant half dozen, and Hier., usually prolific, has only 8 new forms, 5 verbal, 3 denominative, and of the 309

[1] Slaughter, p. 25. [2] Ploen, p. 43, cited by Slaughter, counts 52 in -tus and 2 in -tio introduced by epic poets, 25 in -tus and 9 in -tio by tragic poets. [3] Paucker, Oesterr. Gymn. 1847, p. 112, *not.* [4] "Etiam horum substantiuorum copiam in sermone uulgari multo maiorem fuisse quam in bono dicendi genere persuasum habeo," Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI, 126, citing P. Boehmer, d. Latein. Vulgärsprache, Oels, 1869, p. 14. [5] Pauck. Silb. Lat. p. 10. [6] Rassow, p. 28. [7] Schmidt, Tert. I, p. 14.

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recc. verbal, employs barely a dozen.[1] *Amm.* and *Sulp. Seu.*[2] are the last friends of this formation, the former adding only 3 or 4 new words, but employing over 180 of those already in use.[3]

It seems then that this class of words is only plebeian to the extent that the *sermo uulgaris* employed all classes of abstracts more freely than the classic language. One feature however, worthy of note, is that a large number of these words occur only in the abl. case, and were probably formed on analogy with the 2nd supine.[4] Although many new words occur in Cic. only in the abl., as *deductu, respiratu,* yet the prevalence of this usage in later writers tends to support Boehmer's view[5] that such forms were especially frequent in the *sermo quotidianus.* A special feature of the African Latin, (Apul., Tert.), is the frequent use of the dative singular, e. g., Apul., *amictui, cinctui, demersui, sustentatui;*[6] Tert., *concalcatui, conspectui, cruciatui, deceptui, defunctui, gustui, intellectui, retractatui;* compare *Res. Carn.* 4, *hanc et uisui et contactui et recordatui tuo ereptam uideo.*[7] A characteristic of late Latin is the use of plural forms, notably the ablative, which rarely occurs in classic writers: e. g., Tert., *censibus, exitibus, ritibus, usibus;* Sulp. Seu., *coetibus, conuentibus, fletibus, nexibus, plausibus, questibus, saltibus;* Amm., *congressibus, lapsibus, mugitibus, successibus.*[8]

In conclusion, it would seem that the popular character of substantives in **-tus, -sus,** as far as they were popular at all, lay in the use of special cases, or was confined to particular periods or localities, as is instanced on the one hand by the writers from Plin. to Tert., on the other by the absence of this suffix from the Romance languages, except the Rumanian, where it is still frequent.[9]

In the following list no attempt has been made to distinguish between the verbal and the denominative forms. The latter are not numerous, barely half a hundred in all, and aside

[1] Pauck. Hier. p. 26, "11 uel 12 apud Hier., qui utique multo est pronior ad *-to* finitorum usum;" conf. Goelzer, p. 85, sq. [2] Schmalz, Stil. I, § 2; Liesenberg, Amm. I, p. 14; Lönnergren, Sulp. Seu. p. 2. [3] Liesenberg, Amm. I, p. 14, "in grosser Anzahl bei A. vorhanden." [4] Stuenkel, Varr. p. 13; Schulze, Dis. Hal. VI, p. 127. [5] Boehmer, Die Lat. Vulgärspr., II, p. 14, "Die Ablativendung auf -u scheint in der gemeinen Verkehrssprache eine der beliebtesten gewesen zu sein." [6] Koziol, Apul. p. 267 sq. [7] Schmidt, Tert. I, p. 14. [8] "Usus . . . uniuersae posteriori latinitati tribuendus, cuius generis licentia praeter Tertull. sane apud Appuleium maxima extat," Schmidt, ib., citing Apul. Flor. p. 121, *ed. Bipont.;* conf. Neue, Formenl. 379, sq.; Lönnergren, Sulp. Seu. p. 2. [9] Meyer, in Gröber's Grundriss, I, p. 373; Diez 5, p. 665.

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from a few instances like *centurionatus*, Val. Max., *licentiatus*, Laber., belong to Post-Hadrian literature.[1] They belong largely to ecclesiastical Latin, as Tert., *discipulatus*, *episcopatus*; Hier., *apostolatus*, *clericatus*, *diaconatus*, *presbyteratus*. These forms are especially numerous in Hier., who, according to Paucker, has one-eighth of entire number of *recc.*[2]

PLAVTVS.

algus,[3] *Vidul. Fr.* 15 *ed. Studem.*; *al.*
allegatus,[4] *Trin.* 1142
cibatus,[5] *Mil.* 224
concubinatus,[6] *Trin.* 690
contutus, *Id.* 262
cubitus,[7] *Amph.* 1122
datus,[8] *Trin.* 1140
*depeculatus,[9] *Epid.* 511 *ed. Both. et Iacob.*
extersus, *Curc.* 578
frustratus, *Men.* 695
illectus,[10] *Bacch.* 55
ludificatus, *Poen.* 1281
memoratus,[11] *Bacch.* 62
nutricatus,[12] *Mil.* 656
obsonatus, *Men.* 288; *al.*
pedatus,[13] *Cist.* 255
piscatus,[14] *Rud.* 911; *al.*
suspiritus,[15] *Merc.* 124; *al.*
tonsus,[16] *Amph.* 444
tributus,[17] *Epid.* 228
uomitus,[18] *Most.* 652

CATO.

*granatus, *R. R.* 60
opinionatus, *Oratt.* 5, Fr. 2

PACVVIVS.

attrectatus, *Tr.* 266
quassus, *Id. ib.*
spectus, *Id.* 147
succussus,[19] *Id.* 257

TERENTIVS.

abortus,[20] *Hec.* 398
captus,[21] *Ad.* 480
neglectus,[22] *Haut.* 357
screatus, *Id.* 373
suasus,[23] *Phorm.* 730

AFRANIVS.

comptus,[24] *Fr. Inc.* 21.

LVCRETIVS.

adactus, 5, 1330
adhaesus,[25] 3, 88; *al.*
adiectus,[26] 4, 67; *al.*
auxiliatus,[27] 5, 1038
collectus,[28] 3, 198; *al.*
commutatus, 1, 795
conciliatus, 1, 575; *al.*
concussus,[29] 6, 290
coortus, 2, 1106; *al.*
eiectus, 4, 956

[1] Goelzer, p. 98, Substantifs en *-atus*. [2] Pauck. Hier. p. 27, "*recc.* c. ⅛."
[3] Acc.; Lucil.; Lucr.; Varr. Sat. Men. [4] Gell. [5] Lucr.; Varr.; Plin.; Gell.; Apul.; Solin.; Macr. [6] Suet.; Vlp. Dig. [7] Cato R. R.; Plin.; Vulg. [8] Vulg.; Augustin. [9] See Buech. de Decl., p. 56. [10] Iul. Val.; Auct. Itin. Alex. [11] Capit.; Vopisc. [12] Varr. R. R. [13] Cato. [14] Pompon.; Turpil.; Cic., *semel*, (Fin. 2, 23); Vitr.; Plin.; Apul.; Augustin. [15] Cic. Ep.; Liu.; Apul. Met. [16] Acc. [17] Cato. [18] Cels.; Plin.; Curt.; Sen. Rhet.; Augustin.; Eccl.; Cael. Aur.; Marc. Emp. [19] Apul.; Tert. [20] Cic. Ep.; Cels.; Col.; Plin.; Plin. Ep. [21] "Saepius occurrit in locutione *ut captus est* c. gen. personae ap. Ter. Afran. Cicer. semel, Tusc. II, 27, Caes. semel, Gell. Quae locutio sine dubio sermoni cotidiano attribuenda est" Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI, 127. [22] Plin.; Symm.; Greg. Ep.; Cod. Theod. [23] Apul.; Tert.; Dig. [24] Lucr. [25] Comp. Non. 73, 6. [26] Vitr.; Macr. [27] Arnob. [28] Frontin.; Tert. [29] Plin.

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gannitus,[1] 5, 1070
initus,[2] 1, 13; *al.*
intactus, 1, 454
*linctus,[3] 6, 971
mactatus, 1, 99
offensus,[4] 2, 223; *al.*
opinatus, 4, 463
oppressus,[5] 1, 851
proiectus,[6] 3, 985
refutatus, 3, 525
subortus, 5, 303
summatus, 5, 1140

VARRO.
aduectus,[7] *L. L.* 5, 43
agitatus,[8] *Id.* 5, 11; *al.*
ambecisus, *Id.* 7, 43
commotus,[9] *Id.* 5, 71
declinatus, *Id.* 6, 36; *al.*
delapsus, *R. R.* 1, 6, 6
detritus, *L. L.* 5, 176
esus,[10] *R. R.* 1, 60
*foratus,[11] *ap. Lact. Opif. Dei* 8, 6
fusus, *L. L.* 5, 123
indutus,[12] *Id.* 5, 131
iunctus, *Id.* 5, 47; *al.*
mulctus, *R. R.* 2, 11, 2
nominatus, *L. L.* 8, 52; *al.*
nuptus,[13] *Id.* 5, 72
obseruatus, *R. R.* 2, 5, 3
pipatus, *L. L.* 7, 103
primatus,[14] *R. R.* 1, 7, 10
rasus, *L. L.* 5, 136
rutus, *Id. ib.*
stratus,[15] *R. R.* 1, 50, 3
suctus,[16] *Sat. Men.*
uinctus, *R. R.* 1, 8, 6

AVCT. BELL. HISP.
collatus,[17] 31, 2
excubitus,[18] 6, 4

AVCT. BELL. ALEX.
ausus,[19] 43, 1

CICERO, (EPISTT.).
*dispersus, *ad Att.* 9, 92, *Cod. M.*
inuitatus, *ad Fam.* 7, 5, 2

VITRVVIVS.
bullitus, 8, 3
commensus, 1, 3, 2; *al.*
comparatus, 7, *praef. fin.*
emersus,[20] 10, 22
exemptus, 9, 8, 6
expressus, 8, 6, 6
*percursus, 9, 8, 4
perfectus,[21] 1, 2, 6; *al.*
perflatus,[22] 4, 7, 4
responsus,[23] 1, 2
significatus,[24] 9, 7, *fin.*

CELSUS.
renisus,[25] 5, 28, 12

COLVMELLA.
bimatus,[26] 7, 3, 6; *al.*
conditus (*condio*), 2, 22, 4
illapsus,[27] 2, 2, 11
quadrimatus,[28] 7, 9, 2; *al.*
superiectus, 6, 36, 4
trimatus,[29] 8, 5, 24

PETRONIVS.
(bonatus,[30] 74)
seuiratus,[31] 71

[1] Plin.; Mart.; Apul. Met.; Auson. [2] Ou.; Plin. [3] Plin. [4] Stat. Th.; Tert. [5] Pelag. Vet.; Augustin Ep.; Sidon. Ep. [6] Plin. [7] Tac. [8] Macr. [9] Cael. Aur. [10] Plin.; Gell.; Tert.; Symm.; Vulg. [11] Tert.; Gloss. Labb. [12] Tac.; Apul.; Symm.; Amm. [13] Stat.; Hyg.; Gell.; Aur. Vict. [14] Plin.; Tert.; Augustin. [15] Stat.; Gell.; Hier.; Vlp. Dig.; Inscrr. [16] Plin. [17] Censorin. [18] Vulg. [19] Petr.; Val. Flac.; Augustin.; Sidon.; Symm.; Cod. Theod. [20] Col.; Plin. [21] Tert.; Vulg. [22] Col.; Cels.; Plin. [23] Dig. [24] Plin.; Gell.; Arnob. [25] Augustin. [26] Plin.; Mythogr. Lat.; Macr.; Vulg. [27] Sil.; Ambros. [28] Plin. [29] Plin.; Inscrr. [30] Cf. Pauck., Silb. Lat. p. 9 B. [31] Inscrr.

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PLINIVS MAIOR
accensus,[1] 37, 103
animatus, 11, 7
aspersus, 8, 134
astipulatus, 7, 152
calceatus,[2] 8, 221 ; *al.*
calcitratus, 8, 174
calfactus,[3] 29, 48
circumflexus,[4] 2, 1 ; *al.*
circumplexus, 8, 32 ; *al.*
concretus, 12, 70
contuitus,[5] 11, 145 ; *al.*
decoctus, 37, 194
decussus, 11, 163
defossus, 19, 163
distentus, 8, 138
enarratus, 2, 206
enixus, 7, 42 ; *al.*
exstinctus, 7, 43
fluxus,[6] 9, 79 ; *al.*
fotus,[7] 23, 14
fricatus, 13, 99 ; *al.*
germinatus, 15, 34 ; *al.*
gestatus, 15, 103
illisus,[8] 2, 132
illitus, 26, 151 ; *al.*
implexus, 9, 164
impositus, 28, 41
incisus, 16, 60
incitus, 2, 116
incubitus,[9] 28, 54 ; *al.*
infectus, 7, 193
insitus, 15, 52
instratus, 8, 154
intermissus, 10, 81
intextus, 2, 30
intinctus, 20, 65 ; *al.*
inuentus,[10] 17, 162
linitus, 20, 118
litus, 33, 110
luctatus,[11] 8, 33
lymphatus, 37, 146
mancipatus,[12] 9, 124
nepotatus,[13] 9, 114 ; *al.*
obtritus, 18, 258
olfactus, 21, 156 ; *al.*
palpitatus, 9, 90
permeatus, 20, 228
portatus,[14] 9, 114
praecursus,[15] 16, 104
praetentatus, 11, 140
pruritus,[16] 9, 146 ; *al.*
quaesitus, 5, 57
quinquennatus, 8, 178
*recubitus,[17] 14, 13 *ed. Ian.*
reptatus,[18] 14, 13
respersus, 10, 9
strangulatus, 20, 197 ; *al.*
subactus, 18, 67
subditus, 32, 28
subiectus, 26, 154
submotus, 8, 85
substratus,[19] 24, 61
suffitus, 32, 142 ; *al.*
sufflatus, 32, 28
superuentus,[20] 7, 64
tinctus, 10, 134
titillatus,[21] 11, 198
unctus,[22] 30, 90
uerberatus, 31, 39
uociferatus, 10, 164
uolutatus,[23] 10, 17

IVVENALIS.
furtus, 8, 113

GELLIVS.
conspiratus, 1, 11, 8

[1] Symm. [2] Suet. [3] Lact. [4] Amm. [5] Curt.; Ambros.; Amm.; Augustin.; Heges.; Inscrr. [6] Quint.; Iustin.; Tert.; Pall. [7] Lact.; Prud.; Mart. Cap.; Cael. Aur. [8] Sil.; Apul. [9] Solin. [10] Tert. [11] Apul. [12] Cod. Theod. [13] Suet.; Porph. ad Hor. [14] Sil. [15] Ambros.; Vulg. [16] Ser. Samm.; Mart. Cap. [17] Hier.; Vulg. [18] Tert. [19] Auct. Itin. Alex. [20] Tac.; Veget. Mil. [21] Cael. Aur. [22] Apul. [23] Apul.

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derelictus, 4, 12, 1
inclinatus, 3, 12, 2
obtrectatus, *praef.* 16
pronuntiatus, 4, 17, 8
relictus, 3, 1, 9

APVLEIVS.

adhortatus, *Apol.* 102
afflictus, *de Mund.* 15
appensus, *Id.* 3
auscultatus,[1] *Met.* 6, 13
boatus,[2] *Id.* 3, 3
cauillatus, *Id.* 8, 25
cogitatus,[3] *Id.* 4, 5
cognitus, *Id.* 9, 13
communicatus, *Deo Socr.* 4
conditus,[4] (condo), *Mag.* 24
deductus, *Met.* 1, 16
defluxus, *Deo Socr.* 11
deluctatus, *Dogm. Plat.* 1, 2
demersus, *Apol.* 21
dilectus,[5] *Ascl.* 9
effigiatus, *Flor.* 15, p. 17, 4 *Kr.*
elaboratus, *Id.* 9, p. 10, 17 *Kr.*
*excitus, *Met.* 6, 27, *cod. Flor.*
gelatus, *de Mund.* 9
genitus, *Apol.* 36
increpitus,[6] *Deo Socr.* 19
indagatus, *Met.* 7, 7
inhalatus, *Id.* 2, 10
inscensus, *Id.* 7, 14
inspersus, *Id.* 7, 22
insutus, *Id.* 7, 4
locutus, *Flor.* 15, p. 19, 1 *Kr.*
machinatus,[7] *Apol.* 74
matronatus, *Met.* 4, 23
meditatus, *Id.* 3, 14
mensus, *de Mund.* 3
monstratus,[8] *Met.* 1, 22
natatus,[9] *Id.* 5, 28
opertus,[10] *Apol.* 56
oppexus, *Met.* 11, 9
possessus, *Apol.* 13
praegnatus,[11] *Met.* 6, 4
prosectus, *Id.* 8, 28; *al.*
refectus,[12] *Id.* 8, 18; *al.*
reflexus,[13] *Flor.* 6 *in.*
repertus, *Met.* 11, 2; *al.*
retrocessus, *Dogm. Plat.* 1, 8
ruditus,[14] *Met.* 8, 29
sacrificatus, *Id.* 7, 10
scortatus, *Id.* 5, 28
separatus, *Flor.* 15, p. 17, 7 *Kr.*
sessus, *Id.* 16, p. 21, 7 *Kr.*
spretus,[15] *Deo Socr.* 3
strictus, *Fragm.* 21, 3, p. 639 *H.*
structus,[16] *Met.* 11, 16
sustentatus,[17] *Apul.* 21
tersus, *Met.* 1, 7; *al.*
uolutus, *Flor.* 10

TERTVLLIANVS.

*admissus,[18] [*ap. Schmidt, Tert.* 1, *p.* 14]
antistatus, *adu. Valent.* 13
conculcatus, *Res. Carn.* 22
deceptus, *adu. Marc.* 3, 6
defunctus, *adu. Valent.* 26
denotatus, *Pall.* 4, *med.*
detentus, *adu. Valent.* 32
detractatus, *Spect.* 3
educatus, *Res. Carn.* 60
effatus,[19] *Anim.* 6
episcopatus,[20] *Bapt.* 17
eruditus, *adu. Valent.* 13
expiatus, *Id. ib.*
*exploratus, [*ap. Schmidt, Tert.* 1, *p.* 14]
incolatus,[21] *Apol.* 22

[1] Fulg. [2] Auson.; Mart. Cap. [3] Tert.; Hier.; Augustin. [4] Censorin.; Iul. Val.; Auct. Itin. Alex.; Auson. [5] Chalcid. Tim. [6] Tert. [7] Sidon. Ep. [8] Auson. [9] Stat.; Iul. Val.; Pall.; Auson.; Claud.; Fulg. [10] Paul. Nol.; Macrob. [11] Tert. [12] Dig. [13] Cassiod. [14] Mythogr. Lat.; Adelh. [15] Sidon. Ep. [16] Arnob. [17] Hier.; Auson. [18] Pall.; Salu.; Veg. [19] Hier. [20] Vulg.; Eccl.; Amm. [21] Dig.; Cod. Theod.; Inscrr.

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ingestus, *Res. Carn.* 42
*initiatus, [*ap. Schmidt, Tert.* 1, *p.* 14]
inquilinatus,[1] *Anim.* 38, *fin.*
iaculatus, *de Spect.* 18
*motatus, [*ap. Schmidt, Tert.* 1, *p.* 14]
mutatus, *de Pall.* 4
obnexus, *adu. Marc.* 4, 37
obuentus, *Anim.* 41
operatus, *adu. Prax.* 16; *fin.*
perculsus, *Anim.* 52
pertractus, *de Or.* 5
postumatus, *adu. Valent.* 55
praegnatus, *adu. Marc.* 3, 13; *al.*
praescriptus, *Exhort. ad Cast.* 3
praetractatus, *Fug. in Pers.* 4
praeuentus,[2] *adu. Marc.* 5, 12
prioratus, *adu. Valent.* 4
prolatus,[3] *Id.* 33
promotus, *Cor. Mil.* 3
recidiuatus, *Anim.* 28; *al.*
recogitatus, *adu. Marc.* 4, 43; *al.*
recordatus, *Res. Carn.* 4; *al.*
reformatus, *adu. Valent.* 13
*regnatus, *adu. Prax.* 13
retractatus,[4] *Apol.* 4; *al.*
retractus,[5] *adu. Gnost.* 1
secundatus, *Anim.* 27
spadonatus, *Cult. Fem.* 11, 9
submersus, *Anim.* 32
submissus, *adu. Marc.* 5, 16
suggillatus, *Id.* 4. 34
supergressus, *Res. Carn.* 40
uiduatus, *Virg. Vel.* 9
uniuersatus, *ad Vxor.* 1, 9; *al.*

SPARTIANVS.
direptus, *Seu.* 19, 6

CAPITOLINVS.
*aucupatus, *Anton. Phil.* 4, 9

ARNOBIVS.
ambulatus, 1, 48
*ancillatus, 7, 13
coalitus,[6] 4, 150
copulatus, 1, 2
gingritus, 6, 20
inflictus, 3, 18
structus, 7, 15

LAMPRIDIVS.
*animaduersus, *Alex. Seu.* 25, 2

VOPISCVS.
iocatus, *Aur.* 23, 3

CHALCIDIVS.
dilectus, *Tim.* 135
raptatus, *Id.* 43, *C.* 73, 81
succentus,[7] *Id.* 44

PALLADIVS.
calcatus,[8] 7, 13, 17

AVCT. ITIN. ALEX.
caesus, 44
fixus, 49
obnisus, 16
septus, 46

SYMMACHVS.
adflexus, *Or.* 2, 20
admorsus, *Ep.* 1, 15
annisus, *Id.* 5, 75
consultus,[9] *Id.* 3, 39
demensus, *Id.* 1, 1, 1
expostulatus, *Id.* 9, 13
fretus, *Id.* 2, 82
impensus, *Id.* 1, 5; *al.*
praefatus, *Rel.* 9, 5

AMMIANVS.
circumgressus, 22, 2, 3; *al.*
diffiatus, 15, 11, 18

[1] Sidon. Ep. [2] Cael.; Aur.; Prisc. [3] Donat. [4] Hier. [5] Isid. [6] Heges. [7] Mart. Cap. [8] Auct. Itin. Alex. [9] Isid.

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*introuocatus, 29, 1, 25; *codd.*
traductus, 18, 8, 2
transcensus,[1] 19, 5, 6

AMBROSIVS.
impetratus, *de Fide*, 5, 6, 77
rigatus, *de Isaac*, 1; *al.*

HIERONYMVS.
accinctus, *in Ezech.* 10, 3, 4
adoratus,[2] *Ep.* 22, 6; *al.*
clericatus, *Id.* 5, 1; *al.*
diaconatus,[3] *in Ezech.* 10, 1; *al.*
extensus, *Id.* 11, 1
occubitus,[4] *Ep.* 108, 34
presbyteratus,[5] *Id.* 22, 88
prolapsus,[6] *Id.* 98, 12

AVGVSTINVS.
reciprocatus, *Genes. ad Litt.* 11, 1
sputus,[7] *Ciu. Dei* 18, 23, 2

MARTIANVS CAPELLA.
blateratus,[8] 9, 999
frictus, *Poët.* 8, 805; *al.*
micatus, 4, 331
netus, 2, 114

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
attentus, *Chron.* 3, 1, 3
conclusus, *Id.* 1, 4, 77
conductus, *Acut.* 2, 15, 95
exscreatus, *Chron.* 7, 11, 128; *al.*
sibilatus,[9] *Acut.* 2, 27, 144

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
concitatus, *Carm.* 23, 366
garritus, *Ep.* 8, 6
indultus, *Id.* 1, 11
reseratus, *Id.* 9, 11
uulgatus, *Id.* 8, 1

BOETHIVS.
assumptus, *in Porphyr.* 1; *extr.*

§ 4. SUBSTANTIVES IN **-OR**: Abstract substantives in **-or**, as a class, have little bearing upon this subject, as they are distinctly characteristic of an elevated style.[10] They belong chiefly to the early period, and although a large majority are retained in the classical language, comparatively few new forms come into use. Paucker[11] has collected 103 of these words, *uett.* 85, *recc.* 18, derived chiefly from verbs, (verbal=84, of which 68 % are from the 2nd conj.), and of the *uett.* at least 61, or 70 %, occur before Cic. Plaut.[12] has 34, of which all but 6 are retained by Cic. Ter. has 12, all classic, and Lucr. has 49, almost 50 % of the entire number. Cic. uses 45, all of which occur in earlier authors, excepting 7: *clangor*, *fauor*, *foetor*, *furor*, *stupor*, *tenor*, **torpor*; and there is no reason to suppose that he coined any of these; indeed of *tenor* he says, *uno tenore, ut aiunt*, (*Or.* 6, 21).

[1] Hier.; Vulg.; Auct. Carm. de Fig. [2] Greg. Mag. [3] Sulp. Seu.; Eccl. [4] Vulg. [5] Ps.-Augustin. [6] Rufin.; Augustin.; Eccl. [7] Cael. Aur. [8] Sidon. Ep. [9] Prob.
[10] Slaughter, p. 21, citing Ploen, p. 42. [11] Paucker, Hier. p. 28, *not.* [12] Rassow gives 35, including *maior*, *potior*, but omitting *nitor*, Most. 5.

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The following is a list of the substantives in **-or**, used by Cic., which occur in earlier writers:[1]

amor, *Plaut.; Ter.; Lucr.*
angor, *Lucr.*
calor, *Plaut.; Lucr.*
candor, *Naeu.; Plaut.*
clamor, *Plaut.; Ter.*
color, *Plaut.; Titin.; Lucr.; Varr.*
cruor, *Lucr.*
dolor, *Plaut.; Ter.*
error, *Plaut.; Ter.*
feruor, *Varr.*
fulgor, *Lucr.*
honor, *Plaut.; Ter.*
horror, *Plaut.; Lucr.*
humor, *Plaut.; Lucr.*
labor, *Plaut.; Ter.*
languor, *Plaut.; Ter.*
lepor, *Plaut.*
liquor, *Plaut.; Lucr.*
maeror, *Plaut.; Ter.*
nidor, *Plaut.; Lucr.*
nitor, *Plaut.; Ter.; Lucr.*
paedor, *Poet. ap. Cic.; Lucr.*
pallor, *Plaut.; Lucr.*
plangor, *Cornif. Rhet.*
pudor, *Plaut.; Enn.; Ter.*
rubor, *Plaut.*
rumor, *Plaut.; Ter.*
sapor, *Lucr.*
splendor, *Plaut.; Lucr.*
squalor, *Plaut.; Lucr.*
stridor, *Acc. ap. Cic.*
sudor, *Plaut.; Enn.; Lucr.*
tepor, *Lucr.*
terror, *Plaut.*
timor, *Plaut.; Ter.; Lucr.*
uapor, *Acc.; Lucr.*
odor, *Plaut.; Varr.*
pauor, *Naeu.; Enn.; Lucr.*

The following forms are interesting as further proof of the archaic nature of this suffix:[2]

PLAVTVS.
claror, *Most.* 645

ENNIVS.
uagor,[3] *Ann.* 408

CATO.
putor,[4] *R. R.* 157, 3

PACVVIVS.
macor, *Tr.* 275
nigror,[5] *Id.* 412

ACCIVS.
aegror,[6] *Fr.* 349

LVCILIVS.
pigror, *Sat.* 10, 1

VARRO.[7]
curuor, *L. L.* 5, 104; *al.*
olor,[8] (*oleo*), *Id.* 6, 83
tardor, *Sat. Men.* 57
uuor, *L. L.* 5, 104

LVCRETIVS.
canor,[9] 4, 182
stringor, 3, 687

LABERIVS.
pluor, *Com.* 59

[1] I have not attempted to distinguish the cases in which the form found is the old nominative in *-os*. [2] Comp. Rönsch, p. 63 sq.
[3] Lucr. [4] Lucr.; Varr.; Stat.; Apul.; Arnob.; Itala; Hier.; Augustin. [5] Lucr.; Cels.; Gell.; Cypr. [6] Lucr. [7] Comp. Steunkel, p. 20. [8] *Apul. [9] Ou.; Verg.; Petr.

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Silver Latin adds only 8, of which 3 are in Col., *acor*, *fluor*, *mucor*. The African writer, Apul., however, has 4 new words, *ningor*, *rudor*, *tuor*, *tundor*, and over 14 old forms are cited from him by the lexicons. Tert., on the other hand, adds only 2 forms, *dulcor*, *frendor*, thus indicating that their frequency in Apul. is best regarded as an archaism and not a feature of African Latinity. Goelzer, however, gives a list of 16 late formations, showing that the suffix was still employed in the time of Hier.[1]

The great majority of forms in **-or** are verbal derivatives, and only such appear to have been employed by the writers of the best period. The only words which can be cited which are unquestionably denominative belong to early, rustic or late Latin (3, Silv. Lat.):

LUCIL., lymphor, *Fr. Inc.* 86
LUCR., amaror, 4, 224; *al.*; **Verg.*[2] *Ge.* 2, 247
laeuor, 4, 552; *al. Cels.*; *Plin.*
VARR., caldor, *R. R.* 1, 41, 1; *Gell.*; *Arnob.*
QUINT., tonor, (τόνος), 1, 5, 22
FULG., acror, *Cont. Verg. init.*; *Isid.*
PS.-SORAN., frigdor., *Qu. Medic.* 109; *Gloss. Paris.* (comp. **Fr.**, *froideur*).

It is interesting to note that the new formations in **-or** in the Romance languages are largely formed from adjectives,[3] as **Ital.**, *bellore*, *forzore*, *tristore*; **Sp.**, *blancor.*, *dulcor*; **Fr.**, *ampleur*, *hauteur*, *verdeur*.

§ 5. SUBSTANTIVES IN **-tura, -sura**: This class of verbal derivatives belongs especially to the *sermo plebeius*. Their prevalence in the Scriptt. R. R. was first noted by Stuenkel, (p. 27), who accordingly assigned them to the *sermo rusticus*,[4] and his view is sustained by statistics contained in the list prepared by K. Paucker:[5] according to this list, the total number of subss., in **-tura, -sura,** is 282, *uett.* 147, *recc.* 135, only 27 of which, or barely 19 % *uett.* occur in Cic. Of all abstract nouns they gained the least acceptance in classic Latin; Cic. has of

[1] Goelzer, p. 99.

[2] *Comp.* Gell. 1, 21, 5, *Non enim primus finxit hoc uerbum Vergilius insolenter, sed in carminibus Lucreti inuento usus est, non aspernatus auctoritatem poetae ingenio et facundia praecellentis.*

[3] Diez, p. 658, "Die rom. Schöpfungen entspringen häufig aus Adj." [4] Comp. Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI, p. 144; Slaughter, Ter., p. 23; Rönsch, Itala, p. 40; Gölzer, Hier, p. 88. [5] Zeitschr. f. östr. Gymnas. XXVI, p. 891 sq.

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subs. in **-tas**, 66 % of *uett.*, **-tio**, 59 %; **-ntia**, 50 %; **-us**, 42 %; **-tudo**, 37 %. Of the 147 *uett.*, in **-tura**, **-sura**, Plaut. used 18, 8 of which are given by Schmilinsky, (p. 33), as vulgar; Cato, *R. R.*, added 3, and Varr. 14, 9 in the *R. R.*; Vitr. has 20 new words, and Silver Latin added 50, the largest number, 14, being due to Plin., always a fertile source for rustic vocabulary, and about a dozen more to *Col.* One notable feature of this class, is the large number, 203, or more than two-thirds of the whole, which have corresponding forms in **-tio**; the consequent superfluousness of these forms, together with their rare usage, (125, or 44 % are ἅπαξ εἰρημένα, *uett.* 33; *recc.* 92) is the strongest evidence of their vulgar character. In later Latin, however, when formations in **-tio** became general, those in **-tura** failed to maintain themselves in opposition, and the new formations are proportionately few. Thus Tert., the most prolific of all Latin writers in word-building, adds only 12, and Hier. only 4.

The use of these substantives in a concrete sense is a peculiarity of the later language important in its bearing upon the Romance languages. This change first became noticeable in Tert.,[1] in a few words like *creatura*, *genitura*, *paratura*, *scriptura*; but the usage widened steadily, until a large share of the new forms were concrete. Goelzer[2] gives a list of 44, chiefly *recc.*, which are so employed, and emphasizes the fact, already noted by Rönsch,[3] that the concrete sense predominates in derivatives of this class in modern **Fr.**, as *bordure*, *ceinture*, *enflure*, *tournure*, etc.; so also in **Ital.**, *arsura*, *lettura*, *morsura*, etc., and the Romance languages in general.[4] The general prevalence of these derivatives, in both senses, in the modern languages, **It.**, **Sp.**, **Port.**, *ura*, **Fr.**, *ure*, **Rum.**, *ure*, is the strongest proof of their firm hold upon the language of the people.

PLAVTVS.

cubitura, *Fr. ap. Non.* 198, 25
cursura,[5] *Asin.* 327; *al.*
desultura, *Mil.* 280
fictura,[6] *Trin.* 365
insultura, *Mil.* 280

[1] Schmidt, Tert., I, p. 21, "(*Tert.*) nonnullis uim attribuit insolitam, concretam, contra naturam terminationis actionem quandam significantis." [2] Goelzer, St. Jerome, p. 89. [3] Rönsch, Itala, p. 43, *not.*, citing *paratura*, *assatura*, *conditura*; comp. Diez, p. 657, "der active Sinn leicht in den passiven übergeht, wie *pictura*, das Malen und das Gemalte heisst." [4] Diez, ib.

[5] Varr.; Apul.; Amm. [6] Gell.; Chalcid. Tim.

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polluctura, *Stich.* 688
salsura,[1] *Id.* 92
textura,[2] *Id.* 348
uenatura, *Mil.* 999

TERENTIVS.
curatura,[3] *Eun.* 316

CATO.
commixtura, *R. R.* 157, 1
compos(i)tura,[4] *Id.* 22, 3
fractura,[5] *Id.* 160

LVCRETIVS.
dispositura, 1, 1027; *al.*
flexura,[6] 4, 336
formatura,[7] 4, 550

VARRO.
admissura,[8] *R. R.* 2, 5, 12; *al.*
caelatura,[9] *Sat. Men.* 420
carptura, *R. R.* 3, 16, 26
fartura,[10] *Id.* 3, 83
*moderatura, *de Vit. P. R.* 1, 5, *ed. Kettner*
partura, *R. R.* 2, 1, 26
pensura, *L. L.* 5, 183
temperatura,[11] *Sat. Men.* 23
tonsura,[12] *R. R.* 2, 11, 9; *al.*
tritura,[13] *Id.* 1, 13, 5
uelatura, *Id.* 1, 2, 14
uinctura,[14] *L. L.* 5, 62
uolatura,[15] *R. R.* 3, 5, 7
uulsura, *Id.* 2, 11, 9

VITRVVIVS.
apertura,[16] 4, 6, 6; *al.*
calcatura, 10, 10, 1
coctura,[17] 7, 9, 1
*compactura, 4, 7, 4
conclusura, 6, 8, 3
contractura, 3, 3, 12
corporatura,[18] 6, 1, 3
curuatura,[19] 2, 8, 11
directura,[20] 7, 3, 5
flatura,[21] 2, 7, 4
foliatura, 2, 9, 13
fossura,[22] 5, 9, 8
fricatura,[23] 7, 1, 4
inuersura, 5, 3, 5
materiatura, 4, 2, 2
membratura, 8, 5, 1
praecinctura,[24] 10, 21, 6
proiectura, 3, 2, 3
striatura,[25] 4, 3, 9
traiectura, 4, 7, 5

CELSVS.
fissura,[26] 7, 12, 1; *al.*
scissura,[27] 6, 18, 9

SENECA, (APOC.)
dilatura, *Apoc.* 14, 3
latura,[28] *Id. ib.*

COLVMELLA.
ceratura,[29] 12, 50, 16
coactura, 12, 52, 1
confectura,[30] 9, 14, 5

[1] Varr.; Col.; Fulg. Myth. [2] Lucr.; Prop.; Sen. Ep.; Lucan.; Vulg.; Prud. [3] Prisc. [4] Lucr.; Capito ap. Gell. [5] Cels.; Plin. [6] Varr.; Sen.; Col.; Suet. [7] Arnob. [8] Col.; Plin.; Stat.; Vulg. [9] Sen. Ep.; Quint.; Plin.; Suet.; Vulg. [10] Vitr.; Col.; Tert. [11] Vitr.; Sen. Ep.; Plin.; Vulg. [12] Ou.; Plin.; Cael. Aur. [13] Verg. Ge.; Col.; Apul. Met.; Pseud.-Apic.; Plin. Val. [14] Cels.; Plin. [15] Col. [16] Vulg.; Dig. [17] Sen. Ep.; Col.; Plin.; Pseud.-Apic.; Pall.; Ambros. [18] Col. [19] Ou.; Sen.; Plin.; Hyg. [20] Frontin.; Gromat. Vet. [21] Petr.; Plin.; Arnob.; Inscrr. [22] Col.; Suet.; Pall.; Inscrr. [23] Apul. Met. 10, 21, fragm., p. 230, ed. H. [24] Macr. [25] Sidon. Ep. [26] Col.; Plin. [27] Sen.; Plin.; Prud.; *form cissura,*—Gromat. Vet. [28] Augustin.; Mart.; Schol. Iuu.; Gloss. Labb. [29] Gloss. Labb. [30] Plin.

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domitura,[1] 6, 2, 1
fluxura,[2] 3, 2, 17
incisura,[3] 12, 54, 1
rasura,[4] 4, 29, 9
salitura, 12, 21, 3
sarritura,[5] 11, 2, 27

PETRONIVS.
conditura,[6] (*condo*), 51

PLINIVS.
caesura,[7] 16, 230
capillatura,[8] 37, 190
castratura,[9] 18, 86
circumcisura, 16, 219
circumfossura, 17, 227
diuisura,[10] 16, 122; *al.*
factura,[11] 34, 145
fusura,[12] 33, 106
genitura,[13] 18, 202; *al.*
indicatura, 37, 18; *al.*
lotura,[14] 34, 128
nomenclatura, 3, 2; *al.*
pistura, 18, 97
plicatura, 7, 171
tinctura, 37, 119

GELLIVS.
alitura, 12, 1, 20

APVLEIVS.
agressura,[15] *Met.* 7, 7
*lacunatura, *Flor.* 2, 15
*mollitura, *de Mag.* 9

TERTVLLIANVS.
concussura, *ad Scap.* 13
creatura,[16] *Apol.* 30
delatura,[17] *adu. Marc.* 5, 18, *fin.*
farsura, *adu. Valent.* 27
fixura,[18] *adu. Gnost.* 1, *med.*
inscriptura, *adu. Valent.* 30
laesura,[19] *de Patient.* 7
paratura,[20] *Apol.* 47; *al.*
piscatura, *adu.* Marc. 4, 9
praeparatura, *Id.* 4, 18, *al.*
suffectura, *Id.* 1, 28
supparatura, *Res. Carn.* 61

LAMPRIDIVS.
praepositura,[21] *Heliog.* 6

VOPISCVS.
assatura,[22] *Aurel.* 49, 9

PALLADIVS.
cretura, 1, 24, 3
serratura, 3, 17; *in.*

AMMIANVS.
*praetentura, 14, 3, 2; *al.*

AMBROSIVS.
discissura, *Serm.* 13

HIERONYMVS.
frixura,[23] *in Amos.* 7, 7
*messura, *in Galat.* 6, 9
pastura,[24] *in Osee*, 4, 15
stannatura, *in Amos*, 7, 7

AVGVSTINVS.
conscissura, *in Ps.* 49, 9
munitura,[25] *adu. Iulian. Pelag.* 2, 6, 16

[1] Plin. [2] Tert. [3] Pall.; Vulg. [4] Hier.; Veget.; Cael. Aur. [5] Plin. [6] Isid. [7] Diom. 497,(metr.). [8] Tert.; Cael. Aur. [9] Pall. [10] Pall.; Cael. Aur. [11] Gell.; Vulg.; Prud. [12] Vulg. [13] Suet.; Apul.; Arnob.; Spart.; Amm.; Augustin.; Eutrop. [14] Mart. [15] Vlp. Dig.; Cod. Iust. [16] Hier.; Vulg.; Prud. [17] Vulg. [18] Hier.; Vulg. [19] Vulg.; Inscrr. [20] Auct. Vit. Cypr. [21] Augustin.; Cod. Iust. [22] Vulg.; Ps.-Apic.; Plin. Val. [23] Ven. Fort.; Greg. M.; *form frictura*,—Anthim. [24] Pall. [25] Inscrr.

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§ 6. Substantives in **-ela**: This class of derivatives, like those in **-tudo**, is an archaism which the demand for abstracts revived in post-classical literature;[1] they are at best very rare, and with the exception of two or three in general use, as *querela, tutela,* (both in Cic.), confined to early and late Latin. Their comparative frequency in early comedy, (7 in Plaut., 3 in Ter., 1 in Turpil. and Afran.), their avoidance by classic writers, and revival by writers of Silver Latin and by the archaists sustain the view of Rebling[2] that this suffix was a characteristic of plebeian Latin. Even in post-classical times it failed to become prevalent in literature: Silver latin,[3] so fertile in vocabulary, added only 2, Gell. and Apul. 1 each, (the latter however employed 5 from archaic latin, *cautela, custodela, suadela, turbela,* from Plaut., *fugela* from Cato); Tert.,[4] first and alone, used the suffix freely, increasing the list by 5, and using 2 others, both post-Augustan, (*medela,* Gell., *sequela,* Frontin.), so that with him the usage could not have been a conscious archaism, but must have been borrowed from popular speech; for Tert., while enriching most extensively the Latin vocabularly, drew largely from plebeian sources. Later writers, while not adding materially to the number of these substantives, continued to show a partiality for those already in use: thus Hier. has *medela, obsequela, sutela;* Augustin., *incorruptela, turbela;* and Amm. no less than 8, *cautela, clientela, corruptela, medela, querela, sequela, turbela, tutela.* These forms have been retained in Rom. languages only in isolated instances as **Fr.** *querelle, chandelle;* **Sp.** *querella;* **Pg.** *candêa;* but Diez,[5] notes the allied suffix *-eale,* frequent in **Daco-Ruman.**

[1] "Die Neigung zur Abstraction in den Zeiten des Verfalls zeigt sich . . . in Wiederaufnahme der nur im Altlat. üblichen Endung *ela,*" Schmalz, Stilist., p. 534 § 2. [2] Rebl. p. 23; comp. Schulze, p. 156, "Rebling recte docuit substantiua suffixo *-ela* derivata a priscis scriptoribus et deinde in sermone uulgari admodum adamata fuisse:" Rönsch, p. 45; Schmilinsky, p. 32; Goelzer, p. 90. [3] I cannot agree with Slaughter, p. 23, that -ela is a "favorite suffix in Silver and late latin:" it was revived in Silver Latin, but the 2 instances given by Paucker, Silb. Lat. p. 16, hardly prove it a favorite. [4] Schmidt, Tert. I, p. 22. [5] Diez, p. 641.

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PLAVTVS.
*cautela,[1] *Mil.* 601
custodela,[2] *Capt.* 457; *al.*
loquela,[3] *Cist.* 741
*obsequela,[4] *Asin.* 65
suadela,[5] *Cist.* 296
sutela,[6] *Capt.* 692; *al.*
(turbel(l)a,[7] *Pseud.* 110)

CATO.
fugela,[8] *Oratt.* 12, *Fr.* 1

LVCRETIVS.
luela, 3, 1028

PLINIVS.
cicindela,[9] 18, 250

PAVLI FEST. EPIT.
assidela, *p.* 17 *ed. Mül.*
confugela,[10] *Id.* 39, 9

GELLIVS.
medela,[11] 12, 5, 3

FRONTINVS.
sequela,[12] *Strat.* 2, 4, 8

APVLEIVS.
*nitela,[13] *Mag.* 9.

TERTVLLIANVS.
captatela, *Pall.* 5
fouela, *Anim.* 7
incorruptela,[14] *Res. Carn.* 52; *al.*
monela,[15] *adu. Marc.* 4, 34; *al.*
peccatela, *Anim.* 40

GAIVS.
mandatela,[16] *Inst.* 2, 104

MARIVS VICTORINVS.
assequela, *p.* 2500

SALVIANVS.
incautela,[17] *Gub. Dei.* 6, 10

ISIDORVS.
antel(l)a, *Or.* 20, 16, 4
postel(l)a, *Id. ib.*

INTPR. AD COD. THEOD.
conductela, 4, 12, 1

THOMAE THESAVRVS.
subtela, *p.* 561

§ 7. SUBSTANTIVES IN **-ntia**: This derivation also was a favorite in the *sermo plebeius*,[18] although a large proportion of these words were in use in the classical speech. It was frequent in early latin (Rassow assigns 26 to Plaut.), and its plebeian character is noted by Lorenz,[19] who also notes the number of these words which were dropped from the classic

[1] Apul. Met.; Min. Fel.; Vlp. Dig.; Amm.; Symm. [2] Formul. Vet. ap. Gai. Inst.; Apul. [3] Lucr.; Varr.; Verg.; Ov.; Tert.; Vulg.; Prob.; Intpr. Iren. [4] Turpil.; Afran.; Sall. Fr. ap. Non.; Prud.; Hilar.; Hier. [5] Apul.; Intpr. Iren.; Vulg.; *Nom. propr.*, *Suadela*—Gk. Πειθώ, Hor. Ep. 1, 6, 38. [6] Paul. ex Fest.; Symm.; Hier. [7] Apul.; Amm.; Augustin.; "only in Vulg. lang." L. & S. [8] Apul. [9] Paul. ex Fest.; Isid.; Not. Tir.; Gloss. Labb. [10] Cited as archaic. [11] Apul.; Iustin.; Tert.; Cypr.; Prud.; Veget.; Amm.; Hier.; Vulg.; Cod.; Cael. Aur. [12] Gell.; Tert.; Lact.; Amm.; Iustin.; Dig.; Inscr. [13] Solin. [14] Intpr. Iren.; Ambros.; Vulg.; Augustin. [15] Lucif. Cal. [16] Prisc. [17] Eccl.

[18] Compare Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI, p. 154. [19] Lorenz ad Pseud. 381, "der Volkssprache angehörige z. Th. von den Archaisten wieder aufgenommene Bildungen sind *pollentia*, *fraudulentia*, *flagrantia*, *incogitantia*, etc."

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speech, but revived by the archaistic writers. The chief activity of this formation belongs, however, to post-classical times: the language contains altogether over 342 examples, *recc.* 203, *uett.* 139, of which about 65 occur in Cic., or Caes. Silver Latin[1] affords only 21 (Plin., Sen., and Quint. 4 each), but with the African writers the formation becomes frequent. From Gell. I can cite 9 new words; Apul. gives the same number, and Tert.,[2] at whose hands the suffix received new life, is most fertile of any Latin author. He not only revived 13 from the Silver Latin, but added to the language 37 new forms, of which 30 do not occur again. Many of these, especially compounds, which are alien to the spirit of the classic language, Schmidt notes are formed by him in order to render words from the Greek, as *multinubentia* = πολυγαμία, *multiuorantia* = πολυφαγία. In Hier. we find 7 new forms, of which 5 are peculiar to him, and Rönsch[3] cites 11 late forms, occurring in the Vulgate. Most significant of all, however, as an indication of the vulgar character of these words is, that out of the dozen occurring first in the vulgar writer Vitr., some words peculiar to him, as *crescentia, resonantia,* have reappeared in the Romance languages.[4]

NAEVIVS.
ualentia,[5] *Tr.* 3

PLAVTVS.
essentia,[6] *Fr. Dub. et Susp.* 4
flagrantia,[7] *Rud.* 733
*fraudulentia,[8] *Mil.* 193, *Br.*
(habentia,[9] Auct. Prol. Truc. 21)
incogitantia, *Merc.* 27
lubentia,[10] *Pseud.* 396 ; *al.*
pollentia,[11] *Rud.* 618 ; *al.*
queentia,[12] *Fr. Dub. et Susp.* 4
stultiloquentia, *Trin.* 222
uaniloquentia,[13] *Rud.* 905

ENNIVS.
blandiloquentia,[14] *Tr.* 305

ACCIVS.
errantia, *Tr.* 469
fauentia,[15] *Id.* 510

NOVIVS.
tolutiloquentia, *Com.* 88

SISENNA.
aduenientia, *Fr.* p. 281, 15 *P.*

NIGIDIVS.
imminentia,[16] *ap. Gell.* 9, 12, 6

[1] Pauck. Silb. Lat. p. 17. [2] Schmidt. Tert. I, p. 22 sq. [3] Rönsch, p. 50. [4] Wölfl., ALL. I, p. 127, citing Ulrich, Vitr. Cop. Verb. pt. I.

[5] Titin. Com.; Tert.; Macr.; Boeth. [6] Comp. Quint. 8, 3, 33; Sen. Ep. 58, 6; Halm. ad loc. [7] Cic., semel, (Cael. 20, 49).; Gell.; Apul.; Arnob.; Prud.; Mart. Cap. [8] Hilar.; Ambros.; Hier.; Vulg. [9] Quadrig. ap. Non.; Augustin. [10] Gell. [11] Liu. [12] *Conf. not.* 6, *supra.* [13] Liu.; Tac.; Iul. Val. [14] Hilar. [15] Cypr. [16] Faust. ap. Augustin.; Greg. Ep.

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LVCRETIVS.
dissipientia, 3, 499
repetentia,[1] 3, 863
retinentia, 3, 675
uariantia, 1, 654 ; *al.*

VITRVVIVS.
candentia, 9, 2, 2
concrescentia, 8, 3, 18
considerantia, 6, 1, 10
crescentia, 9, 9, 7
decrescentia, 9, 2, 2
indecentia,[2] 7, 5, 6
nascentia,[3] 10, 6, 2
obstantia, 9, 5, 4 ; *al.*
peruolantia, 9, 7, 1
prominentia,[4] 6, 11, 6
resonantia, 5, 3, 6 ; *al.*
subsidentia, 8, 3, 18

COLVMELLA.
extantia,[5] 5, 5, 12

PLINIVS.
accidentia,[6] 32, 9
corpulentia,[7] 11, 118
graueolentia, 22, 87 ; *al.*
malificentia,[8] 9, 34
procidentia,[9] 23, 161

GELLIVS.
circumspicientia, 14, 2, 13
competentia,[10] 1, 1, 3 ; *al.*
deuergentia, 14, 1, 8
exsultantia,[11] 12, 5, 9
exuberantia, 2, 26, 9 ; *al.*
ignoscentia,[12] 6, 3, 47
inualentia,[13] 20, 1, 27
maledicentia, 3, 3, 15 ; *al.*
praecipitantia, 7, 2, 11 ; *al.*

APVLEIVS.
allubentia, *Met.* 1, 7
circumferentia, *Id.* 4, 18
erubiscentia,[14] *Frag.* 21, p. 631 *H.*
irascentia, *Dogm. Plat.* 1, 13
parientia,[15] *Met.* 11, 22
placentia,[16] *Id.* 2, 6
praepotentia,[17] *de Mund.* 26
*pudentia,[18] *Dogm. Plat.* 2, 3
refulgentia,[19] *Flor.* 18, p. 28, 6, *Kr.*

TERTVLLIANVS.
aequiparantia, *adu. Valent.* 16
apparentia,[20] *adu. Marc.* 1, 19 ; *al.*
concupiscentia,[21] *Anim.* 38 ; *al.*
defetiscentia, *Id.* 43
delinquentia, *Res. Carn.* 24
discentia,[22] *Anim.* 23
disconuenientia, *Test. Anim.* 6
hiantia, *Anim.* 10
horrentia, *adu. Marc.* 4, 24
immoderantia, *Bapt.* 20
impraescientia, *adu. Marc.* 2, 7
improuidentia, *Id.* 2, 23
incongruentia,[23] *Anim.* 6
inconuenientia,[24] *adu. Marc.* 4, 16
inexperientia, *Anim.* 20
inobaudientia, *adu. Marc.* 4, 17
insufficientia,[25] *ad Vxor.* 1, 4
iurulentia, *de Iciun.* 1
multinubentia, *adu. Psych.* 1
multiuorantia, *Id. ib.*
nocentia, *Apol.* 40 ; *al.*
nolentia, *adu. Marc.* 1, 25
obaudientia, *Exhort. ad Cast.* 2

[1] Arnob. [2] Cael. Aur. [3] Vulg. [4] Solin.; Cael. Aur. [5] Cael. Aur. [6] Tert. [7] Tert.; Solin.; Augustin. [8] Lact. [9] Prisc. [10] Chalcid. Tim.; Macr.; Fulg. Myth. [11] Paul. Nol. [12] Tert. [13] Apul. [14] Tert. [15] Cassiod.; Cod. Iust.; *form parentia*,—Chalcid. Tim. 270. [16] Intpr. Iren. [17] Tert. [18] Gloss. Cyrill. [19] Eccl. [20] Firm. Math. [21] Cypr.; Hier.; Vulg.; Paul. Nol. [22] Hier. [23] Lact.; Augustin. [24] Macr. [25] Boeth.

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obuenientia, *adu. Valent.* 29
offerentia, *adu. Marc.* 4, 24
olentia, *Id.* 2, 2
peccantia, *adu. Iud.* 10
praecellentia, *Apol.* 23
praescientia,[1] *adu. Marc.* 2, 5
purulentia,[2] *Pall.* 5
refrigescentia, *Anim.* 43
reminiscentia,[3] *Id.* 24
renidentia, *Id.* 49
squalentia, *Exhort. ad Cast.* 10
subtililoquentia, *Adu. Marc.* 5, 19
sufferentia,[4] *Id.* 4, 15
sufficientia,[5] *ad Vxor.* 1, 4
turbulentia, *adu. Herm.* 41

CAPITOLINVS.
honorificentia,[6] *Anton. Phil.* 20, 2

ARNOBIVS.
luculentia,[7] 3, 6
repetentia, 2, 26; *al.*

CHALCIDIVS.
carentia,[8] *Tim.* 283; *al.*
exsistentia,[9] *Id.* 25 *D.*; *al.*

SYMMACHVS.
conualescentia, *Ep.* 8, 11
noscentia, *Id.* 4, 9

AMMIANVS.
armipotentia, 18, 5, 7
fluentia,[10] 30, 4, 10

AMBROSIVS.
exundantia,[11] *Hexaem.* 2, 1, 1
recordantia, *de Iob.* 4, 7, 19

HIERONYMVS.
beneolentia. *in Didym. de Spr. Sct.* 11
complacentia, *in Ierem.* 3, 14, 10
dissonantia,[12] *Ep.* 112, 22
esculentia, *Id.* 79, 7
impeccantia, *adu. Pelag.* 1, 25; *al.*
impoenitentia,[13] *in Iesai.* 18, 65, 23
splendentia, *Ep.* 57, 11

AVGVSTINVS.
adiacentia, *de Nat. et Grat.* 59
diffluentia, *Serm.* 9, 15
dignoscentia,[14] *Ciu. Dei* 14, 17
faeculentia,[15] *Ep.* 108, 6
manentia, *Id.* 11, 3
praepollentia, *Serm.* 1, 15; *al.*
resistentia, *de Peccat. Merit.* 2, 22
resplendentia, *Ep.* 155, 14
suaueolentia,[16] *Conf.* 8, 6, 15
suauifragrantia, *Serm. ad Neoph. fin.*
somnolentia,[17] *Fr.* 8, 56

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
superantia, *Signif. Diaet. Pass.* 9
tumentia, *Acut.* 1, 10, 74; *al.*

BOETHIVS.
aequisonantia, *de Music.* 5, 11; *al.*
colligentia,[18] *de Syll. Hyp.* 1, *p.* 623
expedientia, *Aristot. Top.* 6, *p.* 708
iuuantia, *Id.* 6, 4; *al.*
praeuidentia, *Cons. Phil.* 5, 6, *p.* 113, 10, *Obb.*
sequentia,[19] *Inst. Arith.* 1, 10; *al.*

[1] Lact.; Augustin.; Mart. Cap.; Boeth. [2] Hier. [3] Arnob. [4] Vulg. [5] Vulg.; Sidon. Ep. [6] Spart.; Vopisc.; Symm. Ep.; Vulg.; Eccl., (*conf.* Rönsch, p. 50). [7] Oros. [8] Boeth. [9] Iulian. ap. Augustin. [10] Cael. Aur. [11] Augustin. [12] Augustin.; Cl. Mam.; Boeth. [13] Augustin. [14] Iul. Val. [15] Cresc. Donat.; Sidon. Ep.; Fulg. [16] Sidon. Ep. [17] Sidon. Ep. [18] Cassiod. [19] Schol. Bob. ad Cic.

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§ 8. SUBSTANTIVES IN **-ntium**: The single instance of this form of derivation in use in classical Latin is *silentium*. Rönsch, however, who has collected the following examples from late Latin, regards them as survivals of the vulgar speech:[1]

sementium, *Liuit.* 18, 23, *Cod. Ashburnh.*
serpentium, *Isid. Or.* 19, 31, 12
psallentium,[2] *Greg. Tur. H. F.* 1, 43; *al.; Fredegar.*
peculantium,[3] *Commodian. Instr.* 2, 28, 13
errantium, *Gloss. Paris*, (*Hildebr.*)
concinentium, *Gloss.*

§ 9. SUBSTANTIVES IN **-monia, -monium**: Since Nipperdey first noted the unclassical ring to the word *tristimonia* in the Auct. B. Afr.,[4] these substantives have been generally admitted to belong to the category of plebeian formations.[5] A distinction, however, should be drawn between the feminine and neuter forms: Paucker[6] gives a list of 31, (omitting *caerimonium*), *uett.* 24, *recc.* 7; of these only 11 in Cic., (one in the *Epistt.*); of these, however, only 4 are in **-monium**; *matrimonium, patrimonium, testimonium, uadimonium*, all of which belong to cumbersome legal terminology. Of forms in **-monia** he has 7, 5 of which, *aegrimonia, caerimonia, castimonia, querimonia, sanctimonia*, have corresponding forms in the neuter, while those in **-monium** used by Cic., have no corresponding forms in the feminine, so the inference is natural that where there was a choice Cic. preferred the feminine termination. The remaining two, *acrimonia, parcimonia*, have no corresponding forms extant. Outside of Cic. only 4 forms in **-monia** are known, against 16 in **-monium**; in other words, he uses 63% of the former and but 20% of the latter. But the words in **-monia**

[1] "die wenigen die es noch ausserdem gibt kommen erst in späteren Zeit vor, und sind, wie es scheint, Ueberbleibsel der vulgär Sprache," Rönsch, Oesterr. Gymnas. 30, p. 15.

[2] Comp. Pauck. Add. Lex. Lat. p. 69, "figura insolentiore, sed cf. *silentium*, et praeterea *serpentium*, . . . *peculantium*;" L. Quicherat, Add. Lex. Lat., *s. u.*, "nox fere portentosa;" *Contra*, Bonnet, p. 461, "*ce mot n'a rien de monstrueux, comme on l'a prétendu; Psallentium est un génitif pluriel devenu nominatif singulier par un procédé qu'on a appelé hypostase*," citing R. Usener, N. Jahrb. f. Philol. 95, p. 71.

[3] *Contra*, Georges Wörterb., "*peculantia, ae.*"

[4] "a Ciceronis Caesaris Hirtiique consuetudine abhorrentia," Nipperdey, Caes. praef. p. 18. [5] Rebl. p. 14; Ludwig, Petr. 29; Guericke, p. 31; Landgr. II, p. 319; Koehler, p. 9; Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI, p. 157; Goelzer, p. 31; 92. [6] Paucker, Materialien, II, p. 4, *not.* 3; *conf.* lista, Rönsch, p. 28; Goelzer, p. 93.

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are too sparingly used to be regarded as classic; they belong rather to the colloquial language, while those in **-monium** are to be consigned unhesitatingly to the *sermo uulgaris*.

The following are the forms not in good usage:

a. *Substantives in* **-monia.**

PLAVTVS.
falsimonia, *Bacch.* 541
aegrimonia,[1] *Stich.* 3, 1, 5

VARRO.
alimonia,[2] *Sat. Men.* 260

AVCT. BELL. AFRIC.
tristimonia, 10, 3

GLOSS. ISID.
alacrimonia.

b. *Substantives in* **-monium.**

PLAVTVS.
mercimonium,[3] *Most.* 912, *al.*

VARRO.
alimonium,[4] *R. R.* 1, 8, 7
dicimonium, *L. L.* 6, 61

LABERIVS.
mendicimonium, *Com.* 150
miserimonium, *Id.* 18
moechimonium, *Id.* 150

VITRVVIVS.
*sessimonium, *Praef.* 8, 16

PETRONIVS.
gaudimonium,[5] 61, 3
tristimonium, 63

INSCRR. POMPEII.
regimonium,[6] *C. I.L. IV*, 918

ITALA.
aegrimonium,[7] *Matth.* 8, 17

APVLEIVS.
castimonium,[8] *Met.* 11, 19

CYPRIANVS.
sanctimonium,[9] *Ep.* 21, 4; *al.*

VENANT. FORT.
querimonium, *Vit. S. Mart.* 2, 401

VICTOR TUNNON.
plangimonium,[10] *de Poenit.* 6

GLOSS. PARIS.
caerimonium,[11] p. 50; *ed Hildebr.*

§ 10. SUBSTANTIVES IN **-tas**: The frequency of words in **-tas**, which marks the writers of the decadence, is due as in the case of substantives in **-tio**, to the growing need of expressing abstract ideas.[12] Out of a total[13] of 889, *uett.* 377, *recc.* 512, 250 occur in Cic. and Caes., from which number Schulze subtracts 10

[1] Cic. ad Att.; Hor. Epod.; Plin. [2] Gell.; Apul.; Itala; Lact.; Prud.; Cod. Theod. [3] Turpil.; Tac.; Ambros.; Capitol.; Augustin.; Cod. Theod. [4] Suet.; Tac.; Paul. Dig. [5] Vulg. [6] Gloss. Vatic.; Gl. Isid.; Gl. Arab. [7] Intpr. Iren.; Gloss. Labb. [8] Gl. Labb. [9] Augustin. [10] Comp. Pauck. Spicileg. p. 121. [11] Inscrr.

[12] Goelzer, p. 104; Schmalz, Stilist. § 2. [13] Paucker, Ztschr. f. vergl. Sprachf., XXIII, p. 138 sq.; comp. Schulze, Diss. Hal. 6, 145.

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forms not again found until Post-Hadrian times, and claims but 25 % as in good usage, and on this ground adds **-tas** to the list of plebeian suffixes.[1] But while it is true that the *sermo plebeius* was fertile in formations of this class, as in all classes of abstract nouns, there is no class of which a larger proportion of the older words are in good usage. Thus of the *uett.*, 250 or nearly two-thirds, are classical, and subtracting the 50 belonging to Silver Latin, we bring the proportion up to three-fourths. Plaut. has 72 words in **-tas**, of which only 16 are unclassical; 56 or seven-ninths become classical, while of his forms in **-tudo** only 9 out of 23, barely three-eighths, recur in the best Latin. Terent., whose Latinity was always more finished than Plaut., has 50 words in **-tas**, of which all but 4 are classic.[2] The vulgar writer, Vitr., added only 9, Plin. 14, Col. 9, and Petr. none at all. This suffix, like so many others, received a fresh impulse at the hands of the archaists, and later writers: Apul. added 22, Tert. 51, Hier. 7, Augustin. 26. These figures simply tend to prove the greater freedom of plebeian and late Latin in all classes of derivatives. Far from showing a special tendency towards nouns in **-tas**, statistics indicate that these words were largely replaced in the *sermo uulgaris* by forms in **-tudo**: for while the two suffixes had no material difference in signification,[3] the heavier ending better satisfied the plebeian love of redundancy.

In some cases however the phenomenon is reversed: there are certain forms in **-tas** confined to ante- and post-classical latin, which are replaced in the classical language by corresponding words in **-tudo**; as Acc. *Tr.* 640, *dulcitas*, (Cic., *dulcitudo*); Caecil. *Com.* 55. *pulchritas*, (Cic., *pulchritudo*); Acc. *Tr.* 354, Apul.; Tert., *solitas*, (Cic., *solitudo*). Such diversity of formation is inevitable where concurrent methods of derivation exist, and with only usage as a guide, considerable confusion must have arisen in the popular mind. These unusual forms in **-tas** are to be assigned to the *sermo quotidianus*, which, standing nearer to the classic speech, tended to extend by analogy the scope of the dominant suffix **-tas**.

Another class of these nouns worthy of note comprises those derived, not as usual from adjectives, but irregularly

[1] Schulze, ib.; comp. Hauschild, Diss. Hal. 6, 250, "haud scio an erret Schlz.," ecc. [2] Slaughter, Ter., 18. [3] Comp. Gell. 13, 3.

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from nouns, verbs or adverbs.[1] Especially rare are those formed from abstract nouns, as Laber., *Com.* 81, *libidinitas*, (*libido*); Apul. *Met.* 6. 14; *salebritas*, (*salebra*), Ennod. *Ep.* 8, 8, *cautelitas*, (*cautela*). Such a doubling of derivation also savours of plebeian Latin.

It follows from the preceding that in and of itself the suffix **-tas** is characteristic of an elevated style. There are, however, two sub-classes of these substantives which are important as tending to show the plebeian nature of adjectives in **-bilis, -osus**: *i.e.*, the substantives formed from such adjectives, in **-bili-tas; -osi-tas.** The number of these somewhat cumbersome formations is for the entire period of Latinity remarkably large, being 203 (**-bilitas,** 95, **-ositas,** 108), or more than 22 % of the entire number in **-tas.** Of these the great majority are *recc.* (from **-osus,** *recc.* 88 %; from **-bilis,** 78 %); of the *uett.*, Cic. employs 12 in **-bilitas,** 5 in **-ositas,** mostly of rare occurrence and formed in every instance from adjectives found in Cic. The following is a list of the forms used by him:

admirabilitas, *bis.*
aequabilitas, *freq.*
affabilitas, *semel, de Off.* 2, 48
ignobilitas, *freq.*
immutabilitas, *semel, Fat.* 17
innumerabilitas, *semel, Nat. Deor.* 1, 26, 73
mobilitas, *freq.* (*et Caes.*)
mutabilitas, *semel, Tusc.* 4, 76
placabilitas, *semel, de Off.* 1, 88
probabilitas, *saepe.*
stabilitas, *saepe.*
uolubilitas, *saepe.*

curiositas, *semel, ad. Att.* 2, 12, 2
ebriositas, *semel, Tusc.* 4, 27
formositas, *semel, de Off.* 1, 126
morositas, *bis, Sen.* 18; *Off.* 1, 25, 88
uitiositas, *bis, Tusc.* 4, 13, & 15

Of these two classes of adj. derivatives, those in **-bilitas** are the older and more classical. I have failed to find an instance of forms in **-ositas** earlier than Cic. Both classes reached their greatest fertility in African Latin, which was so partial to adjectives in **-bilis, -osus.** Thus of **-bilitas,** Apul. introduces 8, Tert. 4, Arnob. 2; of **-ositas,** Gell. 1, Apul. 3, Tert. 13, Arnob. 2. They are found, however, throughout the entire extent of the later literature, and in the Romance Languages; in **Ital.,** as is noted by Meyer-Lübke,[2] words in *-abilta, -osita,* have

[1] Goelzer, p. 103; Pauck. Add. Lex. Lat., p. 8, *not.* 17, s. u. *cautelitas*, "monstrum uocabuli, cuius plane simile non inuenio nisi forte ut defigurata ipsa quoque a subst. abstr. *libidinitas*, . . *salebritas.*" [2] Meyer-Lübke, Ital. Gramm., p. 278.

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come to be characteristic of the more cultured language, although adj. in *-oso* are still of a popular character.

The following lists of substantives in **-tas** are limited to Gell., Apul., and Tert., to show the fertility of formation in African Latin, and to the forms derived from adjs. in **-bilis, -osus.**

a. *Substantives in* **-bilitas:**

PLAVTVS.
amabilitas,[1] *Stich.* 741; *al.*
cruciabilitas, *Cist*, 202
nobilitas, *Capt.* 299; *al.*

ACCIVS.
ductabilitas, *ap. Non.* 150, 13

VARRO.
inaequabilitas,[2] *L. L.* 9, 1

VITRVVIVS.
tractabilitas, 2, 9, 12

IVSTINVS.
immobilitas,[3] 36, 3, 6

PLINIVS.
instabilitas,[4] 24, 162

APVLEIVS.
exsecrabilitas, *Dogm. Plat.* 2, 16
impossibilitas,[5] *Met.* 6, 14
incommobilitas, *Dogm. Plat.* 2, 4
incredibilitas,[6] *Ascl.* 27
*indocibilitas,[7] *Dogm. Plat.* 2, 4
irrationabilitas,[8] *Ascl.* 26; *in.*
irritabilitas, *Dogm. Plat.* 1, 18
rationabilitas,[9] *Id.* 1, 13

TERTVLLIANVS.
accessibilitas, *adu. Prax.* 15
corruptibilitas,[10] *adu. Marc.* 2, 16
inuisibilitas, *adu. Prax.* 14
uisibilitas,[11] *Carn. Chr.* 12

INTPR. IREN.
aptabilitas, 1, 4, 5
incomprehensibilitas,[12] 4, 9, 3
inconstabilitas, 1, 4, 3
indecibilitas, 2, 4, 2
sensibilitas,[13] *Paucker*
sensuabilitas, *Id.*

SOLINVS.
*flexibilitas,[14] 52, 36

CLAVDIVS MAMERTINVS.
insensibilitas,[15] *Stat. Anim.* 1, 3
secabilitas, *Id.* 1, 15

ARNOBIVS.
passibilitas, 2, 26
possibilitas,[16] 1, 25

LACTANTIVS.
mirabilitas, 7, 4; *in.*

PALLADIVS.
durabilitas, 1, 36, 2

GENNADIVS.
nascibilitas, *Paucker*

[1] Symm. [2] Arnob. [3] Tert.; Lact.; Vulg.; Cael. Aur. [4] Arnob.; Ambros.; Schol. Pers. [5] Tert. [6] Vlp. Dig.; Gloss. Labb. [7] Rufin. [8] Eccl. [9] Mythogr. Lat.; Eccl. [10] Eccl. [11] Fulg. Cont. Verg. [12] Fulg. Rusp.; Dyon. Exig. Greg. Nyss. [13] Fulg.; Pa.-Soran.; Isid.; Non. [14] Augustin.; Cassiod. [15] Ambros.; Augustin.; Boeth. [16] Pall.; Amm.; Mart. Cap.; Vulg.

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HILARIVS.
innascibilitas, *Paucker*
miserabilitas, *Id.*
nocibilitas,[1] *in Galat.*

AMMIANVS.
implacabilitas,[2] 14, 1, 5; *al.*
insatiabilitas, 31, 4, 11

PRISCIANVS.
pompabilitas, *de Metr. Terent.* 4, *p.* 419, 8 *K.*

SERVIVS.
inexorabilitas, *ad Aen.* 12, 199

HIERONYMVS.
impassibilitas,[3] *Ep.* 133, 3

AVGVSTINVS.
commutabilitas,[4] *in Ps.* 109, 12
conuertibilitas,[5] *Ep.* 169, 11
formabilitas, *Gen. ad lit.* 5, 4
inaccessibilitas,[6] *c. Maxim. p.* 732 *M.*
incapabilitas, *Id.* 1, 9, 2; *al.*
incommutabilitas, *Conf.* 12, 12
incomparabilitas, *c. Maxim. p.* 729 *M.*
ineffabilitas, *Ep.* 147, 31
inuertibilitas, *de Mor. Eccl. Cath.* 1, 13, 23
spectabilitas,[7] *Ep.* 129, 7

SIDONIVS APOLL.
insolubilitas, *Ep.* 4, 11

BOETHIVS.
risibilitas, *Paucker*

FVLGENTIVS.
pollucibilitas, *Myth.* 1, 2

FVLGENT. RVSPENSIS.
comprehensibilitas, *ad Trasim.* 2, 1
incoinquinabilitas, *Paucker*

IORDANES.
terribilitas, *Get.* 24, 127

GREGORIVS MAXIMVS.
irreprehensibilitas, *Reg. Pastor*, 8

b. *Substantives in* -ositas.

CICERO (EPISTT.).
curiositas,[8] *ad Att.* 2, 12, 2

COLVMELLA.
scrupulositas,[9] 11, 1

SCRIBONIVS.
callositas,[10] 36

PLINIVS.
fabulositas, 4, 1; *al.*
generositas, 8, 50; *al.*
neruositas,[11] 19, 9

QVINTILLIANVS.
operositas,[12] 8, 3, 55

GEOMAT. VET.
flexuositas, 342, 9

GELLIVS.
negotiositas, 11, 16, 3

[1] Eccl. [2] Cassian. [3] Leo Serm. [4] Ps.-Eucher. [5] Rufin. [6] Arnob. Iun.; Ps.-Hier. [7] Cod. Iust. [8] Apul.; Tert.; Spart.; Vopisc.; Vulg.; Augustin.; Macr. [9] Tert.; Hier.; Mar. Victorin. [10] Tert.; Veget. [11] Cael. Aur. [12] Tert.; Vopisc.

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APVLEIVS.
pretiositas,[1] *Met.* 2, 19
religiositas,[2] *Dogm. Plat.* 2, 7
uentositas,[3] *Herb.* 126

TERTVLLIANVS.
canositas, *Anim*, 55; *al.*
famositas, *Spect.* 23.
gratiositas, *adu. Marc.* 1, 9 *in.*
infructuositas,[4] *Res. Carn.* 33
irreligiositas,[5] *Apol.* 24
lanositas, *de Pall.* 3
lapidositas, *Hab. Mul.* 6
malitiositas, *adu. Marc.* 3, 15, *al.*
numerositas,[6] *Monog.* 4
*onerositas, *Cult. Fem.* 2, 7, *in.*
rugositas, *Patient.* 15
tortuositas,[7] *Carn. Chr.* 20; *al.*
uinositas, *Ieiun.* 1.

INTPR. IREN.
uerbositas,[8] 2, 31, 1

CYPRIANVS.
animositas,[9] *de Zelo*, 6

ARNOBIVS.
nebulositas, 7, 28
populositas,[10] 3, 5

CHALCIDIVS.
confragositas, *Tim.* 37
globositas,[11] *Id.* 62

PALLADIVS.
morbositas, 1, 16

POTAMIVS.
glebositas, *Tract.* 1, p. 1412, *t.* 8 *M.*

uirositas, *Ep. ad Athan.* 1417, *t.* 8 *M.*

PHILASTRIVS.
fructuositas,[12] *Haer.* 132

RVFINVS.
officiositas, *Paucker*

AVGVSTINVS.
annositas,[13] *Ep.* 269
caenositas,[14] *c. Ep. Manich.* 36
mendositas, *Ep.* 71, 5; *al.*
monstrositas, *Ciu. Dei*, 7, 26, *p.* 307, 18 *D.*[2]
nodositas, *Conf.* 2, 10

BACCHIARIVS.
copiositas, *Paucker*

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
aquositas, *Acut.* 2, 35, 185
pannositas, *Id.* 1, 11, 86
saxositas, *Chron.* 3, 6, 82
succositas, *Acut.* 2, 29, 151
tenebricositas, *Chron.* 1, 4, 73

SALVIANVS.
incuriositas,[15] *Paucker*
inofficiositas, *Ep.* 4. 11
probrositas,[16] *Gub. Dei*, 3, 9, 46

SIDONIVS.
ceruicositas, *Ep.* 7, 9
sumptuositas, *Id.* 9, 6

ARNOBIVS IUN.
tenebrositas, *in Ps.* 103 & 118

CASSIODORVS.
ascerbositas, *Amic.* 6

[1] Tert; Capit. ap. Macr. Sat. [2] Eccl. [3] Cael. Aur.; Oribas. Fragm. Bern.; Th. Prisc.; Augustin.; Fulg. Myth. [4] Cassian. [5] Eccl. [6] Augustin.; Macr.; Sidon.; Cod. Theod. [7] Intpr. Iren. [8] Augustin.; Prud.; Eccl. [9] Amm.; Vulg.; Macr.; Augustin.; Sidon. [10] Fulg. Myth.; Sidon. [11] Macr. [12] Gaudent.; Thom. Thes. [13] Cod. Theod. [14] Fulg.; Cassiod. [15] Eccl. [16] Ps.-Cypr.

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VENANTIVS FORTVNATVS.
tenerositas, *Vit. S. Medard.* 2

GREGORIVS MAXIMVS.
degenerositas, *in* 1 *Reg.* 4, 4, 25
gulositas,[1] *Id.* 5, 1, 4

c. *Substantives in* -tas *in Gell., Apul., Tert.*

GELLIVS.
improprietas, 1, 22, 21
infortunitas, 7, 1, 5
insuauitas,[2] 1, 21, 2
intempestiuitas, 3, 16, 21
parilitas,[3] 14, 3, 8

APVLEIVS.
crassitas, *Met.* 7, 5 ; *al.*
falsitas,[4] *Dogm. Plat.* 3
fuscitas, *de Mund.* 33
liquiditas, *Id.* 1
nimietas,[5] *Met.* 3, 10 ; *al.*
obaequalitas, *Dogm. Plat.* 1, 17
prolixitas,[6] *de Mund.* 7
salebritas, *Met.* 6, 14
sempiternitas,[7] *Ascl.* 30
summitas,[8] *Id.* 7
ualiditas,[9] *Id.* 33

TERTVLLIANVS.
contrarietas,[10] *adu. Marc.* 4, 1 ; *al.*
corporalitas,[11] *adu. Herm.* 36
duplicitas,[12] *adu. Marc.* 5, 11
imbonitas, *ad Martyr.* 3 ; *in.*
incorporalitas,[13] *Anim.* 7
incorruptibilitas,[14] *Apol.* 28 ; *al.*
indiuiduitas,[15] *Anim.* 51 ; *al.*
informitas,[16] *adu. Herm.* 42
inhonestas, *adu. Marc.* 5, 5
inuoluntas, *Apol.* 45
intellectualitas, *Anim.* 38
mendacitas, *Praescr.* 31
mulieritas, *Virg. Vel.* 12 ; *al., ed. Oehler*
natiuitas,[17] *adu. Marc.* 4, 27
naturalitas,[18] *Anim.* 43 ; *al.*
nouellitas, *Id.* 28 ; *al.*
noxietas, *Apol.* 2
nuditas,[19] *Virg. Vel.* 12
passiuitas (*pandere*), *Pall.* 4 ; *al.*
postremitas,[20] *Anim.* 53
principalitas,[21] *Id.* 2
profanitas,[22] *Pall.* 2
profunditas,[23] *Anim.* 55
pueritas, *ad Nat.* 2, 9
pusillitas,[24] *Res Carn.* 6 ; *al.*
rationalitas, *Anim.* 38
romanitas, *Pall.* 4
sensualitas,[25] *Anim.* 37 ; *al.*
singularitas,[26] *adu. Valent.* 37 ; *al.*
spiritalitas,[27] *adu. Marc.* 5, 8
supernitas, *adu. Valent.* 7
temporalitas,[28] *Res. Carn.* 60 ; *al.*
trinitas,[29] *adu. Valent.* 17
uniformitas,[30] *Anim.* 17
utensilitas, *Hab. Mul.* 5
uisualitas, *Anim.* 29

[1] Ps-Augustin. [2] Tert.; Cael. Aur. [3] Apul.; Auct Itin. Alex. [4] Arnob.; Lact.; Amm.; Macr.; Cael. Aur.; Isid. [5] Arnob.; Capitol.; Pall.; Macr. [6] Symm.; Edict. Diocl.; Augustin. [7] Cl. Mam. [8] Arnob.; Pall.; Amm.; Macr. [9] Ambros.; Heges. [10] Plot. Sacerd. de Metr.; Prisc.; Macr.; Seru. ad Verg. [11] Eccl. [12] Lact.; Augustin. [13] Macr.; Boeth. [14] Eccl. [15] Boeth. [16] *Solin.; Chalcid. Tim.; Augustin. [17] Vulg.; ICt. [18] Eccl. [19] Lact.; Vulg.; Sulp. Seu.; Augustin.; Auson.; Cod. Theod. [20] Aquil. Rom.; Chalcid. Tim.; Macr. [21] Macr.; Seru. ad Verg. [22] Pelag. Vet.; Augustin. [23] Vopisc.; Macr.; Cassiod. [24] Lact.; Eccl. [25] Augustin.; Mythogr. Lat. [26] Chalcid. Tim.; Mart. Cap.; Charis. [27] Alcim. [28] Eccl. [29] Prisc.; Eccl. [30] Ambros.; Macr.

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§ 11. SUBSTANTIVES IN **-tudo**: The use of substantives in **-tudo** is one of the many archaisms which have maintained themselves in the vulgar Latin, and reappeared in the literature of the decadence.[1] A large proportion of the words of this class belong to the early period, the classic language forming in most cases corresponding substantives in **-tas**, while the plebeian Latin, true to its principles, clung to the more cumbersome forms in **-tudo**. The entire number of these forms is given by Paucker[2] as 137, *uett.* 91, *recc.* 46, and of these only 30 in Cic. or Caes., against 40 in the early dramatic writers, Cato, etc. Thus Plautus introduces 23, of which 13 are wanting in the classic writers; Pacuu. 7, Acc. 8, Caecil., Ter., and Turpil., 1 each. The derivation survived in rustic Latin; Cato has 3, Varr. 5, of which 4 are from the *R. R.*; Silver Latin avoided the archaism, and added only 7, Plin. 2, Cels., Vell., Sen., Petr., Traian. ap. Vlp., 1 each. The African writers use the derivation sparingly: Gell. gives the new form *acerbitudo;* even the archaistic Apul. adds but 2 new formations, and Tert.,[3] usually so copious in new coinages, none at all, using the old forms rarely, as *asperitudo, habitudo, plenitudo, similitudo* (concrete). In the later literature the formation is revived; Rönsch[4] cites 7 rare forms in use in the *Vulgate,* and Gölzer notes St. Jerome's evident predilection for these words, as he not only coined *laxitudo,* but used 15 of those already in the language. Liesenberg[5] cites 17 occurring in Amm., mostly, however, words sanctioned by Cic. The usage survived in the popular speech, as words of this formation occur in the Romance languages, though they are not numerous.[6]

PLAVTVS.
albitudo,[7] *Trin.* 873
aritudo,[8] *Rud.* 524
canitudo,[9] *Fr. ap. Paul. ex Fest.* 62, 1
hilaritudo, *Mil.* 677; *al.*
*macritudo,[10] *Capt.* 135
maestitudo,[11] *Aul.* 732
partitudo,[12] *Id.* 75
saeuitudo,[13] *Fr. ap. Non.* 172, 3

[1] Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI, p. 152, "est autem forma in *-tudo* antiquior, quae saepe in sermone uulgari seruata est, cum apud bonos auctores forma in *-tas* inueniatur," citing Corssen, Beitr. p. 524; Guericke, p. 30; compare Goelzer, p. 106 sq., Slaughter, Ter., p. 18, "distinctly a mark of the sermo familiaris;" Knapp, Gell., p. 147. [2] Paucker, Silb. Lat. p. 15, *not.* [3] Schmidt, Tert., I, p. 25. [4] Rönsch, p. 66. [5] Liesenb. I, p. 23. [6] Diez, p. 651.

[7] Sulp. Seu. [8] Enn.; Varr. Sat. Men. [9] Varr. Sat. Men. [10] Non. 136, 2. [11] Acc.; Pall.; Ambros.; Sulp. Seu.; Cael. Aur. [12] Sulp. Seu.; Iul. Val.; Cod. Theod. [13] Iul. Val.

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seueritudo,[1] *Epid.* 609
sorditudo, *Poen.* 570
suauitudo,[2] *Bacch.* 28
tarditudo,[3] *Poen.* 532
uanitudo,[4] *Capt.* 569

PACVVIVS.
desertitudo, *Inc. Fab. Fr.* 63
geminitudo, *Tr.* 61
lenitudo,[5] *Id.* 247
orbitudo,[6] *Id.* 135
paenitudo,[7] *Id.* 313
prolixitudo, *Id.* 124
uastitudo,[8] *Id.* 314

CAECILIVS.
ineptitudo, *Com.* 61

TERENTIVS.
habitudo,[9] *Eun.* 242

TURPILIVS.
sanctitudo,[10] *Com.* 114

CATO.
aletudo,[11] *ap. Paul. ex Fest.* 27, 12
claritudo,[12] *ap. Gell.* 3, 7, 19
duritudo, *Id. ib.*

ACCIVS.
castitudo, *Tr.* 585
gracilitudo, *Id.* 88
honestitudo, *Id.* 16; *al.*
laetitudo, *Id.* 61; *al.*
miseritudo, *Id.* 79; *al.*
noxitudo, *Id.* 162

perperitudo, *Fr. Inc.* 2, 2
squalitudo, *Tr.* 340

VARRO.
amaritudo,[13] *R. R.* 1, 66
celeritudo,[14] *Id.* 3, 12, 6
pinguitudo,[15] *Id.* 2, 4, 6
raritudo,[16] *L. L.* 5, 130
teneritudo,[17] *R. R.* 1, 36

VITRVVIVS.
acritudo,[18] 2, 9, 12; *al.*
grauitudo,[19] 1, 6, 3
salsitudo,[20] 1, 4, 11

PETRONIVS.
scabritudo,[21] 99, 2

PLINIVS.
nigritudo,[22] 10, 107
tabritudo,[23] 22, 129

GELLIVS.
acerbitudo, 13, 3, 2

APULEIVS.
ambitudo, *Aesc.* 31
tristitudo,[24] *Met.* 3, 11; *al.*

ARNOBIVS.
crispitudo, 2, 42

LACTANTIVS.
leuitudo, *de Ira*, 10, 7

SPARTIANVS.
insuetudo, *Seuer.* 16, 2

[1] Apul. Met. [2] Turpil.; Cornif. Rhet.; Lact. [3] Acc. [4] Pacuu. [5] Turpil.; Cic., *semel*, (Verr. 4, 136); Aur. Vict. [6] Turpil.; Acc. [7] Hier. Ep.; Vulg.; Auson.; Ambros.; Augustin.; Cael. Aur.; Sid. Ep.; Cassiod. [8] Acc.; Vet. Carm. ap. Cato R. R.; Varr. Sat. Men. [9] Cornif. Rhet.; Apul.; Tert.; Hier.; Vulg.; Cael. Aur.; Sulp. Seu. [10] Acc.; Afran.; Cic., *semel*, (Rep. fr. ap. Non. 174); Apul.; Hier. [11] Gloss. Labb. [12] Sisenn.; Sall.; Vell.; Tac., *freq.*; Hier.; Macr. [13] Sen. Rhet.; Col.; Plin.; Quint.; Val. Max.; Plin. Ep.; Iustin.; Apul.; Lact.; Vulg. [14] *Conf.* Non. 532, 32. [15] Col.; Plin.; Quint.; Pall. [16] Col. [17] Suet.; Pall. [18] Gell.; Apul. [19] Ps.-Apic.; Hier.; Cael. Aur. [20] Plin.; Ps.-Augustin. [21] Form *scabitudo*, Marc. Emp. 8; Plin. Val. [22] Augustin. [23] Vulg. [24] Sidon. Ep.

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AMBROSIVS.	HIERONYMVS.
dissuetudo, *Cain et Abel*, 2, 6, 22	disertitudo,[1] *Ep.* 50; *al.*
	hebetudo,[2] *Id.* 147, 3

§ 12. SUBSTANTIVES IN **-edo**: Words of this class are rare and largely post-classical; Paucker[3] has placed the whole number at 40, inclusive of those in **-ido**, *uett.* 19, *recc.* 21. The few forms in **-ido** are nearly all *uett.* and in good usage: as *cupido*, *formido*, *libido*, some of which have corresponding forms in **-edo**, of distinctly vulgar usage, as *cupedo*,[4] (Lucr.; Varr.; Apul.); *liuido* is *rec.*, (Edict. Diocl. *praef.* § 20). The forms in **-edo** may be conveniently classified as denominative and verbal: the former are to be regarded as a shortened form of words in **-tudo**, and of the nine instances given by Paucker,[5] 7 have corresponding forms in **-tas**, and **-tudo**, as *acritas*, *acritudo*, *acredo*, (so *aspredo*, *claredo*, *crassedo*, *dulcedo*, *grauedo*, *salsedo*,) and 2 in *-tas*, alone, *pigritas*, *pigredo*; *raucitas*, *raucedo*. Of these, 3 are *uett.*; *aspredo*, Cels., *dulcedo*, *grauedo*, Plaut., both occurring in Cic., (*grauedo* in *Epp. ad Att.*, *bis*). The others are confined to late authors, Pall. 2, Plin. Val., Vulg., Fulg., Gloss. Isid., 1 each.

Of the verbal forms a still smaller proportion are Ciceronian; I can mention only *intercapedo*, *uredo*, and the concrete subs. *capedo*, and *torpedo* = the Electric Ray. *Intercapedo*, however, is said by Cic. and Quint. to have been often used in a vulgar and obscene sense.[6] The remaining words of the class are rare, many of them ἅπαξ εἰρημένα, as *faredo*, *tussedo*. Their relation to the *sermo plebeius* has been noticed indirectly by Schmilinsky,[7] who cites *absumedo* from Plaut.; by Stuenkel,[8] who classes *frigedo*, *pinguedo*, among the vulgar and rustic words used by Varro; and by Rönsch,[9] who gives no less than 10 words in his lists of plebeian forms.

In its relation to the Romance Languages this suffix is of little importance. Diez[10] cites a few survivals in the **Ital.**, *acredine*, *albedine*, *salsedine*, *torpedine*; and **Span.**, *pin-*

[1] Vulg.; Augustin.; Cassiod. [2] Cael. Aur.; Augustin.; Macr.; Ennod.
[3] Pauck. Add. Lex. Lat. *not.* 63, "omnino in -edo, inis inueni 40." [4] Comp. Schuchardt, Vocalismus, 2, p. 75. [5] Pauck., Ztschr. f. vergl. Sprachf. 23, p. 159. [6] Cic. Ep. 9, 22, 4, "non honestum uerbum est 'diuisio?' at inest obscoenum cui respondet 'intercapedo'; " *conf.* Quint. 8, 3, 46. [7] Schmilinsky, p. 32. [8] Stuenkel, p. 31. [9] Rönsch, p. 68. [10] Diez, p. 651.

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guedo, torpedo; and a new word in **Ital.**, *cavedine,* a species of fish.

PLAVTVS.
absumedo, *Capt.* 904
grauedo,[1] *Asin.* 796

CATO.
torpedo,[2] *ap. Gell.* 11, 2, 6

LVCRETIVS.
cupedo,[3] 1, 1082 ; *al.*

VARRO.
frigedo, *Sat. Men.* 77
*pinguedo,[4] *L. L.* 25 *ed. Wilm. p.* 167, 35

CELSVS.
aspredo,[5] 5, 28, 2 ; *al.*

GELLIVS.
mulcedo,[6] 19, 9, 7
oscedo,[7] 4, 20, 9

APVLEIVS.
nigredo,[8] *Met.* 2, 9
putredo,[9] *Flor.* 15, *p.* 19, 2 *Kr.*
scabredo,[10] *Herb.* 73
tussedo, *Met.* 9, 13
unguedo,[11] *Id.* 3, 21

FIRMICVS MATERNVS.
rubedo, 2, 12

PALLADIVS.
acredo,[12] 2, 15, 19
salsedo,[13] 11, 14, 2

PLINIVS VALERIANVS.
faredo, 3, 22
*raucedo,[14] 1, 53 *Ed. Rom.*

VVLGATA.
pigredo, *Prou.* 19, 15
*turbedo,[15] *Nahum.* 1, 3 *Cod. Tolet.*

AVGVSTINVS.
turpedo,[16] *Serm.* 120, 13

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
albedo,[17] *Chron.* 5, 10, 96

PSEVDO-SORANVS.
*curuedo, 2, 18, 9

MARCELLVS EMPIRICVS.
*corcedo,[18] 21, 3

FVLGENTIVS.
crassedo, *Verg. Cont.* p. 143 *M.*

ISIDORVS.
serpedo, *Or.* 4, 8, 5

THOMAE THESAVRVS.
claredo,[19] 155

[1] Cic. Att. *bis;* Cels.; Plin.; Apul.; Nemes. Cyn.; Ps.-Augustin.; Pelag. Vet.; Fulg.; *form -ido* — Lucil.; Catull. [2] Sall., Tac.; *subst. concr.* — the Electric Ray, Varr.; Cic.; Plin.; &c. [3] Varr.; Apul.; *form -ido* Cic., &c. [4] Paul. ex Fest.; Plin.; Pall.; Plin. Val.; Th. Prisc.; Pelag. Vet.; Ps.-Apic.; Augustin. [5] Ps.-Cypr.; Sex. Placit. [6] Cypr.; Ps.-Cypr.; Sidon.; Boeth. [7] Ser. Samm.; Isid. [8] Hier.; Vulg.; Marc. Emp.; Mart. Cap.; Pelag. Vet.; Cass. Fel.; Arnob. Iun.; Iordan.; Greg. Tur. [9] Veget.; Ambros.; Hier.; Vulg.; Prud.; Macr.; Cael. Aur.; Ven. Fort. [10] Coripp.; Hier. [11] Sulp. Seu. [12] Th. Prisc.; Plin. Val. [13] Rufin. [14] Cael. Aur.; Cassiod.; Isid. [15] Rustic.; *Conf.* Rönsch p. 67; *form -ido* — Augustin.; Ven. Fort.; Gloss. Paris. [16] Marc. Emp. [17] Cassiod.; Schol. Iuuen. [18] Conf. Pauck., Add. Lex. Lat., *s. u.* [19] Gloss. Isid.

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§ 13. SUBSTANTIVES IN **-itia, -ities**: These two forms of derivation are so closely related that they could not be properly treated apart. It has already been pointed out by Paucker,[1] that about 75 % of the words in **-itia** have corresponding forms in **-ities**, and the latter a like proportion in **-itia**. As a result of my own researches, including compounds, as *in-imicitia*, *re-caluities*, which Paucker disregarded in his computations, I attain about the same proportions: out of a total of 40 words in **-itia**, 37 in **-ities**, 27 occur in the double form, as *blanditia*, *blandities*; *planitia*, *planities*, or 67½ % **-itia**, 73 % **-ities**. There remain without corresponding form, 13 in **-itia**: *im-pigritia*, (comp. *pigrities*), *im-pudicitia*, *im-puritia*, *in-imicitia*, (comp. *amicities*), *in-iustitia*, *iustitia*, *latitia*, *lautitia*, *longitia*, *maestitia*, *pudicitia*, *puritia*, *surditia*; and 10 in **-ities**: *albities*, *almities*, *crassities*, *lenities*, *magnities*, *pullities*, *recaluities* (comp. *caluitia*), *tardities*, *uanities*, *uastities*.

But while these classes are so closely connected in form, there is a wide difference in the position they hold in the classic literature. Substantives in **-itia** are nearly all classic and largely Ciceronian, while those in **-ities** belong to early or late Latin, and are perhaps to be attributed to the influence of the *sermo plebeius*. Of the 40 in **-itia**, 33, or nearly 83 % are *uett.*; while of the 37 in **-ities**, only 21 are *uett.*, 16 *recc* Plaut. employs 19 in **-itia**, of which Cic. retains all except 3 compounded with **in-**: *im-imunditia*, *im-pudicitia*, *im-puritia*; and of these he has the simple form of 2, *munditia*, *pudicitia*. Altogether Cic. employs at least 22, or 66⅔ % of the 33 *uett.* in *-itia*, 16 out of the 22 having corresponding forms in **-ities**; out of these he gives exclusive preference to **-itia**, in the following 12: *amicitia*, *auaritia*, *blanditia*, *laetitia*, *malitia*, *munditia*, *nequitia*, *pigritia*, *pueritia*, *saeuitia*, *stultitia*, *tristitia*, while in the remaining 4 he uses both forms; *durities*, **Dom.* 101 *K.*; *mollities*, *Epp. ad Att.*; *planities*, *segnities*, **Or. 1, 41*, 185 *B.* & *K.* In no case does he give exclusive preference to a form in **-ities**.

On the other hand, forms in **-ities** are distinctly archaic, or post-classical. Of the 4 cited above from Cic., 2 at least are doubtful; Catull. has *amarities*, elsewhere found only in Inscrr.; Liu. has *pigrities*, a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον. The only forms

[1] Pauck., Ztschr. f. vergl. Sprachf. 23, p. 163.

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quite classic are *planities* (Cic.; Caes.; etc.), and *canities*, (poet. and post-Aug. prose). The remainder of the 21 *uett.*, are either ante-classical, (including Varr.), or belong to the Silver Latin, (*nequities*, *semel*, Hor. *Sat.*). Of the 16 *recc.*, the archaist Apul. has the greatest number, 3, besides using, of the *uett.*, *spurcities*, *tristities*; the remaining *recc.* are isolated, and chiefly ἅπαξ εἰρημένα.

From the evidence afforded by the Romance languages, it is plain that both these suffixes gained a new activity at a later period.[1] The derivatives in **-itia** are most numerous, (**Ital.** *-ezza*, *-izia*; **Fr.** *-esse*, *-ice*; **Sp.**, **Pt.**, *-eza*, *-icia*), while those in **-ities** are confined almost wholly to the southwest.[2] In **Ital.** especially, *-ezza* retains the lead among the active abstract suffixes,[3] while forms in *-izie* are rare; in **Sp.** and **Pt.**, the latter forms (*-ez*) are more numerous, as *durez*, *grandez*, *rigidez*; but are becoming obsolete.[4]

PLAVTVS.
segnities,[5] *Trin.* 796; *al.*
uastities, *Pseud.* 70

PACVVIVS.
tristities,[6] *Tr.* 59

TERENTIVS.
nequities,[7] *Ad.* 358; *al.*

ACCIVS.
tardities, *Tr.* 278

LVCRETIVS.
amicities,[8] 5, 1017
auarities,[9] 3, 59
spurcities,[10] 6, 977

VARRO.
pullities,[11] *R. R.* 3, 7, 6

CATVLLVS.
amarities,[12] 68, 18

LIVIVS.
pigrities, 44, 42, 9.

CELSVS.
nigrities, 8, 4, 19; *al.*

COLVMELLA.
scabrities,[13] 7, 5, 8

AVCTOR AETNAE.
lentities,[14] 544

PAVLI FEST. EPIT.
almities,[15] 7, 20

APVLEIVS.
blandities,[16] *Met.* 9, 28

[1] Diez, p. 668. [2] Meyer, in Gröber's Grundr. I, p. 373, § 51, "auf den Südwestern beschränkt." [3] Meyer-Lübke, Ital. Gram. p. 277, "Von den eigentlich Abstrakte bildenden ist . . . -ezza das bei weitem lebenskräftigste Suffix." [4] Diez, p. 669, "häufig, aber fast veraltet."

[5] *Cic., *semel*, (Or. 1, 41, 185 B. & K.); *Verg.; Liu.; Col.; Suet. [6] Ter.; Turp.; Tac.; Apul.; *nom. propr.*, Tristities, Apul. Met. 6, 9. [7] Hor. Sat. [8] *Conf.* Plin. ap. Charis. 118, 15. [9] Claud; Solin. [10] Apul. [11] Col. [12] Inscrr. [13] Plin. [14] *Plin. 16, 70 *D.* [15] Charis. [16] Augustin.

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saeuities,[1] *Id.* 6, 19
stultities, *Apol.* 53 *Codd. F φ*

Tertvllianvs.
immundities,[2] *Monog.* 7

Arnobivs.
pinguities,[3] 7, 20

Psevdo-Lactantivs.
magnities, *Carm. de Phoen.* 145

Avsonivs.
puerities, *Prof.* 10, 16

Ammianvs.
uanities, 29, 1, 13; *al.*

Rvfinvs.
recaluities, *Orig. in Leuit. Hom.* 8, 10

Fvlgentivs.
sordities, *Myth.* 2, 16

Virgilivs Grammat.
laetities, *de Nom.* 5

Schol. Ambr. ad Cic.
lenities, *ad Cic. in Clod. et Cur.* 5, 1, p. 20 *ed. Mai.*

Gloss. Labb.
malities.

§ 14. Concrete Substantives: a. **Nomina Personalia:** As has been seen, one marked characteristic of plebeian vocabulary was its wealth of abstract derivatives of all classes. In treating of the concrete substantives, however, a general distinction is not practicable, although here as elsewhere the longer forms prevail; thus masc. and fem. in **-arius, -aria,** are more popular in the *sermo plebeius* than those in **-tor, -trix;**[4] neut. in **-arium** replace the shorter forms in **-ar,** as *Ital. Marc.* 14, 20, *boletarium,* (elsewhere *boletar, conf.* Rönsch, p. 31); numerous forms in **-bulum, -mentum,** such as *fundibulum = funda; sessibulum = sedes; coronamentum = corona; sputamentum = sputa,* and many other examples are cited by Rönsch, *Itala,* p. 471.[5] Then again there are a large number, belonging to no special class, which are to be attributed to the *sermo plebeius,* either on authority of ancient writers, as *botulus, obba,* (cited by Gell. 16, 7, 4 sq., as *obsoleta et maculantia ex sordidiore uulgi usu*), or from analogy with the Romance languages, as *caballus = equus; bucca = os,* (comp. Fr. *cheval, bouche*); these however belong rather to the question of change in Word-Signification than to Word-Formation, and so lie outside of the province of the present chapter.[6]

[1] Iul. Val. [2] Eccl. [3] Th. Prisc.

[4] *Conf. infra,* § 18. [5] Here also belong many words already given in the lists of abstr. subst., but which in late latin became concrete, as *alligatura — uinculum; fossura — fossa; poenitudo — poena; conf.* Rönsch, p. 472. [6] Comp. Diez, p. 4, sq.; Rönsch, p. 472, § 2 "Manche Wörter der Schriftsprache wurden . . . im Munde des Volks durch andere ersetzt."

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There are however two points in connection with concrete substantives which compel attention, *a.* the abundance of *nomina personalia*, *b.* the freedom with which adjectives are used substantively.

Of the *nomina personalia* the important classes are those in **-o**, (**-onis**,) **-tor**, (**-sor**,) **-trix**, and masc. and fem. of adjs. in **-arius**, taken substantively. The words given in the accompanying lists will be found to fall largely under two heads, 1. terms of contempt, abuse and *in malam partem* in general; 2. those designating the followers of the various trades, handicrafts, etc. The substantives in **-o**, **-onis**, which of all derivatives are perhaps most closely confined to the *sermo plebeius*, belong as a whole to the former class. Those in **-tor**, **-trix**, and in **-arius**, **-aria**, while largely used to denote trades, and the like, are also used not infrequently *in malam partem;* thus, *basiator*, *fellator*, *fututor*, *masturbator*, *scortator; amatrix*, *cohabitatrix*, *fututrix*, *persuastrix*, *potrix*, *seductrix; alicaria*, *nonaria*. Yet even in such cases the contemptuous force lies in the implication not merely of committing a discreditable act, but of *making a business* of so doing: compare **Engl.** *news-monger*, *scandal-monger*, *whore-monger*.

That designations of artisans, etc., should be more frequent in the language of the people than in Classic Latin, seems hardly to need an argument. A large proportion of such words were naturally taken in to the literary language as occasion demanded, and the absence of any individual word from the extant literature is no proof of its plebeian nature; the various trades, however, then as always, had certain technical distinctions between the different grades of workers, quite unimportant to the outside world; thus Cicero very largely generalizes in speaking of artisans, using either *artifex* with a limiting adjective, or the circumlocution *is qui . . . facit*. The large number of this class of words which never found their way into literature, but have been preserved in inscriptions, as for instance those of the shops in Pompeii, are a good indication that the *sermo quotidianus* was especially rich in such formations.

§ 15. Substantive Use of Adjectives: As this whole question belongs rather to the domain of Syntax than of Word-formation, it will be considered here only briefly, and in connection with certain classes of derivatives.

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In the Indo-Germanic languages the line of demarcation between substantive and adjective has never been clearly defined, and transfers from one category to the other are natural and necessary. In Latin however the stereotyping tendency of the classical language limited such fluctuation within much narrower bounds than were observed in other Ind.-Ger. branches, e. g., in Greek, where this usage was almost unlimited, and in recent times, in German.[1] Meanwhile the *sermo plebeius* preserved much of its archaic freedom in this regard, and nouns in apposition readily served as adjectives, (compare Pers. Prol. 13, *coruos poetas et poetridas picas;* Id. 6, 74, *popa uenter*),[2] and conversely almost any adjective could do duty as a noun. The plebeian character of this usage has been well demonstrated by Rönsch,[3] who pointed out its prevalence in the *Itala* and in writers of the decadence, as well as the evidence afforded by the Romance languages. The foundation of the usage rests to a great extent upon some simple ellipsis, which in itself is prevalent in colloquial Latin; a certain number of every-day expressions, however, are quite classic, as *calida, frigida, (aqua); dextra, (manus); tertiana, quartana, (febris).*

In the *sermo plebeius* the usage was so free that not only the simple adjectives, but also many classes of derivatives did duty as substantives, and this is true to a still greater degree of the Romance languages.[4] The most copious, and therefore,

[1] Brugmann, Vergl. Gramm., II, § 154. [2] Šorn, Pers. p. 5, "Die freiere Sprache der satirischen Dichter äussert sich auch in der Anwendung der Substantiva als Attributiva," citing further, *heroas sensus*, Pers. 1, 69; *artificem uultum*, 5, 40; *iuuenes iocos*, 6, 6; *Ligus ora*, Id. ib. [3] Rönsch, Itala, p. 472, "Dass die Zahl der beim Volke gebräuchlichen substantivirten Adjektiva eine betrachteliche gewesen sein muss, ergibt sich theils aus Belegen der Itala selbst, theils aus romanischen Formen," citing *ficulnea — ficus; fontana — fons; montana — mons; hibernum — hiems; matutinum — mane; uolatile — auis;* Ital., *inverno, mattino, volatili;* Fr., *fontaine, montagne, hiver, matin, volaille;* Goelzer, Hier, p. 113, "toutes les restrictions que le bon usage mettait en latin à l'emploi des adjectifs comme substantifs disparurent peu à peu à partir du siècle d'Auguste," *sq.* See in general Draeger, Synt. I, § 16 *sq.;* Kühner, Gram, 2, p. 168; Nägelsbach, Stil. § 20, *sq.;* Riemann, Tite-Live, p. 61; Holtze, Synt., I, p. 341; Koffmanne, Kirchenl. I, p. 50, *not.* I regret having been unable to obtain a copy of J. N. Ott's, Ueber die Substantivirung lateinischer Adjectiva durch Ellipse, Programm, Rotwell, 18, cited by Koffmanne. [4] "Substantiva können ohne irgend eine Formveränderung aus Adjektiven hervorgehen, d. h. letztere, einfache wie abgeleitete, treten unter einer der beiden Geschlechtsformen unmittlebar in die Kategorie der ersteren über," Diez, p. 613.

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for our purpose the most useful, classes of these derivatives are the masc. and fem. in **-arius, -aria,** (*i.e., faber, artifex,* etc.) neut. in **-arium,** and fem. in **-ina** (*caro,* etc.), and these will be considered more carefully in the following sections. Rönsch,[1] however, in his comprehensive list cites numerous examples from adj. in **-aris, -alis**; as *militaris,* Cod. Iust.; *salutaris,* Vulg.; *coniugalis,* Cod. Iust.; *officialis,* Tert.; Al.; *principalis,* Dig.; *rationalis,* Lampr.; Al.; *sanctimonialis,* Augustin.; *testimonialis,* Veg. Mil.; *uentralis,* Dig.: in **-icius,** as *minerualicium,* Gl. Phil.; *nutricium,* Sen.; Dig.; *uenalicium,* Petr.; Al.: in **-icus,** as *pulueraticum, Cod. Th.; Cassiod.; uolaticum, Tert.:* **-iuus,** as *donatiuum,* Plin. *Pan.;* Suet.; Tert.; Al.; *incentium,* Pass. Cyprian.; *legatiuum,* Dig., and one instance from adj. in **-acius,** *uinacium,* Vulg. A glance at Diez, Gramm. d. Romanisch. Spr.,[2] shows to how much greater an extent the popular speech must have gone than is betrayed by even the most vulgar of the extant literature. So **-aceus, -icius,** are especially numerous, chiefly late formations:[3] **Fr.,** *ganache, moustache, pistache; hachis, logis, caniche;* **It.,** *ragazzo, vignazzo, tempaccio, gallinaccia; aquereccio, ferrareccio, ladroneccio;* **Sp.,** *hormazo* (*formaceus*), *pinaza, terraza, caballerizo.* Compare also **-aneus, It.,** *campagna, cuccagna, montagna;* **Fr.,** *campagne, montagne, chataigne.* **Sp.,** *araña, castaña;* **-osus, Fr.,** *pelouse, ventouse;* **It.,** *maroso, petrosa;* **Sp.,** *raposa.* **-ignus, Ital.,** *patrigno, gramigno.* **-ndus, Fr.,** *legende, offrande, viande;* **It.,** *bevanda, leggenda, vivanda;* **Sp.,** *hacienda,* etc.

§ 16. Nomina Personalia in **-o, -onis**: Derivatives of this class, common to all the Italic branches,[4] were numerous in archaic Latin and appear to have been of common gender, and to have borne a good or bad signification according to that of the words from which they were derived.[5] Thus the names of deities, unquestionably of early origin, are partly masculine, as *Aquilo, Incubo, Talassio;* partly feminine, as *Iuno, Natio, Ossipago;* the classical *matrona* and *uirguncula* point as suggestively to archaic feminine forms **matro, *uirgo, -onis,* as *patronus, auunculus,* to the masculine forms

[1] Rönsch, p. 100 sq. [2] Diez, pp. 623–638. [3] Diez, p. 634, "Neue in grosser Zahl." [4] Buck, Vocalismus, p. 127, *s. u.* -ōn-, "umbr.-osk. verallgemeinert, auch da, wo im lat. *in* . . . steht;" *conf.* Stolz, Gramm., p. 327; Buech. Vmbrica, p. 126, *s. u. abrunu;* Fisch, Nom. Pers., p. 183, *sq.* [5] Fisch, ALL. V, p. 57.

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patro*, **auo*.[1] In the classical language, however, the need of expressing definite gender probably led to the rejection of these words in favor of other classes of derivatives, and words in **-o, -onis were largely abandoned to the *sermo plebeius*. Here they survived and flourished, chiefly as comic or vulgar expressions of abuse, and *in malam partem* in general.[2] They pervaded the popular speech in every department of life, the *sermo castrensis*,[3] as *baro, calo, centurio, commilito, decurio, perduellio, tiro;* the *s.seruilis*,[4] as *erro, flagrio, mango, spado, uerbero, uernio*, and the numerous proper names of slaves, in Plaut. and elsewhere, as *Grumio, Congrio, Turpio*, (Cic. *in Verr.* 2, 3, 40, 91); the *s.circensis*,[5] as *accendo, condo, hamotraho, murmillo, pugillo, quinquertio, scurrio;* the *s.rusticus*,[6] as *aratrio, glebo, ouilio, sulco, terrio, upilio;* besides a large class of words which are the common property of all branches of the *s.plebeius*, such as *bibo, edo, esurio, manduco, popino, adulterio, amasio, paedico*, etc. A convincing proof of the vulgar nature of these substantives, if proof were needed, is afforded by the overwhelming testimony of the Roman writers themselves; e. g. *agaso;* uulgo *agasones uocamus*, Seru. *ad Aen.* 3, 470; *cotio; cotionem* peruulgate *dicit*, Gell. 16, 7, 12; *fullo; appellantur* uulgo *fullones*, Fest. 166, 2, 2; *glutto;* uulgo *glutto appellatur*, Löwe, Prodrom. 417; *morio; quos moriones* uulgo *uocant*, Hier. *Ep.* 2, 130, 17; *mulio;* uulgo *mulio uocabatur*, Suet. *Vesp.* 4; *talabarrio; talabarriunculos dicit quos* uulgus *talabarriones*, Gell. 16, 7, 6, and many other instances collected by Fisch.[7] But the best evidence is afforded by a survey of the actual use made of these words in the extant literature. Paucker, (Wörterschatz der silbernen Latinität, p. 64, *sq.*) gives an extensive list of forms in **-o, -onis**, which he characterizes as "eine Sammlung von Beispielen der meist mehr volksthüm-

[1] Fisch, ALL. V, p. 59, *sq. s. u. matrona, patronus*, etc.; Conf. Id., Nom. Pers., p. 159, "So ist dem aunnculus gegenüber ein entsprechendes *auo, *auonis sehr fraglich." [2] Wölffl, ALL. I, p. 16, "Die Formen auf o scheinen vorwiegend der Volkssprache angehört zu haben;" Fisch, ALL. V, p. 57, "Die Volkssprache erhält die subs. pers. auf o, onis, und der Volkswitz vermehrt sie;" *conf.* Landgr. Bltt. f. d. Bayer. Gymn. XVI, p. 319; Stinner, p. 6; Stuenkel, p. 20; Pauck. Hist. Aug. p. *14; Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI, p. 119. Rönsch. p. 65, *sq.;* Slaughter, Ter., p. 27; Goelzer, Hier., p. 45, "La langue vulgaire va jusqu'à donner cette terminaison, qu'elle aime, à des mots existant déjà sous une autre forme, comme amasio au lieu de amasius, nutricio pour nutricius." [3] Fisch, Nom. Pers, p. 18, *sq.* [4] Id. p. 10. [5] Id., p. 24, *sq.* [6] Id., p. 34. [7] Id. p. 115, *sq.*

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lichen und daher um so mehr sprachengeschichtlich interessanten Formation," and which includes 335 forms, *uett.* 200, Cic. 47, Silv. Lat. 47. A more exhaustive collection, limited to *nomina personalia*, is given by Fisch, in his excellent treatise on this subject, already cited, (Die lateinischen Nomina personalia auf "o, onis," Berlin, 1890). Out of the odd 275 words there cited, exclusive of conjectural forms, barely 25 have the sanction of Caes. or Cic., and of these, 6 occur only in the *Epistt.*: *combibo, epulo, sacco, salaco, tocullio, uerbero.* Only 7 occur with any frequency in the best writers, *caupo, helluo, histrio, latro, leno, praeco, praedo*, to which may be added *commilito, calo, decurio*, often used by the historians, (Caes.; Sall.; Liu.). On the other hand, the early comic writers, the satirists, and all authors of questionable latinity abound with these forms; Ploen, (p. 38), attributes not less than 47 to comedy alone, and 10 to the satirists; tragic and epic poetry 2 each; lyric poetry 3. Turning again to the tables compiled by Fisch, we find that Plaut. alone used 31, while Terent., "viel feiner als Plautus," has but 9, and only 5 of them new forms.[1] Of the satirists, Lucil. employs 13, Horat., (*Sat. & Epp.*), 13, Pers. 7, Iuuen. 14. Petr., always a fertile source for plebeian forms, has 27, of which 9 are new, and Apul. 34, new 7. The Scriptt. Hist. Aug. have 17, of which three are new, *commanipulo, linifio, *procerto.* Of the Scriptt. Eccl., Tert. has only 8, 3 new, 2 alone; Hier. 9, all old; Augustin. 12, 1 only new, (*fabulo*). That the ecclesiastical writers were sparing in the use of these words is an indication that, unlike most plebeian derivatives, their vulgar character was not diminished by the course of time, while their unabated prevalence in the speech of the people is evidenced by the large number of them preserved by the grammarians and Glossaries,[2] and by their survival in the Romance languages. **Fr.**, *-on*, **Ital.**, *-one*; as *gluto* = **Fr.** *glouton*; *machio*, = *maçon*.[3] Examples of such survival are rare, but the modern languages abound with forms from which many Latin words now lost may be conjecturally reconstructed. Thus the **Fr.** *champignon* sug-

[1] It is to be regretted that Herr Fisch did not distinguish in his lists, between the words already in use and those which each author added to the literature; had he done so, my own work would have been indeed superfluous. [2] Fisch, Nom. Pers., p. 145 *sq.*, cites from the glossaries 141 words, the great majority of which are not known from other sources. [3] Diez, p. 653; Wölffl., ALL. I, p. 16.

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gests **campinio; lumignon, *luminio; echelon, *scalo;* **Ital.** *piantone, *planto,* etc. But as the suffix is still an active one it is difficult to decide in individual cases whether a word is derived directly from the Latin, or a recent formation by analogy.[1]

LIVIVS ANDRONICVS.
quinquertio, *ap. Fest.* 257 (*a*) 11

NAEVIVS.
aleo,[2] *Com.* 118
ganeo,[3] *Id. ib.*
lustro, *Id. ib.*

PLAVTVS.
agaso,[4] *Merc.* 852
buco[5] (bucco), *Bacch.* 1088
calcitro,[6] *Asin.* 39
capito,[7] *Pers.* 60
congerro,[8] *Most.* 931; *al.*
cotio,[9] (coctio), *Asin.* 203
curio, (*cura*), *Aul.* 567
esurio, *Pers.* 103
fullo,[10] *Aul.* 504
gerro,[11] (cerro), *Truc.* 551
legirupio, *Rud.* 709
linteo,[12] *Aul.* 512
lurco,[13] *Pers.* 421
opilio,[14] (upilio), *Asin.* 540
optio,[15] (*subst. masc.*), *Id.* 1, 1, 88
pellio,[16] *Men.* 404
phyrgio,[17] (prygio), *Id.* 426; *al.*
restio,[18] *Most.* 884
saturio, *Pers.* 101
silo,[19] *Rud.* 317
sublingio, *Pseud.* 893
trico,[20] *Bacch.* 280
uerbero,[21] *Amph.* 284; *al.*

ENNIVS.
*debilo, *Ann.* 329
subulo,[22] *Sat.* 41

CAECILIVS.
truo,[23] *Com.* 270

TERENTIVS.
babylo, *Ad.* 915
homuncio,[24] *Eun.* 591

ACCIVS.
mirio,[25] ap. *Varr. L. L.* 7, 68

LVCILIVS.
combibo,[26] *Sat.* 26, 66
comedo,[27] *Id.* 5, 41
impuno, *Id.* 2, 1
mando,[28] *Id. Fr. Inc.* 163

[1] Goelzer, Hier. p. 45; W. Meyer, ALL. V, p. 231.

[2] Catull.; Tert. [3] Ter.; Varr. Sat. Men.; Cic., *semel*, (Cat. 2, 7); Sall. Cat.; Sen. Ep; Lact.; Prud. [4] Enn.; Hor. Sat.; Liu.; Pers.; Plin.; Apul.; Porphyr.; Seru. ad Verg.; ICt. [5] Pompon.; Apul.; Isid. [6] Varr. Sat. Men.; Apul. [7] Cic., *semel*, (*N. D.* 1, 29, 80); Arnob. [8] Fulg. [9] Laber.; Paul. ex Fest.; Petr.; Gell.; Porphyr. ad. Hor. [10] Titin.; Pompon.; Non.; Varr. Sat. Men.; Petr.; Mart.; Plin.; Gell.; Apul.; Tert.; Lampr.; Ambros.; Firm. Math.; Dig. [11] Caecil.; Ter.; [*] Auct. B. Alex.; Paul. ex Fest. [12] Lampr.; Firm. Math.; Cod. Theod.; Seru. ad Verg.; Inscrr. [13] Lucil.; Suet.; Apul.; Seru. ad Aen.; Mar. Plot. Sacerd. [14] Varr.; Verg. Ge.; Col.; Apul.; Vulg.; Firm. Math.; Augustin.; Dig.: Isid. [15] Varr.; Tac.; Veget. Mil.; Isid. [16] Lampr.; Firm. Math.; Cod. Theod. [17] Titin.; Varr. Sat. Men.; Apul.; Tert.; Arnob. [18] Suet.; Fronto. [19] Varr. Sat. Men. [20] Lucil.; Iul. Capit. [21] Ter.; Cic. Att.; Apul.; Hier.; Diom. [22] Lucil. [23] Paul. ex Fest. [24] Cic., *semel*, (Acad. 2, 134); Petr.; Sen.; Apul.; Iuuen.; Ambros.; Augustin. [25] Tert. [26] Cic. Ep. [27] Varr. Sat. Men.; Donat.; Cassiod; Prisc. [28] Varr. Sat. Men.

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mango,[1] *Id.* 29, 88
muto,[2] *Id.* 8, 7
uaro,[3] (baro), *Id. Fr. Inc.* 108

AFRANIVS.
flagrio, *Com.* 391
tenebrio,[4] *Id.* 109

POMPONIVS.
*baso,[5] *ap. Prisc.* 2, 1, *p.* 213 *K.*
manduco,[6] *Com.* 112
particulo, *Id.* 140

VARRO.
balatro,[7] *R. R.* 2, 5, 1
edo, *Sat. Men.* 529
equiso,[8] *Id.* 118; *al.*
libellio,[9] *Id.* 256
longurio, *Id.* 562
phago,[10] *Id.* 529
popino,[11] *Id.* 308
rapo, *Id.* 378

LVCRETIVS.
pumilio,[12] 4, 1160

CICERO (EPISTT.).
salaco, *ad. Fam.* 7, 24, 2
succo, *ad Att.* 7, 13, *b.* 5
tocullio, *Id.* 2, 1, 12

LABERIVS.
adulterio, *Com. Inc. Fab.* 17
appeto, *Com.* 96

HORATIVS.
ciniflo,[13] *Sat.* 1, 2, 98
erro,[14] *Id.* 2, 7, 113

PHAEDRVS.
ardelio,[15] 2, 5, 1

PERSIVS.
*cachinno, 1, 12
cerdo,[16] 4, 51
glutto [17] 5, 112
palpo, 5, 176

PETRONIVS.
capo,[18] 59
cicaro, 46
felicio, 67, 9
graeculio, 76, 10
lanio,[19] 39
lucro,[20] 60
*mascarpio, 134, 5
occupo, 58, 11
*scelio, 50, 5, *Cod. Trag.*
uauato, 63, 8

MARTIALIS.
anteambulo,[21] 2, 18, 5; *al.*
paedico,[22] 6, 33, 1; *al.*
uespillo,[23] 1, 47, 1

GELLIVS.
uitupero,[24] 19, 7, 16

APVLEIVS.
amasio,[25] *Met.* 3, 22
*gerulo, *Id.* 3, 28, *Ed. Eyssenh.*
gulo,[26] *Mag.* 32
nugo, *Met.* 5, 29
rupico, *Flor.* 7, *p.* 8, 15 *K.*
uillico, *Mag.* 87
uulpio, *Id.* 86

[1] Varr.; Hor.; Plin.; Mart.; Iuuen.; Quint.; Capit. [2] Hor. Sat. [3] Pers.; Petr.; Augustin.; Isid. [4] Varr. Sat. Men. [5] "Ribbeck fälschlich 'uaso,'" Fisch, Nom. Pers. p. 48, citing Löwe Prodrom. p. 66. [6] Apul.; Non. [7] *Lucr.; Hor. Sat.; Vopisc.; Hier.; Acron.; Gloss. Labb. [8] Val. Max.; Apul. [9] Stat.; Non. [10] Vopisc. [11] Hor. Sat.; Suet. [12] Sen.; Plin.; Mart.; Fest.; Gell.; Inscrr. [13] Tert.; Seru. ad Verg.; Porphyr. ad Hor. [14] Ou.; Tib.; Sen.; Col.; Plin.; Dig.; Diom. [15] Mart. [16] Petr.; Mart.; Iuuen.; Inscrr. [17] Paul. ex Fest.; Ambros.; Isid. [18] Mart.; Ps.-Apic. [19] Sedul.; Charis.; Dig. [20] Paul ex Fest. [21] Suet. [22] Firm. Math.; *form pendico*, Auct. Priap. 68, 8. [23] Suet.; Apul.; Tert.; Vlp. Dig.; Firm. Math.; Amm.; Not. Tir.; Sidon.; Fulg. Myth. [24] Sidon. Ep. [25] Arnob.; Prud. [26] Macr.

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TERTVLLIANVS.
accendo, *Pall.* 6
commisero, *adu Marc*, 4, 9; *al.*
homerocento,[1] *Praescr.* 39

CAPITOLINVS.
*procento, *Maximin. duo* 2

ARNOBIVS.
mento, 3, 14

SPARTIANVS.
commanipulo, *Pesc. Nig.* 10

VOPISCVS.
linifio, *Saturnin.* 8

AMMIANVS.
literio,[2] 17, 11, 1; *al.*
*praescio, 18, 4, 1
reposco, 22, 16, 23

AVGVSTINVS.
fabulo,[3] *de Haeres.* 88

SIDONIVS.
hortulo, *Ep.* 5, 14, 2

§ 17. SUBSTANTIVES IN **-tor, -sor, -rix**: This class of derivatives, which have been aptly called Personal Participial Substantives,[4] denote persons as supporting a given condition, as *amator* = *is qui amat*, taking the place of an explanatory relative clause, and thus making the language briefer, and at the same time more ponderous.[5] Paucker has computed the total number of these substantives at 2,294; *uett.* 779, *recc.* 1,515, Caes. and Cic. 340, or three-sevenths of *uett.* Such a large proportion shows that these derivatives were current in the classical language, owing no doubt to the convenience of condensed expression. The popular language, however, treated these words, like verbal abstracts in **-tio**, with a peculiar freedom, so that every verb was probably capable of giving its corresponding *nomen agentis*.[6] Already in Plautus we find 158, (125 in **-tor**, 33 in **-trix**, or nearly one-fifth of the *uett.*, a large proportion when compared with other classes of words, as **-tio**, of which he has only 94 out of 1,450 *uett.* or less than one-fifteenth. Terent. has a much smaller proportion, 36, **-tor** 27, **-trix** 9. Stinner[7] has noticed the much greater freedom with which Cic. used these words in his letters than in his more finished writings, and cities 24, (**-tor** 23, **-trix** 1), many of them desig-

[1] Hier. [2] Augustin. [3] Gloss. Isid.

[4] Paucker Material. II, p. 2, Das Verbalnomen auf *t-or*, *s-or*, . . . das wir persönliches Participialnomen benennen möchten. [5] Comp. Schmidt, Verb. in *-tor*, etc., ap. Tert. p. 12, "simulque illorum usu creberrimo ponderosa Tert. orationis grauitas et sententiosa breuitas adiuuatur." [6] Goelzer, p. 24, notes this freedom in the latin of Hier., "Le latin obéissait déjà inconsciemment à cette loi dont nous voyons les effets dans les langues romanes, où chaque verbe est capable de donner naissance à un nom d'agent." [7] Stin. p. 6.

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nating trades, as *glutinator*, *infector*, *olitor*, etc., and words of this class were undoubtedly of popular origin. They were however more in accordance with the spirit of the classic language than the corresponding formations in **-arius**, so abundant in the *sermo plebeius*, and consequently gained a more ready acceptance in the literature. The rarity of these words in the vulgar writer Vitr. is a further indication that they are by no means an essential characteristic of the vulgar Latin: while he added an odd hundred of words in **-tio**, he has but five new forms in **-tor** and none in **-trix**. The writers of Silver Latin showed a marked preference for these words, introducing 194, *-tor* 153, *-trix* 41, or more than one-fourth of *uett.* The greatest number of these is due to L. Seneca, 34, the next to Plin., 26. The large number in Mart., 22, many of them distinctly vulgar, is worthy of notice.

But it is chiefly in the ecclesiastical writers that this formation obtains its full development; J. Schmidt, in his painstaking monogram on the use of these words by Tert., above cited,[1] attributes to him the surprising number of 198 forms first used by him, **-tor** 150, **-trix** 48, 81 of which (**-tor** 50, **-trix** 31), are not found in later writers. Paucker [2] assigns to Hier. 46, **-tor** 32, **-trix** 14, of these 33 peculiar to him, **-tor** 21, **-trix** 12. Augustin.[3] has 94, **-tor** 81, **-trix** 13. This surprising fertility indicates that, at least at this period of the language, words in **-tor** and **-trix** had taken a firm hold upon the popular speech.

One point of importance in its bearing upon the Romance languages is the change in signification undergone by these substantives in later Latin: in classic times they served to denote a permanent condition or quality of the person or thing referred to: Cic. *N. D.* 2, 15, 41, *ignis confector est et consumptor omnium*, denotes permanent characteristics of fire; Id. *de Sen.* 4, 10, *Fabius Maximus suasor fuit legis Cinciae*, means not merely *suasit legem Cinciam*, but that he was known to history as the one noted for his support of that measure.[4] A particular case, or transient event could not be expressed by these words. In later Latin this distinction began to disappear; the language was approaching the freedom with which French employs cor-

[1] See *supra*, p. 58, *not.* 5. [2] Paucker, Hier. p. 29. [3] Pauck. Spicileg. p. 134 *not.* 26. [4] Nägelsbach, Stilistik, p. 210.

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responding forms in *-eur*, to denote single actions or temporary conditions: thus Goelzer cites from Hier. numerous phrases such as *uirtutis assumptor; distributator possessionum; oblator munerum fuit;*[1] etc.

While the masculine ending **-tor, -sor,** has survived in full vigor, the Romance languages have retained the feminine **-trix** only in occasional examples: as **Fr.**, *actrice, nourrice;* **Sp.**, *emperadriz, nutriz.* Italian alone has kept the freedom of forming a corresponding feminine in **-trix** out of every masculine in **-tor**, and even here it is a question whether this license does not belong rather to the language of literature and of lexicons than to the speech of the people.[2] In **Sp.** it is replaced by *-ora*, in **Fr.** by *-euse* (**-osa**), and throughout the Romance languages, to a large extent by the Vulgar Latin suffix **-issa,** as **Fr.**, *prophetesse, deesse;* **Sp.**, *duquesa, poetisa;* **Prov.**, *princessa, senhoressa;* **Ital.**, *dottoressa, pittoressa, poetessa,* etc.[3]

NAEVIVS.
olitor,[4] *Com.* 19
praemiator,[5] *Id.* 17

PLAVTVS.
acceptor,[6] *Trin.* 204
aduentor,[7] *Asin.* 859; *al.*
calator,[8] *Pseud.* 1009
castigator,[9] *Trin.* 187; *al.*
*caulator, *Truc.* 683
cauillator,[10] *Id.* 685
*circumductor,[11] *Most.* 845 *R.*
clauator,[12] *Rud.* 805
collator,[13] *Curc.* 474
dator,[14] *Truc.* 20; *al.*
derisor,[15] *Capt.* 71
despoliator,[16] *Trin.* 240
dissignator,[17] *Poen.* 19
dormitator, *Trin.* 862
duellator, *Capt. Prol.* 68
exercitor,[18] *Trin.* 226
famigerator, *Id.* 215
flagitator,[19] *Most.* 768
fugitor, *Trin.* 723
gestor,[20] *Pseud.* 429
indagator,[21] *Trin.* 240
inductor,[22] *Asin.* 551
infector,[23] *Aul.* 521
iurator,[24] *Trin.* 879; *al.*
lectisterniator, *Pseud.* 162

[1] Goelzer, p. 56, citing authorities. [2] Meyer-Lübke, Ital. Gramm. p. 270. [3] Meyer-Lübke, Ib.; Diez, p. 620 sq.; compare *infra*, § 82.

[4] Plaut.; Varr.; Cic. Ep.; Col.; Plin.; Inscrr. [5] Ambros. [6] Lucil.; Cypr. Ep.; Cod. Iust.; Boeth.; Gloss.; Inscrr. [7] Apul. Met.; Prisc.; Inscrr. [8] Charis.; Inscrr. [9] Hor.; Liu. [10] Cic. Ep.; Sen.; Gell. [11] Tert. [12] Paul. ex Fest.; Gl. Labb. [13] Augustin.; Greg.; ICt. [14] Verg.; Arnob.; Augustin.; Eccl. [15] Hor.; Phaedr.; Sen.; Suet.; Mart.; Iuuen.; Inscrr. [16] Cod. Theod. [17] Hor. Ep.; Sen.; Suet. Fr.; Inscrr. [18] Macr.; ICt.; Inscrr. [19] Cic., semel, (Brut. 18); Liu.; Gell.; Amm. [20] Scaeu. Dig.; Augustin. [21] Varr.; Vitr.; Col.; Ser. Samm.; Macr.; Isid.; Boeth.; (*-triz*, Cic., &c.). [22] Augustin.; Gloss. Labb. [23] Cic. Ep.; Sen.; Plin.; Marc. Emp.; Gloss. Labb. [24] Cato.; Liu.; Sen. Apoc.; Symm.; Macr.

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luctator,[1] *Id.* 1251
ludificator, *Most.* 1066
lusor,[2] *Amph.* 694
malefactor,[3] *Bacch.* 395
oblocutor, *Mil.* 644
obsonator,[4] *Id.* 667
occator,[5] *Capt.* 662
occisor,[6] *Mil.* 1055
ominator, *Amph.* 722
osor,[7] *Asin.* 859
ostentator,[8] *Curc.* 476
palpator,[9] *Men.* 260
percontator,[10] *Id.* 933
*perforator,[11] *Pseud.* 979 *R.*
perquisitor,[12] *Stich.* 385
pollictor,[13] *Asin.* 910
postpartor, *Truc.* 63
potator,[14] *Men.* 259
praestigiator, *Amph.* 830; *al.*
pransor,[15] *Men.* 274
precator,[16] *Asin.* 415
responsor, *Rud.* 226
sarcinator,[17] *Aul.* 515
scortator,[18] *Amph.* 287
screator, *Mil.* 648
sputator, *Id. ib.*
textor,[19] *Aul.* 519
uirgator, *Asin.* 565
uitor,[20] *Rud.* 990
unctor,[21] *Trin.* 252

CATO.
ambulator,[22] *R. R.* 5, 2
penator, *Oratt.* 13, *Fr.* 1

TERENTIVS.
contortor, *Phorm.* 374
exorator,[23] *Hec.* 10
extortor,[24] *Phorm.* 374
inceptor,[25] *Eun.* 1035
praemonstrator, *Haut.* 875

LVCILIVS.
bouinator,[26] *Sat.* 11, 27
*expilator,[27] *Id.* 27, 54 *Codd.*
glutinator,[28] *Id.* 28, 41
succussator, *Id.* 3, 33

VARRO.
cantator,[29] *L. L.* 8, 57
desponsor, *Id.* 6, 69
impositor,[30] *Id.* 7, 2
obstrigillator, *Sat. Men.* 436
porculator,[31] *R. R.* 2, 4, 1
putator,[32] *L. L.* 7, 63
urnator,[33] *Id.* 5, 126
uestigator,[34] *Id.* 5, 94

CICERO, (EPISTT.).
adiunctor, *ad Att.* 8, 3, 3
*aemulator,[35] *Id.* 2, 1, 10
approbator,[36] *Id.* 16, 7, 2
cessator,[37] *ad Fam.* 9, 17, 3

[1] Ou.; Sen.; Gell. [2] Ou.; Sen.; Aur. Vict.; Inscrr. [3] Vulg. [4] Sen. Ep.; Inscrr. [5] Col.; Fest.; *nom. propr.*, *Occator*, — Seru. ad Verg. [6] Cypr. Ep.; Augustin. [7] Paul. ex Fest.; Apul.; Pacat.; Auson.; Augustin. [8] Cornif. Rhet.; Liu.; Tac. [9] Cypr. Ep.; Cassian. [10] Hor. Ep.; Augustin. Ep. [11] **perfossor* — *Cod. Ambr.* [12] Amm. [13] Varr. Sat. Men.; Mart.; Tert.; Vlp. Dig.; Vulg.; Firm. Math.; Fulg. Myth.; Sidon. Ep. [14] Tert.; Vopisc.; Hier. Ep.; Vulg.; Firm. Math. [15] Veran. ap. Macr. Sat.; Augustin. [16] Ter.; Symm.; Macr.; Donat. [17] Lucil.; Gai. Inst.; Vlp. Dig.; Seru. ad Verg.; Inscrr. [18] Hor. Sat.; Hier.; Vulg. [19] Hor. Ep.; Mart.; Iuuen.; Firm. Math.; Vlp. Dig. [20] Arnob.; Donat. ad Ter.; Gloss. Labb.; Inscrr. [21] Cic. Ep.; Quint.; Mart.; Augustin.; Inscrr. [22] Col.; Mart.; Augustin. [23] Tert. [24] Cypr. Ep. [25] Auien. [26] Placid. Gloss.; Gloss. Labb. [27] Cic. Q. Fr.; Vlp. Dig. [28] Inscrr. [29] Mart.; Gell. [30] Vlp. Dig. [31] Col. [32] Ou.; Col.; Plin. [33] Liu.; Callistr. Dig.; Firm. Math. [34] Col.; Sen.; Apul. Met.; Seru. ad Verg.; Vlp. Dig.; Isid. [35] Sall.; Sen. Ep.; Apul.; Iustin.; Vulg. [36] Gell.; Augustin. [37] Hor. Sat.

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consponsor,[1] *Id.* 6, 18, 3
designator,[2] *ad Att.* 4, 3, 2
ioculator,[3] *Id.* 4, 16, 3
litigator,[4] *ad Fam.* 12, 30, 1
peregrinator,[5] *Id.* 6, 18, 5
propagator,[6] *ad Att.* 8, 3, 3
structor,[7] *ad Q. Fr.* 2, 6, 2
traductor, *ad Att.* 2, 9, 1

HORATIVS.
modulator,[8] *Sat.* 1, 3, 130

VITRVVIVS.
demolitor, 10, 13, 3
locator,[9] 1, 1, 10
officinator,[10] 6, 8, 9
prouindemiator, 9, 4, 1

CELSVS.
professor,[11] 2, 6, 1 ; *al.*

COLVMELLA.
allector, 8, 10, 1
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[1] Paul. ex Fest.; Gloss. Isid. [2] Vlp. Dig. [3] Firm. Math. [4] Quint.; Tac.; Plin. Pan.; Lact.; Amm. [5] Apul. Met.; Firm. Math. [6] Apul.; Inscrr. [7] Petr.; Mart.; Apul.; Tert.; Lampr.; Capit. [8] Col.; Apul. [9] Plin. [10] Apul. Met.; Inscrr. [11] Col.; Quint.; Plin. Ep.; Suet.; Spart.; Amm.; ICt. [12] Augustin. [13] Plin. [14] Arnob.; Auson.; Sidon. Ep.; Vlp. Dig. [15] Quint.; Prud.; Vulg.; Augustin. [16] Tac.; Quint.; Nazar. Pan.; Auson.; Amm. [17] Frontin. [18] CIL. 4, 1658; Cod. Theod. [19] Auct. Epit. Iliad. [20] Inscrr. [21] Inscrr. [22] Auct. Itin. Alex. [23] Isid.; Acron. ad Hor.; Modest.; Rufin. [24] Ps.-Quint. [25] CIL. 4, 1825. [26] CIL. 4, 1503; al. [27] Plin. Ep. [28] Tert.; Vulg.; Augustin.; Sidon. Ep.; Cod. Iust.; Inscrr. [29] Inscrr. [30] Vitr.; Gromat. Vet.

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[1] Amm.; Prud. [2] Apul. Met.; Mart. Cap. [3] Augustin. [4] Apul. Met.; Augustin. [5] Tert.; Cod. Iust.; Sidon. Ep.; Seru. [6] Isid. [7] Tert.; Augustin. [8] Hier. Ep.; Firm. Math.; Cassiod. [9] Tert. [10] Arnob. [11] Tert.; Augustin. [12] Amm.; Augustin.; Claud. [13] Ambros. [14] Tert. [15] Pacat. Pan. [16] Schol. Iuuen. [17] Tert.; Lact.; Vulg.; Augustin. [18] Tert. [19] Hier.; Augustin.; *Iuppiter Opitulator*, — Paul. ex Fest. [20] Augustin.; Isid. [21] Tert. [22] Firm. Math.; Anthol. Lat.; Augustin. [23] Augustin. [24] Arnob. [25] Min. Fel.; Inscrr. [26] Auct. Epit. Iliad. [27] Ps.-Hilar. [28] Auson. [29] Firm. Math. [30] Lucif. Car.; Inscrr. [31] Marius Mercator. [32] Cod. Theod.; Dig. [33] Prud.; Mart. Cap. [34] Vulg.; Augustin.

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[1] Augustin. [2] Ambros. [3] Augustin. [4] Anthol. Lat. [5] Porphyr. ad Horat. [6] Augustin. [7] Vlp. Dig.; Vulg.; Isid. [8] Augustin. [9] Augustin. [10] Ennod.; Eccl. [11] Lact.; Hier.; Prud.; Augustin.; Sidon. [12] Firm. Math.; Hier. [13] Vulg. [14] Lampr. [15] Firm. Math.; Sedul. [16] Eccl. [17] Augustin.; Innocent. [18] Sidon. [19] Xystus Pap. [20] Hier.; Augustin.; Cassiod. [21] Augustin.; Cassiod. [22] Augustin. [23] Symm.; Macr.; Ennod.; Cassiod.; Cod. Iust. [24] Inscrr. [25] Intpr. Iren.; Dar. Phryg.; Vlp. Dig.; Ps.-Augustin. [26] Augustin.; Cod. Iust. [27] Hier.; Vulg. [28] Hier. [29] Intpr. Iren.; Augustin.; Cassiod. [30] Hier.; Cassiod. [31] Cypr.; Augustin. [32] Augustin. [33] Auien.; Augustin. [34] Lact.; Vulg.; Augustin. [35] Vulg.; Augustin.; Paul. Nol. [36] Ambros.; Hier.; Vulg.; Augustin.; Isid.; Schol. Bern. ad Verg. Ge. [37] Macr.; Cod. Theod.; Seru. ad Aen. [38] Cassiod. [39] Augustin.; Isid.; Eccl. [40] Pall.; Augustin. [41] Intpr. Iren.; Nouatian.; Ambros.; Hier.; Augustin. [42] Cod. Theod. [43] Arnob.; Salu.; Cod.

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nunciator,[7] *ad Nat.* 1, 7
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permeator, *Apol.* 21
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[1] Lampr.; Trebell.; Amm. [2] Fulg. [3] Salu. Ep.; Augustin. [4] Iuuenc.; Hier.; Vulg.; Augustin.; Cassiod.; Ven. Fort. [5] Arnob. [6] Prud.; Sidon.; Augustin.; Inscrr. [7] Arnob.; Dig. [8] Ambros.; Ennod.; Fulg. [9] Paul. Nol. [10] Iul. Val. [11] Firm. Math.; Paul. Nol.; Sedul.; Vulg.; Lact.; Ambros.; Sulp. Seu.; Hier.; Augustin. [12] Intpr. Iren.; Isid. [13] Vulg.; Eccl. [14] Capit.; Hier.; Vulg.; Augustin.; Sidon. [15] Hier.; Isid. [16] Ambros.; Intpr. Iren. [17] Augustin.; Inscrr. [18] Augustin. [19] Amm.; Augustin.; Cassiod.; Paul. Nol.; Cod. Theod. [20] Augustin. [21] Cypr.; Spart.; Lact.; Amm.; Hier.; Vulg.; Augustin.; Oros.; Cod. [22] Eumen.; Augustin.; Inscrr. [23] Inscrr. [24] Ascon. ad Cic. [25] Decret. Episcop. in Concil. Turon. 2. [26] Dig. [27] Ambros.; Vulg. [28] Augustin. [29] Augustin.; Chrysolog. [30] *Spart.; Isid. [31] Isid. [32] Hier.; Augustin. [33] Augustin. [34] Dracont.; Augustin. [35] Cassiod. [36] Hier.; Vulg.; Augustin. [37] Hier.; Vulg.; Augustin. [38] Heges.; Vulg.; Augustin. [39] Augustin. [40] Augustin.; Sidon. [41] Intpr. Iren. [42] Arnob.; Hier.; Vulg.; Augustin.; Alcim. [43] Augustin. [44] Ambros.; Hier.; Paul. Nol.; Ennod.

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[1] Lampr.; Amm.; Vulg. [2] Ambros. [3] Intpr. Iren.; Ps.-Quint. Decl. 277; Augustin. [4] Firm. Math. [5] Non. [6] Gloss. Labb. [7] Eccl. [8] Mart. Cap. [9] Salu.; Ambros.; Paul. Nol.; Inscrr. [10] Vulg.; Macr. [11] Augustin. [12] Alcim. Auit.; Inscrr. [13] Vulg.; Augustin. [14] Hier.; Ennod. [15] Cassiod. [16] Gloss. Labb. [17] Paul. Nol. [18] Hilar.; Augustin.; Inscrr. [19] Amm. [20] Hier. Ep. [21] Augustin. [22] Gloss. Paris. [23] Augustin.; Cassiod.; Eccl. [24] Isid. [25] Vulg.; Cod. Theod.; Gloss. Labb. [26] Augustin. [27] Augustin. [28] Prud.; Augustin. [29] Inscrr. [30] Augustin.

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fascinator,[1] *in Galat.* 3, 1; *al.*
gustator,[2] *in Iesai.* 40, 12
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praecantor, *in Ps.* 117, 11
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[1] Primas.; Gloss. Labb. [2] Gloss. Philox. [3] Vulg. [4] Salu.; Gloss. Philox. [5] Augustin. [6] Arn. Iun. [7] Gloss. Philox. [8] Augustin.; Cassiod.; Patr. Chrysol. [9] Greg. M. [10] Augustin.; Prosp. [11] Heges.; Paul. Nol. [12] Eccl. [13] Eccl. [14] Eccl. [15] Iul. ap. Augustin.

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sensificator, *Ciu. Dei* 7, 3
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CELSVS.
contemplatrix,[22] 1 *Proem.*

PHAEDRVS.
nemoricultrix, 2, 4, 3
potrix, 4, 5, 25

PETRONIVS.
balneatrix, *Fragm.* 2 *ed. Buech.*

[1] Plin.; Augustin. [2] Ter.; Tert. [3] Mart.; Apul.; Augustin.; Salu.; Prisc.; Inscrr. [4] Amm. [5] Adelh. Laud. Virg. [6] Varr. R. R.; Tert.; Inscrr. [7] Apul. [8] Ou.; Sen. Ep.; Plin.; Sil. [9] Eust. Hexaem. [10] Plin. [11] Ter.; Hor. Epod.; Val. Max.; Col.; Plin.; Apul.; Paul. Sent.; Amm.; Vulg. [12] Mart. Cap. [13] Porphyr.; Augustin. [14] Ou.; Sen.; Lucan.; Apul.; Amm.; Hier.; Augustin. [15] Eccl. [16] Mart.; Non.; Prob. Inst.; Prisc.; Charis.; Amm.; Inscrr. [17] Stat.; Quint.; Augustin. [18] Sidon. [19] Vulg. [20] Cypr. Ep.; Gai. Dig.; Paul. ex Fest.; Gloss. Labb.; Inscrr. [21] Amm. [22] Apul.

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PLINIVS.
concitatrix,[1] 19, 154
duratrix, 14, 17
exulceratrix, 27, 105
hebetatrix, 2, 57
olfactatrix, 17, 239
piscatrix,[2] 9, 143
refrigeratrix, 19, 127
sectrix, 36, 116

MARTIALIS.
circulatrix,[3] 10, 3, 2
fututrix,[4] 11, 23, 4; *al.*
ructatrix, 10, 48, 10
salutatrix,[5] 7, 87, 6; *al.*
sudatrix, 12, 18, 5
tractatrix,[6] 3, 82, 13

APVLEIVS.
afflictrix, *de Mund.* 15
agitatrix,[7] *Dogm. Plat.* 1, 9
captatrix,[8] *Id.* 2, 8
conditrix,[9] *Mag.* 18
consiliatrix,[10] *Met.* 5, 24
diiudicatrix, *Dogm. Plat.* 2, 6
ducatrix, *Id.* 2, 4
inductrix, *Dec. Socr. Prol. p.* 110 *H.*
ostentatrix,[11] *Mag.* 76
repertrix,[12] *Id.* 18
restitutrix, *Ascl.* 2
sospitatrix, *Met.* 11, 9; *al.*
ueteratrix,[13] *Id.* 9, 29

TERTVLLIANVS.
actrix,[14] *Spect.* 18
adulatrix,[15] *Anim.* 51
affectatrix, *Praescr.* 7
animatrix, *Scorp.* 12
arbitratrix, *adu. Marc.* 2, 12 *fin.*
argumentatrix, *Spect.* 2
auctrix,[16] *Id.* 17; *al.*
auersatrix,[17] *Anim.* 51
auocatrix, *Id.* 1
cessatrix, *adu. Marc.* 1, 24
confirmatrix,[18] *Cor. Mil.* 4
conflictatrix, *adu. Marc.* 2, 14
consecratrix, *adu. Gnost.* 3
debellatrix,[19] *Apol.* 25
debitrix,[20] *Anim.* 35
defectrix, *adu. Valent.* 28
defraudatrix, *Ieiun.* 16
deprecatrix, *adu. Marc.* 4, 12
desertrix, *Hab. Mul.* 1
despectrix, *Anim.* 23
desultrix, *adu. Valent.* 38
dissolutrix, *Anim.* 42
diuinatrix,[21] *Id.* 46
enecatrix, *adu. Marc.* 1, 29 *fin.*
exspectatrix, *Id.* 4, 16
formatrix,[22] *Monog.* 17
fraudatrix, *Res. Carn.* 12
frictrix, *Id.* 16; *al.*
fugatrix, *adu. Gnost.* 12
initiatrix,[23] *Nat.* 2, 7
interemptrix,[24] *Spect.* 17
interpolatrix,[25] *adu. Haeret.* 7
iustificatrix, *adu. Marc.* 4, 36
modulatrix, *Bapt.* 3
negatrix,[26] *Idol.* 23
negotiatrix,[27] *adu. Marc.* 2, 3
obseruatrix,[28] *Cor. Mil.* 4
obumbratrix, *Apol.* 9
operatrix,[29] *Anim.* 11; *al.*
peccatrix,[30] *Pudic.* 11
perditrix,[31] *Exh. ad Cast.* 13

[1] Amm. [2] Inscrr. [3] Auct. Priap.; Mart. Cap.; Gloss. Labb. [4] CIL. IV, 2204. [5] Iuuen. [6] *Conf.* Charis. 44, 7. [7] Arnob. [8] Tert. [9] Tert.; Lact.; Eumen. Pan.; Augustin.; Seru. ad Verg.; Macr. [10] Ambros.; Hier. [11] Prud. [12] Tert.; Hier. [13] Gloss. Isid. [14] Cod.; Inscrr. [15] Treb. Pol. [16] Chalcid. Tim.; Vulg.; Cod. Iust.; Charis.; Seru. ad Verg. [17] Vulg.; Augustin. [18] Iul. Vict. [19] Lact. [20] Hier.; Paul. Dig. [21] Mart. Cap. [22] Claud. Mam. [23] Salu. [24] Lact. [25] Nazar. Pan. [26] Prud. [27] Paul. Dig.; Inscrr. [28] Ps.-Soran. [29] Ambros. [30] Prud.; Vulg.; Paul. Nol. [31] Hier.

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peremptrix,[1] *Anim.* 42
pollicitatrix, *Apol.* 23
postulatrix, *Cor. Mil.* 13
praedicatrix,[2] *Anim.* 46
purgatrix,[3] *Bapt.* 5
reliquatrix, *Anim.* 35
reprobatrix, *adu. Marc.* 4, 36
resignatrix, *Hab. Mul.* 1
seductrix, *adu. Marc.* 2, 2 *fin.*

ARNOBIVS.
incitatrix,[4] 2, 16
publicatrix, 1, 36
solidatrix, 4, 8

AMMIANVS.
inflammatrix,[5] 14, 1, 2
insidiatrix,[6] 23, 5, 21
praemiatrix, 14, 11, 25

AMBROSIVS.
cunctatrix, *Ep.* 67, 5
dispensatrix,[7] *Offic.* 1, 12
inspectrix, *Ep.* 5, 10
inuectrix, *Ep.* 63, 3
remuneratrix, *Serm.* 14; *al.*
stipatrix, *Hexaem.* 5, 16, 53

HIERONYMVS.
apostatrix,[8] *in Ezech.* 2, 3
apparatrix, *Ep.* 18, 14
auguratrix,[9] *in Iesai.* 16, 57, 3
cohabitatrix, *Nom. Hebr. col.* 63
demonstratrix, *Didym. Spir. Sct.* 4
distributrix, *Id.* 23
exasperatrix,[10] *in Ezech.* 2, 8
illuminatrix,[11] *Nom. Hebr. col.* 21; *al.*
incentrix, *in Tit.* 2, 3
insultatrix, *in Iesai.* 5, 23, 1
interpellatrix,[12] *Ep.* 60, 11; *al.*
iurgatrix,[13] *Ep.* 117, 4; *al.*
lamentatrix,[14] *in Ierem.* 9, 17
receptatrix, *Didym. Spir. Sct.* 5

AVGVSTINVS.
coniunctrix, *Trin.* 11, 10
consolatrix,[15] *in Ps.* 55, 21
dissipatrix, *Serm.* 30
exactrix,[16] *Ep.* 110, 1
examinatrix, *Sanct. Virg.* 47
mundatrix, *Trin.* 15, 44; *al.*
oppugnatrix, *c. Sec. Resp. Iul.* 6, 6; *al.*
ordinatrix, *Ep.* 118, 24; *al.*
persecutrix, *Consens. Euang.* 1, 25
restauratrix, *Serm.* 30
separatrix, *Trin.* 11, 10
suffragatrix, *Ciu. Dei* 18, 9; *al.*
uiolatrix, *Coni. Adult.* 2, 2; *al.*

§ 18. SUBSTANTIVES IN **-arius, -aria**: A third important group of *nomina agentis* consists of those formed from adjectives in **-arius**, the prevalence of which in the *sermo plebeius* has often been noticed, and will be considered in detail in the chapter on adjectives, *infra* § 37. The abundance of these substantives in vulgar Latin was observed by Guericke,[17] but he expressly excluded from that category all words denoting artisans, tradesmen, etc., as *argentarius*, *lanificarius*. Schulze, (Diss. Hal. VI,

[1] Augustin. [2] Ambros.; Maxim. Taur. [3] Hier. [4] Lact.; Nazar. Pan. [5] Cl. Mam. [6] Ambros.; Edict. Diocl. [7] Hier.; Inscrr. [8] Vulg. [9] Vulg. [10] Vulg. [11] Isid. [12] Vulg. [13] Isid. [14] Vulg. [15] Cassiod. [16] Ennod.
[17] Guericke, p. 31.

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p. 173), citing Guericke, takes issue with him on this point, maintaining that the majority of such appellations are avoided by the classic writers.[1] A detailed consideration of these words tends to confirm the latter view: of those found in the best period a large proportion may be attributed to the *sermo castrensis*, as *alarius*, Caes., Cic. Ep. etc.; *classiarius*, Nep.; *legionarius*, Liu., etc.; *naumachiarius*, Suet.; *sagittarius*, Caes.; Cic.; others again came to designate certain parts of Rome, and so crept into literature, as *inter falcarios*, Cic. Cat. 1, 8, ("in der Sichel- od. Sensenstrasse," Georges Wörterb). But the majority remained on the outskirts of literature, and like substt. in **-o, -onis**, pervaded every department of the *sermo plebeius*. So from the *s. seruilis* we may cite *ergastularius*, *fugitiuarius*, *lorarius;* from the *s. rusticus*, *asinarius*, *columbarius*, *herbarius*, *iugarius*, *mellarius*, *porcinarius*, *salictarius*, *suarius;* from the *s. circensis*, *exodiarius*, *gesticularius*, *petauristarius*.[2] The Inscriptions abound with these forms: from C. I. L. IV alone, (*Inscrr. Pompeian.*), we have:

*caetario, *C. I. L. IV*, 2084	uinaria, *Id. ib.* 1819
clibanarii, *Id. ib.* 677	saccari, *Id. ib.* 274 & 497
lanifricari, *Id. ib.* 1190	sagari, *Id. ib.* 753
plagiaria, *Id. ib.* 1410	stationarius, *Id. ib.* 80, 81

A further evidence that these substantives are abundant in plebeian Latin is the passage in Plaut. Aul. 508-516, where for comic effect 16 words in *-arius* are heaped together:

. . . . . linarius,
Caupones patagiarii, indusiarii,
Flammarii, uiolarii, carinarii,
(*Aut* manulearii, *aut* murobatharii)
Propolae linteones, calceolarii,
Sedentarii *sutores*, diabathrarii,
Solearii *adstant*, *adstant* molocinarii,
Petunt fullones, *sarcinatores petunt*,
Strophiarii *adstant*, *adstant* semisonarii . . . .

The following are partial lists of the forms not sanctioned by the best writers. The comparative rarity of feminines in **-aria** is noteworthy.

[1] "Guer. dicit ea adiectiua non esse uulgaria quae opifices omnis generis significent . . . . mihi non probatur.," Schulze, l. l. [2] In this connection the partiality of Plaut. for these forms as names for plays is worthy of note; *conf.: Asinaria*, *Aulularia*, *Cistellaria*, *Mostellaria*, *Vidularia*.

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a. *Substantives in* **-arius**:

PLAVTVS.
admissarius,[1] *Mil.* 1112
ampullarius,[2] *Rud.* 756
arcularius, *Aul.* 514
calceolarius, *Id.* 512
carbonarius,[3] *Cas.* 329
carinarius, *Aul.* 510
cellarius,[4] *Capt.* 895
diabathrarius, *Aul.* 515
flammarius,[5] *Id.* 510
indusiarius,[6] *Id.* 509
limbolarius,[7] *Id.* 519
linarius,[8] *Id.* 508
(lorarius,[9] *Curc.* 1, 2)
materiarius,[10] *Mil.* 920
molochinarius,[11] *Aul.* 515
*murobatharius, *Id.* 511
olearius,[12] *Capt.* 489
patagiarius,[13] *Aul.* 509
porcinarius,[14] *Capt.* 905
scutarius,[15] *Epid.* 37
semisonarius, *Aul.* 516
solearius,[16] *Id.* 514
strophiarius, *Id.* 516
uinarius,[17] *Asin.* 436
uiolarius,[18] *Aul.* 510

CATO.
asinarius,[19] *R. R.* 10, 4; *al.*
calcarius, *Id.* 16
quartarius,[20] *Id.* 95, 1
salictarius, *Id.* 11, 1

TERENTIVS.
cuppedinarius,[21] *Eun.* 256

LVCILIVS.
alicarius,[22] *Sat.* 15, 38
caeparius, *Id.* 5, 23
mixtarius, *Id.* 5, 33
scripturarius, *Id.* 26, 16
scrutarius, *Id. Fr. Inc.* 77

AFRANIVS.
scriblitarius, *Com.* 161

VARRO.
cinerarius,[23] *L. L.* 5, 129
columbarius, *R. R.* 3, 7, 7
fugitiuarius,[24] *Id.* 3, 14, 1
macellarius,[25] *Id.* 3, 2, 11
mellarius, *Id.* 3, 16, 17
plumarius,[26] *ap. Non.* 162, 27
quinarius,[27] *L. L.* 5, 173

CICERO (EPISTT.).
pedarius,[28] *ad Att.* 1, 19
pigmentarius,[29] *ad Fam.* 15, 17, 2
piscinarius, *ad Att.* 1, 19, 6; *al.*
plagiarius,[30] *ad Qu. Fr.* 1, 2, 2, § 6
topiarius,[31] *Id.* 3, 1, 2

LABERIVS.
manuarius, *Com.* 46

CATVLLVS.
mulierarius,[32] 25, 5

HORATIVS.
pomarius,[33] *Sat.* 2, 3, 227

[1] *Cic., *semel*, (Pis. 28, 69); Sen. Qu. [2] Inscrr. [3] Inscrr.; Gloss. Labb. [4] Sen. Ep.; Col.; Plin.; Vlp. Dig.; Paul. Sent.; Inscrr. [5] *Conf.* Paul. ex Fest. 89, 11. [6] Gloss. Isid. [7] Inscrr. [8] Inscrr. [9] Gell. [10] Gloss.; Inscrr. [11] Inscrr. [12] Col. [13] Paul. ex Fest; Inscrr. [14] Inscrr. [15] Marc. Aurel.; Lact.; Vulg.; Amm.; Cod. Theod. [16] Inscrr. [17] Sall. Hist. Fr.; Suet.; Vlp. Dig. [18] Inscrr. [19] Varr. R. R.; Suet.; Edict. Diocl.; Tert. [20] Liu.; Col.; Plin.; — *mularius*, Lucil.; Fest. [21] Lampr. [22] Paul. ex Fest. [23] Catull.; Sen.; Tert.; Porphyr. ad Hor.; Charis.; Gloss. Labb. [24] Flor.; Vlp. Dig.; Cod. Theod. [25] Suet.; Veget. [26] Vitr.; Firm. Math.; Vulg.; Gloss. Labb.; Inscrr. [27] Plin. [28] Laber. [29] Firm. Math.; Hier.; Vulg.; Inscrr. [30] Sen. Tranq.; Mart.; Vulg.; ICt. [31] Plin.; Inscrr. [32] Capitol.; Isid.; *adi.*, Cic. Cael. 28, 66, *et Al.* [33] Lampr.; Inscrr.

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VITRVVIVS.
marmorarius,[1] 7, 6
phalangarius,[2] (*phalangae*), 10, 3, 7
statuarius,[3] 6, 10, 6

CELSVS.
auricularius,[4] 5, 26, 12; *al.*

COLVMELLA.
ergastularius,[5] 1, 8, 17
iugarius, 1, 6, 6
salgamarius,[6] 12, 56, 1
ueterinarius, 6, 8, 1

PETRONIVS.
antescholarius,[7] 81, 1
centonarius,[8] 45, 1
insularius,[9] 95
lapidarius,[10] 65, 5
nummularius,[11] 56, 1
petauristarius,[12] 47
puellarius, 43, 8
saltuarius,[13] 53, 9

PLINIVS.
apiarius, 21, 56
coriarius,[14] 17, 51
crustarius, 33, 157
herbarius, 20, 191
medicamentarius,[15] 19, 110
suarius,[16] 8, 208
trigarius, 28, 238; *al.*
tutelarius,[17] 34, 38
uerbenarius, 22, 5
uulnerarius, 29, 13

MARTIALIS.
carnarius, 11, 100, 6
helciarius,[18] 4, 64, 22
locarius, 5, 24, 9
pinguiarius, 11, 100, 6
salarius,[19] 1, 41, 8; *al.*

GELLIVS.
ridicularius, 4, 20, 3.

TERTVLLIANVS.
condimentarius, *Anim.* 23.
fornicarius,[20] *Id.* 35; *al.*
infantarius, *ad. Nat.* 1, 2
manticularius, *Apol.* 44
partiarius,[21] *adu. Marc.* 3, 16; *al.*

ARNOBIVS.
*cybiarius, 2, 70
quadragenarius, 2, 60

LAMPRIDIVS.
arcarius,[22] *Alex. Seu.* 43
bracarius,[23] *Id.* 24, 3
caligarius,[24] *Id.* 33
claustrarius, *Id.* 24, 5
lactuarius,[25] *Heliog.* 27, 3
lupinarius, *Alex. Seu.* 33, 2
mansuetarius,[26] *Heliog.* 21
popinarius,[27] *Id.* 30, 1

VOPISCVS.
draconarius,[28] *Aurel.* 31, 7
epigrammatarius, *Florian.* 3, 3; *al.*

[1] Sen. Ep.; Firm. Math. [2] Non.; Inscrr. [3] Sen. Ep.; Plin.; Quint. [4] Vlp. Dig.; Vulg.; Inscrr.; *form oricularius*, *Petr. 43. [5] *Adi.* — Amm.; Sidon. [6] Salu. [7] Inscrr. [8] Cod. Theod.; Inscrr. [9] Pompon. Dig.; Inscrr. [10] Vlp. Dig.; Vulg.; Inscrr. [11] Suet.; Mart.; Paul. Dig.; Vlp. Dig.; Ambros.; Vulg.; Inscrr. [12] Firm. Math. [13] Dig.; Inscrr. [14] Scrib.; Hier.; Vulg.; Inscrr.; *form corarius*, Inscrr. [15] Cod. Theod. [16] Cod. Theod.; Symm. Ep.; Inscrr. [17] *Adi.*, *Schol. Pers.; Inscrr. [18] Sidon. [19] Inscrr. [20] Hier.; Vulg.; Isid. [21] Inscrr. [22] Gai.; Symm. Ep.; Sidon.; ICt.; Inscrr. [23] Edict. Diocl.; Cod. Iust. [24] Firm. Math. [25] Gloss. Labb. [26] Firm. Math. [27] Firm. Math. [28] Amm.; Veget.; Inscrr.

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AMMIANVS.
cunicularius,[1] 24, 4, 22
exodiarius,[2] 28, 4, 33
gesticularius, 24, 4, 26

HIERONYMVS.
caementarius,[3] *Ep.* 53, 6
cucurbitarius, *Id.* 112, 22
gallicarius, *Praef. in Reg. S. Pachom. no.* 6

quaestionarius,[4] *in Ioel.* 2, 21
quinquagenarius,[5] *in Iesai.* 2, 3, 3
scordiscarius, *Ep.* 57, 5

AVGVSTINVS.
circissarius,[6] *in Ps.* 39, 8
laturarius, *Serm.* 18, 4; *al.*
telonearius,[7] *Id.* 302, 17

b. *Substantives in* **-aria**:

PLAVTVS.
alicaria,[8] (*meretrix*) *Poen.* 266
operaria,[9] (*meretrix*), *Bacch.* 74
toraria, *Mil.* 694

PERSIVS.
nonaria,[10] (*meretrix*), 1, 133

PETRONIVS.
quasillaria,[11] 132

PLINIVS.
emboliaria,[12] 7, 158
unguentaria,[13] 8, 14

MARTIALIS.
glabraria, 4, 28, 7
infantaria, 4, 88, 3

IVVENALIS.
antiquaria, 6, 454
libraria,[14] 6, 476

GELLIVS.
gesticularia, 1, 5, 3

TERTVLLIANVS.
fornicaria,[15] (*meretrix*), *Anim.* 35

AMBROSIVS.
ostiaria,[16] *in Luc.* 10, 75

HIERONYMVS.
tabernaria,[17] *adu. Heluid.* 21

SCHOL. IVVEN.
sellaria,[18] (*meretrix*), *ad Iuu.* 3, 136

§ 19. SUBSTANTIVES IN **-arium**: Like the masc. and fem., the neut. of adjs. in **-arius** gives rise to numerous substantives. The suffix **-arium** is especially frequent in the Scriptt. R. R., denoting, like **-etum**, the locality where an object—the stem-word—is found, as *rosarium* = *rosetum*, and with this signification had begun to encroach upon the latter suffix in Latin,

[1] Veget. [2] Schol. Iuu.; Inscrr. [3] Vulg. [4] Augustin.; Cod. Theod.; Schol. Iuuen.; Boeth.; Inscrr. [5] Vulg. [6] Gloss. Paris. [7] Cod. Theod.; Non. [8] *Conf.* Paul. ex Fest. 7, 17. [9] *In bonam partem* — Cassian.; Inscrr. [10] Schol. Iuuen. [11] Inscrr. [12] Inscrr. [13] Inscrr.; (*ars*) *unguentaria*, Plaut. [14] Mart. Cap.; — *bibliotheca*, Gell. [15] Augustin.; Gloss. Vet. [16] Vulg. [17] Nou. Martian.; Schol. Iuuen. [18] — *zotheca*, Plin. 34, 84; al.

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although both were popular in the *sermo plebeius:*[1] in the Romance languages the latter suffix has been largely superseded by the former, or to a greater extent by the fem. **-aria**, which has assumed the same function.[2] **Fr.**, *grenier*, *verger*, fem., *chatière*, *rizière*, *sablière;* **Span.**, *armario*, fem., *higuera*, *porquera;* **Ital.**, *columbajo*, *viridario*, fem., *abetaja*, *capraja*, *columbaja*, *gallinaja*, *sorciaja*. In **Ital.**, where all rustic suffixes linger longest, **-etum** is still prevalent, but according to Meyer-Lübke, has a decidedly literary tone, while *-aja* belongs to the language of the people.[3]

In connection with the last two sections compare *infra*, § 39, on adjs. in **-arius**.

PLAVTVS.
*auctarium,[4] *Merc.* 490
ballistarium, *Pœn.* 202
bellaria,[5] orum, *Truc.* 480
carnarium,[6] *Pseud.* 193
granaria,[7] orum, *Truc.* 523
mortarium,[8] *Aul.* 95
uinarium,[9] *Trin.* 888

ENNIVS.
stlataria,[10] orum, *Ann.* 469

CATO.
*aquarium, *R. R.* 1, 3
miliarium,[11] (*milium*), *R. R.* 20; *al.*
pulmentarium,[12] *Id.* 58
tertiarium,[13] *Id.* 95, 1
torcularium,[14] *Id.* 13; *al.*

TERENTIVS.
pulmarium,[15] *Eun.* 930

LVCILIVS.
frigdaria,[16] orum, (= *penus*), *Sat.* 8, 12

VARRO.
columbarium,[17] *R. R.* 3, 7, 4; *al.*
glirarium, *Id.* 3, 15, 1
laniarium, *Id.* 2, 4, 3
*legarium,[18] (*lego*), *Id.* 1, 32, 2
leporarium,[19] *Id.* 3, 3, 2
locarium, *L. L.* 5, 15
mellarium, *R. R.* 3, 16, 12
panarium,[20] *L. L.* 5, 105
pomarium,[21] *R. R.* 1, 2, 6
saginarium, *Id.* 3, 10, 7
turdarium, *L. L.* 6, 2
urnarium, *Id.* 5, 126

CICERO (EPISTT.)
balnearium,[22] *ad Qu. Fr.* 3, 1; *al.*
diaria,[23] orum, *ad Att.* 8, 14

[1] "(-arius) im Ntr. bezw. Fem. — Ntr. Plur. den Ort wo sich das Primitiv befindet: *uiridiarium* Baumpflanzung, es verdrängt *etum* schon im lat., wie überhaupt beide Suffix sehr beliebt sind," W. Meyer, Gramm. d. Vulgärlateins, in Gröber's Grundriss, 1, p. 373. [2] Meyer-Lübke, Ital. Gram., § 501; Diez, p. 660. [3] "-aia mehr volksthümlich ist," Meyer-Lübke, Ital. Gram., § 503; *conf. infra*, § 20.

[4] Paul. ex Fest. [5] Ter.; Suet.; Gell. [6] Cato R. R.; Var. R. R.; Col.; Plin.; Petr. [7] Varr.; Cic., *semel*, (Fin. 2, 26, 84); Hor. Sat.; Vitr.; Col.; Pers. [8] Cato.; Vitr.; Plin.; Iuuen.; Pall. [9] Hor. Sat.; Petr. [10] *adj.*, Iuuen. [11] Sen. Q. N.; Pall. [12] Varr.; Hor.; Sen.; Col.; Plin.; Vulg. [13] Vitr. [14] Vitr.; Col. [15] Vlp. Dig. [16] *Form -ium*, (— *balneum*), Vitr. 5, 11, 2. [17] Vitr.; Col.; Plin.; Pall. [18] *legarica*, *ed.* Keil & *Codd.* P A B. [19] *Conf.* Gell. 2, 20, 4, '*Viuaria*' *quae nunc* uulgus *dicit; conf. Id. ib.* 8, '*apiaria*' *quoque* uulgus *dicit.* [20] Plin. Ep.; Stat.; Suet. [21] Cic., *semel*, (de Sen. 15, 54); Col. [22] Sen.; Col. [23] Hor.; Sen.; Petr.

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uaporarium,[1] *ad Qu. Fr.* 3, 1, 1, § 2
uiridarium,[2] *ad Att.* 2, 3, 2

LABERIVS.
dictabolarium, *Inc. Fab.* 19
lauandaria, orum, *Id.* 17

HORATIVS.
cetarium, *Sat.* 2, 5, 44
ptisanarium,[3] *Id.* 2, 3, 155
uiuarium,[4] *Ep.* 1, 1, 79

VITRVVIVS.
albarium,[5] 5, 2, 10
caldarium,[6] 5, 10, 1
farraria, orum, 6, 9, 5
immissarium, 8, 7, 1
lateraria, orum (*latus*), 10, 14, 3; *al.*
tepidarium,[7] 5, 10, 1

COLVMELLA.
apiarium,[8] 9, 5, 1
defrutarium, 12, 10, 2
fumarium,[9] 1, 6, 19
gallinarium,[10] 8, 3, 1
palearium, 1, 6, 9

PERSIVS.
pecuaria, orum, 3, 9

PLINIVS.
acetaria, orum, 19, 58
escaria,[11] orum, 14, 42
igniarium,[12] 16, 207
miniarium (metallum), 33, 121
ostrearium,[13] 9, 74
pampinarium, 17, 181; *al.*
plantarium,[14] 17, 109
spartaria, orum, 11, 18
trigarium,[15] 37, 202
ulmarium, 17, 76

MARTIALIS.
graphiarium, 14, 21
muscarium,[16] 14, 67

IVVENALIS.
uelarium,[17] 4, 122

GELLIVS.
glossarium, 18, 7, 3

APVLEIVS.
promptuarium,[18] *Met.* 1, 23
secretarium,[19] *Flor.* 3, 81, 17; *al*
subitaria, orum, *Deo Socr.* 104

TERTVLLIANVS.
cucumerarium,[20] *adu. Iud.* 3
custodiarium,[21] *ad Martyr.* 2
dracontarium,[22] *Cor. Mil.* 14
exemplarium,[23] *Idol.* 5; *al.*
hastarium, *Apol.* 13; *al.*

LAMPRIDIVS.
fabatarium, *Heliog.* 20, 7
lararium, *Alex. Seu.* 29, 2; *al.*

VOPISCVS.
orarium,[24] *Aurel.* 48, 5; *al.*

PSEVDO-APICIVS.
moretaria,[25] orum, 6, 4

[1] Sen. [2] Cels.; Petr.; Plin.; Suet.; Lampr.; Dig. [3] *Conf.* Plin. 18, 71. [4] Sen.; Plin.; Iuuen.; *conf.* Gell. 2, 20. [5] Plin. [6] Cels.; Sen. Ep.; Plin.; Pall. [7] Cels. [8] *Conf.* Gell. 2, 20, 8. [9] Mart.; Vulg. [10] Plin. [11] Iuuen. [12] Gloss. Labb. [13] Macr. [14] Vulg.; Eccl. [15] Gloss. Philox. [16] Veget.; Inscrr. Pomp. [17] Amm.; Inscrr. [18] Ambros.; Vulg.; Macr. [19] Lact.; Paul. Nol.; Sulp. Seu.; Cod. Theod. [20] Intpr. Iren.; Hier.; Vulg. [21] Intpr. Iren.; Vulg.; Inscrr. [22] Inscrr. [23] Arnob.; Dig.; Schol. Lucan. [24] Prud.; Hier. Ep.; Augustin. [25] Donat. ad Ter. Phorm.

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AMMIANVS.
itinerarium,[1] 24, 1, 1

HIERONYMVS.
atramentarium,[2] *in Ezech.* 9, 2
chartarium, *adu. Rufin.* 3, 6
sudarium, *Ep.* 120, 5

AVGVSTINVS.
lucernarium,[3] *in Reg. Cleric.* 2

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
motarium, *Chron.* 3, 8, 134
specularium, *Acut.* 2, 37, 192

§ 20. SUBSTANTIVES IN **-tum, -etum**: These substantives, derived chiefly from the names of plants, to denote localities where they abound, as *oliuetum, rosetum*, are numerous in Latin, and while not infrequent in classic writers, are especially prevalent in the Scriptt. R. R. Paucker, in a note to his collection of adjs. in **-orius**,[4] gives a list of 72 nouns in **-tum**, omitting *cornetum, uaspicetum*, including which we have *uett.* 52, *recc.*, 21. Of these only 7 occur in Cic.: *cupressetum, dumetum, oliuetum, salictum, saxetum, vinetum, uirgetum*, of which all but 2 occur in Varr., or Col. They are more frequent in the Augustan poets: Verg. first uses *spinetum, uirectum*, and has a number of the older forms in the Georgics and Eclogues. Ovid adds *coryletum, pinetum, rubetum*; Hor. *palmetum, fruticetum*; Stat., *nucetum*. On the other hand no less than 27 are found in the Scriptt. R. R. and 7 more in the elder Pliny, whose botanical chapters are so rich in rustic vocabulary. Cato uses 4 *first*, 1 *alone*; Varr. has 11; 9 *first*, 3 *alone*; Col. has 12; 8 *first*, 4 *alone*; Plin. 12; 6 *first* and *alone*; Pall. 9; 5 *first*, 4 *alone*. It is interesting to notice that this suffix, like many others prevalent in the *sermo rusticus*, occurred also in the Osco-Umbrian dialects;[5] compare Plin. 17, 171, *Vmbri et Marsi ad uicenos intermittunt arationis gratia in his quae uocant porculeta*, and the numerous names of towns within Osco-Umbrian territory, as *Eretum* in Samnium; *Neretum, Veretum*, in Calabria.

The wide-spread use of these substantives is indicated by their conservation in the Romance languages, under the double form **-etum**, and **-eta**,[6] **It.**, *arboreto, oliveto, palmeto*; **Sp.**, *olivedo, vinedo*, **Pt.**, *arvoredo, figueiredo*; **Fr.**, numerous names of places in *-ai, -ay, -oi, -oy*, etc., as *Aunay*, from *alnetum*, or personal

[1] Veget. [2] Vulg.; Gloss. Labb. [3] Cassiod.
[4] Pauck. Material. II, p. 17, *not.* 9. [5] Comp. Huschke, Iguv. Tafeln, p. 668; Buechel. Vmbr., Index, s. v. *porculetum*. [6] Diez, p. 666; Meyer-Lübke, Ital. Gramm. p 274; Goelzer, p. 98.

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names, as *Chatenay*, from *castanetum; Coudray* from *coryletum.*

Very rare and especially vulgar are the words formed by analogy from words other than names of trees, plants, etc., as for instance, *Argilletum*, the popular name for a district in Rome, *olenticetum*, Apul.; *busticetum*, Arnob. Such formations, however, are not unknown in the modern languages;[1] comp. It. *macereto, fontaneto.*

The few substantives of this termination in Latin, not denoting locality, belong almost exclusively to the *sermo plebeius.* Such are:

cocetum, Paul. ex Fest.; Tert.; Placid. Gloss.
moretum, Pseud.-Verg.; Ouid.; Plin. Val.
temetum,[2] Plaut.; Cato; Nou; Varr.; Cic. Fr.; Hor. Ep.; Iuuen.
tuccetum, Pers.; Apul.; Arnob.

Forms in **-ētum** denoting locality.

PLAVTVS.
murtetum,[3] *Rud.* 732
senticetum,[4] *Capt.* 860

CATO.
arundinetum,[5] *R. R.* 6, 3
cupressetum,[6] *Id.* 151, 1
oletum (*olea*), *Id.* 3, 5; *al.*

QUADRIGARIVS.
arboretum, *ap. Gell.* 17, 2, 25

VARRO.
aesculetum,[7] *L. L.* 5, 152
bucitum,[8] *Id.* 5, 164
cornetum, *Id.* 5, 146; *al.*
ficetum,[9] *R. R.* 1, 41, 1
iuncetum, *Id.* 1, 8, 3
lumectum, *L. L.* 5, 137
querquetum,[10] *R. R.* 1, 16, 6; *al.*
*rosetum,[11] *Id.* 1, 35
uiminetum, *L. L.* 5, 51

CATVLLVS.
sepulcretum, 59, 2

IVSTINVS.
opobalsametum, 36, 3, 3

COLVMELLA.
candetum,[12] 5, 1, 6
castanetum,[13] 4, 30, 2; *al.*
filictum,[14] 2, 2, 8
frute(c)tum,[15] 3, 11, 3
glabretum (*pl.*) 2, 9, 9
rumpotinetum, 5, 7, 2
uepretum, 4, 32, *in.*
ueteretum, 2, 10, 4

[1] Meyer-Lübke, Ital. Gramm. p. 275.

[2] Archaic; comp. Gell. 10, 23, 1, *uino . . . quod temetum prisca lingua appellabatur.* [3] Verg. Ge.; Sall.; Hor. Ep.; Mart.; Cels.; Gloss. Labb. [4] Apul. [5] Varr. R. R.; Col.; Vell.; Plin.; Suet.; Vulg.; Inscrr. [6] Cic., *semel*, (de Legg. 1, 15). [7] Hor.; Plin. [8] *-etum*, Lucan.; *Gell.; Sidon. [9] Plin.; Mart.; Vulg. [10] Hor.; Fest. [11] Verg. Ecl.; Claudian. [12] Gromat. Vet. [13] Pall. [14] Pall. [15] Plin.; Gell.; Apul. Met.; Solin.; Hier.; Serv. ad Verg.

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PLINIVS.
fimetum, 17, 57; *al.*
masculetum, 17, 182
populetum, 14, 61
porculetum, 17, 171
sabuletum, 27, 64

MARTIALIS.
buxetum, 3, 58, 3; *al.*
ilicetum, 12, 18, 20

APULEIVS.
olenticetum,[1] *de Mag.* 456, 8

PSEVDO-APICIVS.
*uaspicetum, 1, 23

ARNOBIVS.
busticetum, 1, 41; *al.*

PALLADIVS.
cannetum,[2] 3, 22, 2; *al.*
carduetum, 4, 9, 4
citretum, 3, 24, 14
lilietum, 3, 21, 3
pometum, 1, 36, 3

§ 21. SUBSTANTIVES IN **-ile**: These substantives, properly neuters of adjs. in **-ilis**, are quite rare. They include the names of things and of places, and several of the former are quite classical, as *cubile, hastile, monile, sedile;* late Latin gives *aquimanile*, Paul. *Sent.* 3, 6, 56; *subuentrile*, Marc. Emp. 28, *fin.* Like **-etum**, however, this suffix usually denotes locality, specifically the habitations of animals, as *ouile*, sheep-fold, *suile*, pig-sty; and in this sense it prevails in the Scriptt. R. R. Thus:

PLAVTVS:	bubile, Pers. 319; Cato, R. R.; Varr. R. R.; Col.; Vitr.; Phaedr.
Cato:	bouile,[3] ap. Charis. 104, 29; Veget.; (form bobile Hyg. Fab. 30).
	equile, R. R. 14, 2; Varr.; Suet.
VARRO:	(auile,[4] L. L. 8, 34.)
	caprile, R. R. 2, 3, 8; Vitr.; Col.; Plin.
	ouile, L. L. 8, 54; Verg.; Ou.; Tibull.; Liu.; Col.; Luc.
	suile, Id. ib.; Col.
VERGILIVS:	fenile, Ge. 3, 321; Ou.; Col.; Plin.; Gloss. Labb.
Acron:	hoedile, ad Hor. Carm. 1, 17, 9; Gloss.
Gloss:	agnile, ap. Pauck. Spicilegium.

Further proof of the use of these words in the rustic dialects of Italy is furnished by the survival in Italian of a larger

[1] Claud. Mam. [2] Cassiod.

[3] "a boue Bouile non dicitur, . . . neque . . . ab aue Auile," Varr. L. L. 8, 54, but comp. *Charis.* p. 104, *K.* "bouile uetat dici Varro, . . . sed Cato de abrogandis legibus bouile dixit"; it is possible that auile, like bouile, was a form actually used improperly, for auiarium, so, for sake of completeness, it is introduced bracketed in above list. [4] Comp. preceding note.

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number than in the other Romance languages;[1] *i.e.*, **Ital.**, *bovile, caprile, fenile, ovile;* and new formations, *canile, porcile;* **Fr.** has *fenil;* **Span.** *henil*, and the classical *cubil, sedil.* Diez cites from the **Fr.**, **Span.**, **Port.**, a number of new formations denoting things, but none of places except **Fr.** *chenil.*

§ 22. SUBSTANTIVES IN **-ina**: These substantives, formed from the feminine of adjs. in **-inus**, while not closely identified with plebeian Latin, are certainly more numerous in the *sermo quotidianus* than the classic speech, as the following list indicates. They will receive more detailed treatment in connection with the adjectives from which they come, *infra*, § 35.

PLAVTVS.
accipitrina,[2] *Bacch.* 274
agnina,[3] *Capt.* 819
latrina,[4] *Curc.* 580
porcina,[5] *Capt.* 849
*scobina,[6] ap. *Varr. L. L.* 7, 68
tonstrina,[7] *Asin.* 343; *al.*
ueruina, *Bacch.* 887
uitulina,[8] *Aul.* 375

CATO.
*porrina,[9] *R. R.* 47
rapina,[10] (*rapa*), *Id.* 5; *al.*

LVCILIVS.
pistrina,[11] *Sat.* 16, 17

VARRO.
figlina,[12] *R. R.* 1, 2, 22
sutrina,[13] (*ars*), *Sat. Men.* 211
ueterina,[14] *R. R.* 1, 38, 3

COLVMELLA.
caepina, 11, 3, 56
napina, 11, 2, 71

PETRONIVS.
anatina, 56, 3
ursina, 66, 5

PLINIVS.
catulina, 29, 58

INSCRR. POMP.
capratina, 4, 1555
pusina, 4, 1405

APVLEIVS.
colubrina, *Herb.* 14
coquina,[15] (*ars*), *Dogm. Plat.* 2, 4
furatrina,[16] *Met.* 6, 13; *al.*
hirundinina, *Herb.* 73
mundicina, *Poet. Apol.* 6
rupina, *Met.* 6, 26; *al.*
textrina,[17] *Flor.* 9, p. 11, 17 *Kr.*
uiperina, *Herb.* 5
ustrina,[18] *Met.* 7, 19

TERTVLLIANVS.
cadauerina,[19] *Anim.* 32
iuridicina, *Pall.* 3 *extr.*

[1] Diez, p. 643; Meyer-Lübke Ital. Gram., p. 275.
[2] — *herba*, Apul. Herb. [3] Hor. Ep.; Ps.-Apic.; Anthol. Lat. [4] Lucil.; Col.; Suet.; Apul.; Tert. [5] Cael. Aur. [6] Tert.; Plin. [7] Plin. [8] Nep.; Ps.-Apic. [9] Arnob.; Dig. [10] Col.; Inscrr. [11] Varr.; Plin.; *adi.* — Gloss. [12] Plin.; Lact.; Inscrr. [13] Lact.; — *officina;* Varr.; Plin.; Apul.; Tert. [14] Plin. [15] — *culina*, Arnob.; Pall.; Non. [16] Iul. Val. [17] Boeth. [18] Solin.; Arnob.; Porphyr. ad Hor.; Serv. ad Verg.; Augustin.; Inscrr. [19] *adi.*, Augustin.

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laterina, *adu. Marc.* 2, 21
uenuecina,[1] *Id.* 4, 40
uestificina, *Pall.* 3
uoratrina,[2] *Apol.* 39

AMMIANVS.
molina,[3] 18, 8, 11

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
haedina,[4] *Acut.* 1, 11, 95

§ 23. SUBSTANTIVES IN **-go**, (**ăgo**, **-ĭgo**, **-ūgo**): Although a certain number of substantives in **-go** are quite classical, I have no hesitation in assigning the class as a whole to archaic and rustic Latin. Their vulgar character was evidently recognized by Rönsch,[5] who cites a large number of them in his lists of plebeian words, and Stuenkel[6] includes *esurigo* among the words used by Varro, which "*uulgaris et rustici sermonis uidentur propria fuisse.*" Cic. has few of these words, and with the exception of *caligo, imago,* they are for him mostly ἅπαξ εἰρημένα. Thus,

aerugo, **Tusc.* 4, 14; (*Hor.; Plin.; Iuuen.; Vulg.*)
fuligo, *Phil.* 2, 36, 91; (*Plaut.; Verg. Ecl.; Col.; Iuuen.; Quint.; Gell.*)
lolligo, *Diu.* 2, 145; (*Varr.; Plin.; Hor. Sat.*)
propago, *de Sen.* 15, 52; (*Fab. Pict.; Lucr.; Verg.; Hor.; Ou.; Nep.; Col.*)

With the exception of *aerugo,* all these occur earlier than Cic.; *propago,* in its primitive sense is apparently archaic; in the sense of *proles* it is poetic. Plaut. has 7 of these words: *caligo, fuligo, imago, remeligo, robigo, uesperugo, uirago;* of these, *remeligo* is archaic, (Afran., Paul. ex Fest.). *Robigo,* as the name of a goddess, is evidently of considerable antiquity. Two archaisms are cited by Gell.; *stribiligo,* "*uetustioribus Latinis* 'stribiligo' *dicebatur*" 5, 20, 1; *hippagines,* cited among the "*uocabula, quae in historiis ueteribus scripta sunt*" 10, 25, 1, *sq.*

But it is in the *sermo rusticus* that they abound. The majority are by signification appropriate to the rustic language, those in **-ago** denoting chiefly plants, as *lappago, plantago, selago;* those in **-ĭgo** diseases of animals, *mentigo, ostigo,* or blights on plants, *robigo, impetigo* (Plin.). Many are characterized by the Scriptt. R. R. as of local or rustic usage; *e.g., consiligo,* "*radicula quam pastores* consiliginem *uocant,*" Col. 6, 5, 3; *coriago,* "coriaginem *rustici appellant,*" Id. 6, 13, 2; *ostigo,* "*men-*

[1] Augustin.; Not. Tir.; Gloss. Labb.; *adi.*, Lampr.; Arnob.; Edict. Diocl; Pelag. Vet.
[2] Amm. [3] Cassiod. [4] Pa.-Apic.
[5] Rönsch, p. 66, *sq.* [6] Stuenkel, p. 31.

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tigo quam pastores ostiginem *uocant,*" *Id.* 7, 5, 21; *suffrago,* "*suboles quam rustici* suffraginem *uocant,*" *Id.* 4, 24, 4; *salsilago,* "*appellatur in salinis* salsugo *ab aliis* salsilago," Plin. 31, 92; *lampago,* "*alii* lampaginem *uocant,*" Apul. *Herb.* 96.

It is interesting to note in this connection that of the adjs. in **-osus**, which are generally admitted to be characteristic of the *sermo rusticus*, no less than 21 are formed from substantives in **-go**.[1] The close relation existing between the suffixes **-ago**, **-ax** and the undoubtedly rustic **-aceus**, has been well demonstrated by K. Thurneysen, (Zts. f. v. Spr. 26, p. 205).

These words have survived in the Romance languages, **Ital.** *-gine*, **Fr.** *-ge, -gine;* **Span.**, *-gen, -ge*, etc.; but, as usual with rustic derivatives, are prevalent chiefly in Ital., which is rich in new formations; names of plants, as *cappraggine, farragine;* of diseases, as *bolsaggine, cascaggine, mellugine;* and especially in abstracts formed from subs. and adjs., as *asinnagine, tristaggine.*[2]

PLAVTVS.
remeligo,[3] *Cas.* 804
uesperugo,[4] *Amph.* 275
uirago,[5] *Merc.* 414

CATO.
aspergo,[6] *R. R.* 128
depetigo,[7] *Id.* 157
siligo,[8] *Id.* 35, 1
similago,[9] *Id.* 75

LVCILIVS.
uitiligo,[10] *Sat. Fr. Inc.* 38

LVCRETIVS.
lanugo,[11] 5, 817

VARRO.
aurigo,[12] *ap. Isid. Origg.* 4, 8, 13
esurigo, *Sat. Men.* 521
intertrigo,[13] *L. L.* 5, 176
uligo,[14] *R. R.* 2, 2, 7

HIRTIVS.
indago,[15] *B. G.* 8, 18

HORATIVS.
porrigo,[16] *Sat.* 2, 3, 126
tentigo,[17] *Id.* 1, 2, 118

VITRVVIVS.
salsugo,[18] 2, 4, 2

[1] Comp. *infra*, § 31, *-osus.* [2] Diez, p. 652; Meyer-Lübke, Ital. Gram. § 533.
[3] Afran. Com.; Paul. ex Fest. [4] Varr.; Vitr.; Quint.; Tert. [5] Verg.; Ou.; Sen.; Lact.; Fulg. [6] Lucr.; Verg.; Ou.; Vitr.; Petr.; Plin.; Plin. Ep.; Fronto; Tert.; Solin.; Amm.; Prud.; Cael. Aur.; ICt. [7] *Lucil. *ed. Müll.* [8] Varr.; Cels.; Col.; Plin.; Iuuen. [9] Plin.; Ambros.; Vulg. [10] Cels.; Sen.; Plin.; Iustin.; Apul. [11] Verg.; Ou.; Cels.; Sen.; Col.; Plin.; Suet.; Iuuen. [12] Apul.; Cael. Aur.; Gloss. Vat.; Gloss. Labb.; form *-ugo* — Scrib.; Vulg.; Gloss. Labb. [13] Col.; Plin. [14] Verg. Ge.; Col.; Sil.; Tac.; Seru. ad Verg. [15] Verg.; Liu.; Lucan.; Tac.; Plin. Pan.; Flor.; Gell.; Tert.; Amm.; Cod. Iust. [16] Cels.; Plin.; Scrib.; Iuuen. [17] Mart.; Iuuen.; Auct. Priap. [18] Plin.; Tert.; Solin.; Vulg.

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CELSVS.
cartilago,[1] 8, 1
impetigo,[2] 5, 28, 17
plantago,[3] 2, 33
prurigo,[4] 5, 28, 3; *al.*

COLVMELLA.
consiligo,[5] 6, 5, 3; *al.*
coriago,[6] 6, 13, 2
mentigo, 7, 5, 21
ostigo, *Id. ib.*
scaturigo,[7] 3, 13, 8
suffrago,[8] 4, 24, 4

PERSIVS.
sartago,[9] 1, 80

PLINIVS.
albugo,[10] 32, 70
asperugo, 26, 102
cunilago, 19, 165
lappago, 26, 102
lentigo, 29, 90; *al.*
melligo, 12, 131
mollugo,[11] 26, 102
plantago,[12] 25, 80
plumbago, 34, 50; *al.*
pulligo, 8, 191
salsilago, 31, 92
selago, 24, 103
trixago,[13] 24, 130; *al.*
tussilago,[14] 26, 30

PAVLI FEST. EPIT.
forago,[15] 90, 12

GELLIVS.
(stribiligo,[16] (strobiligo), 5, 20, 1.)

APVLEIVS.
caprago, *Herb.* 108
lactilago, *Id.* 27
lampago, *Id.* 96
laurago, *Id.* 58
lustrago, *Id.* 4
ostriago, *Id.* 28
solago, *Id.* 49; *al.*
uernilago, *Id.* 109
urigo,[17] *Met.* 1, 7; *al.*
ustilago, *Herb.* 109

TERTVLLIANVS.
capillago, *Anim.* 51

TREBELLIVS POLLIO.
carrago,[18] *Gallien.* 13, 9

ARNOBIVS.
pendigo,[19] 6, 16

NONIVS MARCELLVS.
putrilago, 21, 23

PALLADIVS.
citrago, 1, 37, 2; *al.*

PLINIVS VALERIANVS.
astago, 5, 27
bucellago, 1, 20
capsilago, 2, 28
chrysolago, 2, 59
uitrago, 2, 18

PELAGONIVS.
ossilago,[20] 491 *ed. Ihm.* (= *ap. Veg. Vet.* 6, 14, 3)

[1] Plin.; Pelag. Vet. [2] Col.; Plin.; Paul. ex Fest.; Tert. [3] Plin.; Th. Prisc. [4] Petr.; Plin.; Mart.; Auson.; Pelag. Vet.; Marc. Emp. [5] Plin.; Veget.; Pelag. Vet. [6] Veget. [7] Plin.; Frontin.; Apul.; Solin.; Eumen. Pan.; Amm.; Augustin.; Mart. Cap.; Isid.; (Liu. 44, 33, 3, *ed. Weissenb.* — scaturiges). [8] Plin. [9] Plin.; Iuuen.; Ambros.; Pelag. Vet.; Augustin. [10] Vulg.; Marc. Emp.; Pelag. Vet. [11] Form *-igo* — Marc. Emp. [12] Th. Prisc. [13] Veget. [14] Apul. Herb. [15] Symm. Ep.; Gloss. Isid. [16] Arnob. [17] *Arnob.; Peleg. Vet. [18] Vopisc.; Amm. [19] Veget.; Cass. Fel. [20] Veg. Vet. 1, 22, 1.

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VEGETIVS.
claudigo, *Vet.* 1, 26, 1

PRVDENTIVS.
respergo, *adu. Symm.* 1, 503

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
ferulago, *Acut.* 2, 12, 84
serrago, *Id.* 1, 14, 107; *al.*

MARCELLVS EMPIRICVS.
surdigo, 9, 66; *al.*

THEODORVS PRISCIANVS.
mucilago, 4, 1

ISIDORVS.
milago, (miluago), 12, 6, 36

§ 24. SUBSTANTIVES IN **-men, -mentum**: The relation of these suffixes to plebeian Latin, and to each other, is by no means as clear as that of most of those already treated. Stuenkel, following Corssen's view that **-men** is the older suffix from which **-mentum** was afterwards developed,[1] contends that the former was retained in the *sermo plebeius* in a large proportion of words where the literary language substituted **-mentum**, yet his own researches show that Varr., especially in the *Sat. Men.*, gave preference to **-mentum**, while Lucr., writing in a more elevated style, preferred those in **-men**. Paucker, in his Subindenda Lex. Lat., (p. 430),[2] has given a clearer exposition of the relationship; according to his figures the whole number of *uett.* in **-mentum** is 182, in **-men** 132; of these, 51 forms are concurrent, *cognomen, cognomentum*, etc., the form in **-men** being in 27 cases the younger. Of the words not having corresponding forms, those in **-mentum** outnumber the others by nearly 2 to 1, (**-mentum** = 104; **-men** = 58). This preference for the longer suffix is most apparent in the more vulgar writers: Plaut. has 45 in **-mentum**, of which only 25 are classic, (Cic. or Caes.); 19 in **-men**, of which all are in Cic. excepting *flemen, praesegmen, sarmen, subtemen, sumen, spectamen*, and for only one of these does Cic. use a corresponding long form, *subtementum*. Cato, according to Slaughter, adds 10 in **-mentum**, and only 2 in **-men**, a remarkable anomaly if the latter were an archaism.[3] Ter., always more correct than Plaut., uses out of 14 in **-mentum** only 2 not found in Cic., while all of his words in **-men** are classical. Slaughter, therefore,

[1] Stuenkel, p. 33, citing Corss. Krit. Nachtr. p. 124, but *conf.* Brugmann, Vergl. Gram. II., p. 234. "Im Uridg. gab es einige Bildungen auf -to- als Erweiterung von Stämmen auf -men-," *sq.* [2] I regret that being unable to obtain a copy of the Subindenda, I have been forced to rely upon the extract contained in Goelzer's St. Jérome, p. 62, *not.* [3] Slaughter, p. 23.

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agrees with Ploen, "that **-men** belongs to an elevated style of writing, tragedy and epic poetry, and there are not so many forms in comedy and satire; **-mentum** is characteristic of a less elevated style of writing, comedy showing fifty-two examples of new forms, tragedy three."[1] The vulgar writer Vitr. adds 4 in **-mentum**, 4 in **-men**; Silver Latin, which as a whole, seems to reflect the later tendency of the *sermo plebeius*, has 42 in **-mentum**, 26 in **-men**. The African writers show a preference for the longer suffix: Gell. 9; Apul. 17; Tert. 10, as compared with **-men**, Gell. 1; Apul., 13; Tert., 6; both suffixes however are favorites in African Latinity, and **-men** has been claimed as a distinctive feature of it.[2]

From the foregoing statistics it seems clear that Stuenkel was wrong in assigning **-men** to the list of vulgar Latin suffixes, and that on the contrary **-mentum**, like other heavy terminations, was the favorite in the *sermo plebeius;* this view was evidently favored by Schmilinsky,[3] who included **-mentum** among the suffixes "*quas Romanorum sermo vulgaris praeierat;* and by Rönsch,[4] who gives no less than 78 in **-mentum** as vulgar, and only 32 in **-men**. The same view is taken recently by Goelzer,[5] who regards the prevalence of these forms in Hier. as due to the influence of the popular speech, and those in **-men** as distinctly poetic.

Especially noteworthy is the use of words in **-men**, and **-mentum** as equivalent to abstract substantives in **-tio**, a peculiarity usually regarded as characteristic of African Latin, but attributed by Schulze to the *sermo plebeius* in general.[6] It was first observed in connection with -mentum by Ott,[7] who cites *dissimulamentum* = *dissimulatio*, Apul.; *cunctamentum* = *cunctatio*, Mart. Cap.; *fricamentum*, *confricamentum* = *fricatio*, *confricatio*, Cael. Aur.; *tutamentum*=*tutatio*, Vulg.; he is cited by Sittl, who also regards this as African Latin.[8] Schmidt[9] on the

[1] Slaughter, Ter., p. 24. [2] Sittl, Lokal. Verschiedenh., p. 140, "Betrachten wir... die dem nachklassichen Latein eigenen Substantiva auf men, so sind unter 43 mir bekannten Bildungen 23 bloss afrikanisch, 6 zuerst von Afrikanern gebildet, dagegen nur 4 in anderen Provinzen entstanden und 10 den Afrikanern fremd." [3] Schmilinsky, p. 34. [4] Rönsch, p. 25. [5] Goelzer, p. 32; 61. *Conf.* Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI, p. 158; Hauschild, Id. ib. p. 252. [6] Schulze, Diss. Hal., VI, 158, "Substt. in -men, quae eodem modo ac substantiva in -mentum non solum apud Africanos scriptores sed omnino in sermone uulgari saepius in locum substantiuorum in -tio successerunt." [7] Ott, Jahrb. 1874, Vol. 109, p. 843. [8] Sittl. Lokal. Verschiedenh., p. 142. [9] Schmidt, Tert., I, p. 26.

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contrary regards it as late Latin, but especially frequent in Apul., and Tert., and cites from the latter *deuotamentum* = *deuotio*, *aspernamentum* = *aspernatio*, *exsecramentum* = *exsecratio*, *supplicamentum* = *supplicatio;* and of forms in **-men,** *ostentamen* = *ostentatio.* Whether this usage first arose in African Latin or not, Schulze is evidently right in assigning it to the *sermo plebeius*, as is well shown by the force of this suffix in the Romance languages, where it regularly denotes an action or condition, but is rarely concrete: **Ital.** *conoscimento, sentimento, tradimento, udimento ;* **Fr.**, *commencement, jugement, sentiment,* etc.[1]

PLAVTVS.

cognomentum,[2] *Mil.* 1038 ; *al.*
cruciamentum,[3] *Capt.* 999 ; *al.*
deliramentum,[4] *Id.* 598 ; *al.*
explementum,[5] *Stich.* 173
fermentum,[6] *Cas.* 325 ; *al.*
hostimentum,[7] *Asin.* 172
inanimentum, *Stich.* 173
nidamentum,[8] *Rud.* 889
opprobramentum, *Merc.* 420
praepedimentum,[9] *Poen.* 606
pulmentum,[10] *Aul.* 316 ; *al.*
ramentum,[11] *Bacch.* 680
scitamentum,[12] *Men.* 209
sinciputamentum, *Id.* 211
stabilimentum,[13] *Curc.* 367
termentum,[14] *Bacch.* 929
tinnimentum, *Rud.* 806

CATO.

antepagmentum,[16] *R. R.* 14
coronamentum,[17] *Id.* 8, 2
iugumentum, *Id.* 14
laxamentum,[18] *Id.* 19
*lutamentum, *Id.* 128
operimentum,[19] *Id.* 10
sicilimentum, *Id.* 5, 8
substramentum, *Id.* 161, 2

CAECILIVS.

commemoramentum,[20] *Com.* 166
peniculamentum,[21] *Id.* 132

TERENTIVS.

*iuramentum,[22] *Andr.* 728
salsamentum,[23] *Ad.* 380

ENNIVS.

peniculamentum,[15] *Com.* 363

AFRANIVS.

delenimentum,[24] *Com.* 378 ; *al.*

[1] Diez, p. 682, "drückt... eine Handlung oder einen Zustand, selten einen concreten Begriff aus."

[2] Poet. ap. Cic. Fin.; Sall. Fr.; Messala ap. Sen.; Tac.; Gell. [3] Cic., *semel*, (Phil. 11, 8; comp. Hauschild, Diss. Hal. VI, p. 252, "*cruciamentum* uulgaris sermonis esse declarat frequens Planti usus"); Arnob. [4] Plin.; Ambros.; Sulp. Sev.; Prud.; Hier.; Vulg.; Augustin.; *form* **deleramenta*, Laber. 135. [5] Sen. Ep.; Frontin.; Lact.; Cassian. [6] Verg. Ge.; Cels.; Sen.; Col.; Tac.; Iuuen.; Arnob.; Pall.; Macr. [7] Enn.; Acc.; Seru. ad Verg. [8] Arnob. [9] Cl. Mam.; Sidon. Ep. [10] Hor. Sat.; Apul. Met.; Iust.; Cael. Aur.; Schol. Pers. [11] Lucr.; Sen.; Scrib.; Plin. [12] Gell.; Apul. [13] Plin.; Val. Max.; Augustin. [14] Fest. [15] Caecil.; Lucil.; Arnob. [16] Vitr.; Paul. ex Fest. [17] Plin.; Tert. [18] Trebon. ap. Cic. Ep.; Cic., *semel*, (Clu. 33, 89); Liu.; Vitr.; Sen. [19] Varr.; *Cic. Leg. 2, 22, 56; Sall. Fr.; Plin.; Ambros.; Vulg. [20] Fronto. [21] Enn.; Lucil.; Arnob. [22] Cited by Donat. *ad loc.* as vulgar; Amm.; ICt. [23] Var.; Col.; Plin.; Gell.; *alio sensu*, Cic., *semel*, (Diu. 2, 117). [24] Laber.; Sall.; Liu.; Plin. Ep.; Tac.; Iustin.; Fronto; ICt.

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VARRO.
crementum,[1] *Sat. Men.* 199
equimentum, *Id.* 502
fulmentum,[2] *ap. Non.* 206, 24
retrimentum,[3] *R. R.* 1, 64; *al.*
tomentum,[4] *L. L.* 5, 167

NIGIDIVS FIGVLVS.
inclinamentum, *ap. Gell.* 4, 9, 2

LVCRETIVS.
formamentum,[5] 2, 819

VITRVVIVS.
auripigmentum,[6] 7, 7, 5
capillamentum,[7] 4, 1, 7
inquinamentum,[8] 8, 4, 2
loculamentum,[9] 10, 9, 2

CELSVS.
linamentum,[10] 2, 11 *in.; al.*
omentum,[11] 4, 1 *med.*
recrementum,[12] 6, 8 *in.*
strigmentum,[13] 2, 6 *med.*

COLVMELLA.
aeramentum,[14] 12, 3, 9
calamentum, 4, 27, 1
crassamentum,[15] 12, 12, 1
excrementum,[16] (*excerno*), 8, 5, 25
odoramentum,[17] 11, 2, 17

PETRONIVS.
interpretamentum,[18] 10, 1

PLINIVS.
coassamentum, 16, 210 *D.*
conamentum, 19, 27
glutinamentum, 13, 81
incantamentum,[19] 28, 10
meditamentum,[20] *ap. Paucker*
nucamentum, 16, 49
obturamentum,[21] 16, 34; *al.*
placamentum,[22] 21, 42; *al.*
recisamentum,[23] 34, 111
secamenta, orum, 16, 42
sedimentum, 36, 73

GELLIVS.
annotamentum, 1, 7, 18; *al.*
decrementum,[24] 3, 10, 11
figmentum,[25] 5, 12, 12
frequentamentum, 1, 11, 12; *al.*
moderamentum, 13, 6, 1
legumentum,[26] 4, 11, 4
moderamentum, 13, 6, 1
modulamentum, 1, 7, 19
simulamentum,[27] 15, 22 *lemm.*

FRONTO.
reuimentum, *p.* 211, 21 *ed. Naber.*
spectamentum, *Diff. Voc. p.* 359 *ed. Rom.*

APVLEIVS.
agnomentum, *Mag.* 56
antecantamentum, *Met.* 11, 9
concrementum, *Mag.* 49
dissimulamentum, *Id.* 87; *al.*

[1] Tert.; Vulg.; Ps.-Cypr.; Augustin.; Cael. Aur.; Isid.; Boeth. [2] Vitr.; Cels.; Ps.-Apic.; Solin.; Amm.; Sidon. Ep. [3] Cels.; Macr. [4] Sen.; Plin.; Mart.; Tac.; Suet.; Apul. [5] Arnob. [6] Cels.; Plin.; Scrib.; Cael. Aur.; Isid. [7] Sen.; Col.; Petr.; Plin.; Solin.; Suet. Tert. [8] Paul. ex Fest.; Gell.; Ambros.; Tert.; Hier.; Vulg.; Sulp. Seu.; Cael. Aur. [9] Sen.; Col.; Veg. Vet. [10] Col.; Plin.; Not. Tir. [11] Plin.; Pers.; Iunen.; Suet.; Ps.-Apic.; Macr. [12] Plin.; Gell. [13] Plin.; Val. Max. [14] Plin.; Hier.; Vulg.; Augustin.; Edict. Diocl. [15] Gell. [16] Plin.; Tac.; Apul. [17] Plin.; Hier.; Vulg.; Augustin.; Cael. Aur.; Inscrr. [18] Gell. [19] Amm. [20] Tac.; Gell.; Amm. [21] Cael. Aur.; Past. Herm. [22] Tac.; Apul. [23] Auct. Palimps. in Maii Praef. ad Cic. Rep. p. 32 *ed. Rom.* [24] Apul.; Hier.; Augustin. [25] Apul.; Tert.; Cypr.; Spart.; Lact.; Hier.; Vulg.; Amm. [26] Gloss. Labb. [27] Auct. Itin. Alex.; Eccl.

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erudimentum, *Met.* 9, 11
exercitamentum,[1] *Flor.* 15
fulcimentum,[2] *Met.* 1, 16
illectamentum, *Mag.* 98
inhonestamentum, *Id.* 3
intrimentum, *Met.* 10, 13
moramentum, *Flor.* 21
nugamentum, *Met.* 1, 25
obiectamentum, *Mag.* 1
protrimentum, *Met.* 8, 31
rogamentum, (*Ps.-Apul.*) *Dogm. Plat.* 3. *p.* 265 *H.*
supplicamentum,[3] *Met.* 11, 20
terriculamentum,[4] *Deo Socr.* 15

TERTVLLIANVS.
abominamentum,[5] *adu. Iud.* 13
aemulamentum, (*Ps.-Tert.*) *Poet. adu. Marc.* 4, 10
aspernamentum,[6] *adu. Marc.* 3, 23
decoramentum,[7] *Cult. Fem.* 2, 12
deuotamentum,[8] *Scorp.* 2, 349
exsecramentum,[9] *Apol.* 22; *al.*
factitamentum,[10] *Anim.* 18 *ex.*
obligamentum,[11] *adu. Marc.* 3, 22; *al.*
sputamentum,[12] *Spect.* 30
strumentum, *Vxor.* 1, 7
superindumentum,[13] *adu. Marc.* 3, 24

INTPR. IREN.
contemperamentum, 2, 14, 8
crudimentum, 2, 19, 2

ARNOBIVS.
castellamentum, 2, 42

CHALCIDIVS.
nuncupamentum, *Tim.* 306

PALLADIVS.
linimentum, 11, 14, 6

AMMIANVS.
allenimentum, 27, 3, 9
palpamentum, 27, 11, 6
regimentum, 25, 9, 7; *al.*

VEGETIVS.
iuuamentum, *Vet.* 3, 4 *extr.*
liquamentum, *Id.* 3, 66, 5

HIERONYMVS.
alliamentum, *Ep.* 121 *Praef.*
superuestimentum, *Id.* 29, 4

AVGVSTINVS.
implicamentum, *Serm. Dom.* 1, 3 *med.*
laniamentum, *Ep.* 2, 26
liberamentum, *Ciu. Dei*, 6, 91
respiramentum, *Conf.* 7, 7; *al.*

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
confricamentum, *Chron.* 2, 4, 78
fricamentum, *Acut.* 2, 6, 27; *al.*
illinamentum, *Chron.* 3, 8, 132.
nocumentum, *Id.* 1, 1, 31

MARCELLVS EMPIRICVS.
caldamentum, 5, 18

FVLGENTIVS.
compulsamentum, *Myth.* 3, 6
imbutamentum, *Id.* 1, *p.* 15 *M.*

ISIDORVS.
praecisamentum, 19, 22, 18

VENANTIVS FORTVNATVS.
saluamentum, *Vit. S. Alb.* 9

[1] Cael. Aur. [2] Macr.; Augustin.; Dig. [3] Tert.; Arnob.; Vulg. [4] Sidon. [5] Vulg.; Augustin.; Oros. [6] Vulg.; Collat. Legg. Mosaic. et Roman. [7] Arnob.; Sidon. [8] Vulg. [9] Vulg.; Augustin. [10] Vulg. [11] Hier. [12] Iul. Val.; Vulg.; Augustin. [13] Hier.

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§ 25. SUBSTANTIVES IN **-bulum, -culum**: Although these suffixes have occasionally been claimed for plebeian Latin,[1] they cannot be regarded as distinctively vulgar. All classes of words with heavy suffixes will be found to be more numerous in the *sermo plebeius*, even when, as in the present case, a large proportion are classical. For these suffixes Paucker gives the following figures:[2] **-bulum** (including **-bulus, -bula**), 57, *uett.* 33, Cic. 13: **-culum**, (**-culus, -cula**), 114, *uett.* 72, Cic. 32. The number not found in the historians, (Caes.; Sall.; Nep.; Liu.), or the Augustan poets, is comparatively small. Of the two suffixes, **-bulum** seems of a more popular character in early Latin; (Plaut. has 9, avoided by classic writers). **-culum** is more prevalent in the African Latinity, where the tendency toward abstract expressions has given rise to its use in place of **-tio**, the same phenomenon as has been already noticed in the case of **-mentum**; Schmidt cites from Tert. *obstrepitaculum* = *oblocutio*; *potacula* = *potationes*; *resignaculum* = *reuelatio*.[3]

One characteristic of the *recc.* forms, of some importance in relation to the weakening in plebeian Latin of frequentative verbs, is the number of these substantives formed from them. Goelzer cites among others, Gell., *habitaculum*, Apul., *occursaculum*, *offensaculum*, Tert., *exceptaculum*, *obstrepitaculum*, *uectaculum*, etc.[4]

The following forms are the only ones which are of any interest to our subject:

a. *Substantives in* **-bulum**:

NAEVIVS.
rutabulum,[5] *Com.* 127

PLAVTVS.
conciliabulum,[6] *Trin.* 314; *al.*
dentifrangibulus, -um, *Bacch.* 605; *al.*
desidiabulum, *Id.* 376
exorabulum,[7] *Truc.* 27
mendicabulum,[8] *Aul.* 703

[1] *Conf.* Schulze, Diss. Hal., VI., p. 162, "Substantiua hoc suffixo formata, quorum pauca in bonum dicendi usum recepta sunt, in sermone cotidiano usitatiora fuisse uidentur," citing Rönsch, p. 39; *conf.* Goelzer, p. 31, "C'est à l'élément populaire qu'on peut rapporter l'emploi fréquent fait par saint Jérôme des formes en mentum . . . culum, . . . etc." [2] Pauck. Silb. Lat., p. 29, *not.* 10. [3] Schmidt, Tert., I., p. 27. [4] Goelzer, p. 92.

[5] Cato R. R.; Non. Com.; Fest.; Suet.; Isid. [6] Paul. ex Fest.; Liu.; Fronto; Tert.; Hier. [7] Apul. [8] Apul. Met.

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nucifrangibulum, *Bacch.* 598
prostibulum,[1] *Aul.* 285
sessibulum,[2] *Poen.* 268
tintinnabulum,[3] *Trin.* 1004; *al.*

CATO.
acetabulum,[4] *R. R.* 102
infundibulum,[5] *Id.* 10, 1

VARRO.
cartibulum, *L. L.* 5, 125
*digitabulum,[6] *R. R.* 1, 55, 1 *cod. P.*
suffibulum,[7] *L. L.* 6, 21
suscitabulum,[8] *Sat. Men.* 348
tribulum,[9] *R. R.* 1. 22, 1; *al.*

GELLIVS.
*ignitabulum,[10] 15, 2, 3
uectabulum,[11] 20, 1, 28

APVLEIVS.
medicabulum, *Flor.* 16, *p.* 20, 5 *Kr.*
natabulum,[12] *Id.* 16 *in.*
*pulsabulum,[13] *Id.* 15, *p.* 53 *Oud.*

TERTVLLIANVS.
dicibula,[14] *adu. Valent.* 20
mandibula,[15] *Anim.* 10

LACTANTIVS.
uertibulum,[16] *Opif. Dei*, 5, 8

VVLGATA.
fundibulum,[17] 1 *Macch.* 6, 51

GREGORIVS TVRONENSIS.
pedibulum, *H. F.* 3, 15

b. *Substantives in* =**culum**:

PLAVTVS.
pugnaculum,[18] *Mil.* 334

TITINIVS.
farticulum, Com. 90

VARRO.
obiectaculum, R. R. 3, 17, 9

COLVMELLA.
crepitaculum,[19] 9, 12, 2

PETRONIVS.
tomaculum,[20] 31, 49

PLINIVS.
conceptaculum,[21] 11, 138
cooperculum,[22] 23, 109
staticulum,[23] 34, 163

GELLIVS.
habitaculum,[24] 5, 14, 21

MINVCIVS FELIX.
notaculum, 31, 8

[1] Capit.; Lampr.; Vulg.; *form -la*, — Plaut.; Tert.; Gloss. Paris. [2] Apul. Met. [3] Phaedr.; Petr.; Plin.; Suet.; Iuuen.; Mart.; Apul.; Paul. Nol.; Ven. Fort. [4] Cels.; Sen.; Petr.; Plin.; Quint.; Vulg.; Cassiod.; CIL. 4. [5] Vitr.; Col.; Plin.; Vopisc.; Pall. [6] Gloss. Labb.; Gloss. Paris. [7] Fest. [8] Apul. Flor. [9] Verg. Ge.; Plin.; *form -la*, Col.; Vulg. [10] Solin.; Macr Sat. [11] Non. [12] Iul. Val. [13] (Fulg.) Serm. 54. [14] *form dicabula*, — Mart. Cap.; *-um*, — Seru. ad Verg. [15] Vulg.; Macr.; Isid. [16] *form -la*, — Auson. [17] Gloss. Labb. [18] Amm. [19] Quint.; Mart. Cap.; Arnob. [20] Mart.; Iuu.; Frontin. [21] Gell. [22] Apul.; Pall.; Gloss. Labb. [23] Tert. [24] Tert.; Pall.; Pacat. Pan.; Amm.; Vulg.; Prud.; Augustin.

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APVLEIVS.
demeaculum, *Met.* 6, 2
memoraculum, *Mag.* 56
occursaculum, *Id.* 64
offensaculum,[1] *Met.* 9, 9
remeaculum, *Id.* 6, 2
reuerticulum, *Id.* 3, 11; *al.*
signaculum,[2] *Flor.* 9, *p.* 11, 6 *Kr.*
temperaculum, *Id.* 6, *p.* 5, 18 *Kr.*

TERTVLLIANVS.
exceptaculum, *Spect.* 2
obstrepitaculum, *adu. Marc.* 1, 20
pinnaculum,[3] *adu. Iud.* 8
potaculum, *Apol.* 39; *al.*
uectaculum, *Anim.* 53; *al.*

ARNOBIVS.
furfuraculum,[4] 6, 14

CHALCIDIVS.
emissaculum, *Tim.* 39; *al.*

VENANTIVS FORTVNATVS.
retentaculum, *Vit. S. Menard.* 12

[1] Eccl. [2] Tert.; Vlp. Dig.; Prud. [3] Vulg. [4] Gloss. Isid.

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II.—ADJECTIVES.

§ 26. Adjectives in **-bundus**: These adjectives hardly need any further commentary than the accompanying list, to prove their vulgar character.[1] Out of a total of 141,[2] (*uett.* 52, *recc.* 89), I have found but 7 in Cic., and 2 of these confined to his letters and the oration against Verres. The great majority are confined to writers of inferior latinity, largely as ἅπαξ εἰρημένα, and to glossaries. Plaut. has 7, of which 2, *ludibundus*, *moribundus*, recur in Cic.; Cato, besides the Plautine *ridibundus*, has the two extraordinary forms *tuburchinabundus*, *lurchinabundus*, the use of which Quint.[3] condemns; Sisenn. has *populabundus;* Claud. Quadrig. *cunctabundus*, *hinnibunde*, Cornif. Rhet. *tremebundus;* Sall., full of archaisms, adds two, *praedabundus*, *uitabundus*, and Laber. *amorabundus*, cited by Caesellius Vindex[4] in his *commentarium lectionum antiquarum;* so that the formation, like so many others in plebeian Latin, may be reasonably regarded as archaic. Very few, as *errabundus*, *moribundus*, were retained in general use. Livy forms a striking exception, using not less than 17 of these words, and it has been suggested that this peculiarity constitutes part of his characteristic *Patavinitas*.[5] Of these 17 words only 6 are found before *Liu.;* of the remaining 11, two, *tentabundus*, *deliberabundus*, are not found later; the rest are rare and for the most part confined to the historians, who naturally fall more or less under the influence of his style and vocabulary. Thus Tac. has 7; 5 from Liu., *contionabundus*, *minitabundus*, *moribundus*, *uitabundus*, *cunctabundus;* 2 new, *deprecabundus*, *speculabundus;* Suet. has 6; 4 are from Liu., *gratulabundus*, *indignabundus*, *ludibundus*, *uenerabundus*. The remaining two are *speculabundus*, from Tac., and *osculabundus*, not previously

[1] See Landgraf. Blätt. f. Bayer. Gymn. VII. p. 320; Guericke, p. 32; Schmilinsky, p. 39; Rönsch, pp. 338–9; Frölich, B. Afr., p. 58; Ulrich, Vitr., II., p. 5. [2] Paucker, Hier. p. 65 sq. [3] Quint. 1, 6, 42, neque enim tuburchinabundum et lurchinabundum iam in nobis quisquam ferat, licet Cato sit auctor. [4] Gell. XI., 15, 1. [5] Klotz, Stilist. p. 83.

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found. Curt. has 5: 2 new forms, *bacchabundus*, *mirabundus*; the rest from Liu., *comissabundus*, *errabundus*, *uenerabundus*. A strong argument that this is an archaism retained in the historians, is that they have also retained the unclassical construction of a transitive accusative after these adjectives; the earliest extant instance is in Sisenn. *ap. Gell.* 11, 15, 7, *populabundus agros*, and this construction is imitated by Sall. with *uitabundus*, Liu. with *contionabundus*, *uitabundus*, Curt. *uenerabundus*, Suet. *speculabundus*, Iust. *meditabundus*, and is especially frequent in the archaist Apuleius.[1] Aside from this construction, the latter is very fond of adjectives in **-bundus**, using not less than 16, of these 11 not previously found, and 9 of these peculiar to *Apul.* In the later language these derivations are not infrequent, and the unusually large proportion found in Glossaries show how many more must have been in use than gained admittance into literature. Paucker's list contains 17 from Glossaries, including the *Thom. Thes. Nou. Lat.*:

cadabundus,	imperitabundus,	parabundus,
cessabundus,	inpudibundus,	pugnabundus,
conciliabundus,	luctabundus,	rixabundus,
consolabundus,	minabundus,	sitibundus,
exsulabundus,	mussitabundus,	stabundus.
fabundus,	negabundus,	

Yet as is always the case with the Glossaries, it is impossible to say how many of these words belonged to the older language. At any rate, the later literature, while containing a comparatively large number of new forms, seems to have avoided their use: many are ἅπαξ εἰρημένα; many more are confined to one or two authors; Tert. who usually outnumbers Apul. at the rate of 3 to 2 in new formations, has only 7 as against the latter's 11; and lastly the Romance languages, while showing a number of forms in **-undus**, **-cundus**, avoided those in **-bundus**; *Diez* cites only **Fr.** *vagabond.*[2]

This suffix belongs then to the *sermo plebeius*, but chiefly to its earlier period. It was one of the many archaisms preserved in popular speech, for the sake of the heavy syllables, rather than for any distinctive meaning that the suffix properly had. Caesellius Vindex, in quoting from Laberius the form

[1] Compare Draeger, I, p. 357. [2] Diez, p. 679.

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amorabundam, already cited, says that it was used as an equivalent for the present participle, "*ea figura scriptum, . . . qua, 'ludibunda' et 'ridibunda' et 'errabunda' dicitur ludens et ridens et errans*," and for this he was censured, according to Gell., by the grammarian Terentius Scaurus.[1] He was speaking however of Laberius, a distinctly vulgar writer, and may have had in mind the current popular usage of his day. But at the time when literature began to throw off the classic fetters, and suffixes became living agents of linguistic growth, adjectives in **-bundus** had lost their popularity, if we may argue from Tert., whom Paucker calls, "*ecclesiastici eloquii quasi informatorem*,"[2] and it is not surprising to find them gradually disappearing from the later language.

NAEVIVS.
cassabundus,[3] *Com. Fr.* 120

PLAVTVS.
*deplorabundus, *Aul.* 316
lixabundus,[4] *Stich.* 288
ludibundus,[5] *Pseud.* 1275
plorabundus,[6] *Aul.* 317
ridibundus,[7] *Epid.* 413
uerberabundus, *Stich.* 444

CATO.
lurchinabundus, *Inc. Libr. Fr.* 49
tuburchinabundus, *Id. ib.*

QVADRIGARIVS.
cunctabundus,[8] *Ann.* 1, *Fr.* 10 *b.*
hinnibunde, *Ann.* 16, *Fr.* 78 p.

SISENNA.
populabundus,[9] *Hist. Fr.* 55

LVCRETIVS.
errabundus,[10] 4, 692
uersabundus,[11] 6, 437

VARRO.
uertilabundus,[12] *Sat. Men.* 108

CICERO, (EPISTT.).
noctuabundus, *ad. Att.* 12, 1, 2

LABERIVS.
amorabundus, *ap. Gell.* 11, 15, 5

LIVIVS.[13]
commissabundus,[14] 9, 9, 17
contionabundus,[15] 3, 47, 3; *al.*
deliberabundus, 1, 54, 6; *al.*
gratulabundus,[16] 7, 33, 18
indignabundus,[17] 38, 57, 7
lacrimabundus,[18] 3, 46, 8
minitabundus,[19] 39, 41, 3

[1] Gell. XI., 15. 2 sq. [2] Paucker, Ztsch. f. öst. G. 1881, p. 484, cited by Sittl, Lokal. Verschiedenh. p. 141.

[3] Macr. sat.; *conf.* Paul. ex. Fest. 48, 4. [4] Paul. Diac.; Gl. Isid.; *conf.* Paul. ex Fest. 116, 19. [5] Cic. Verr. 3, 156; Ep. 16, 9, 2; Liu.; Suet.; Gell. [6] Porph. ad Hor. (*adu.*) [7] Cato, Oratt. Fr.; *conf.* Ter. Scaur. ap. Gell. 11, 15, 3. [8] Liu.; Tac.; Apul.; Eumen. Pan.; Mamert. Iulian. [9] Liu. [10] Auct. B. Afr.; Catull.; Verg.; Liu.; Curt.; Vitr.; Lact. [11] Vitr. [12] Chalcid. Tim. [13] *Conf. supra*, p. 92. [14] Curt.; Plin.; Porphyr. ad Hor. Sat. [15] Tac.; Capit. [16] Justin.; Suet. [17] Suet.; Gell. [18] Cypr. Ep.; Lact.; Charis. [19] Tac.

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mirabundus,[1] 25, 37, 12; *al.*
peregrinabundus,[2] 28, 18, 10
tentabundus, 21, 36, 1
uenerabundus,[3] 1, 16, 6

IVSTINVS.
exsultabundus,[4] 18, 7, 10
meditabundus, 38, 3, 7

VALERIVS MAXIMVS.
festinabundus,[5] 2, 8, 5
iocabundus,[6] 2, 4, 4; *al.*

FENESTELLA.
uagabundus,[7] *ap. Fulg. Myth.* 3, 9

INSCRR. POMPEIANAE.
ruibundus, *CIL. IV.* 1688

PETRONIVS.
cantabundus, 62, 4

GELLIVS.
cogitabundus,[8] 2, 1, 2
gloriabundus,[9] 5, 5, 4
iactabundus, 19, 1, 1; *al.*
laetabundus,[10] 11, 15, 8
nitibundus,[11] 1, 11, 8
noscitabundus, 5, 14, 11
oscitabundus,[12] 4, 20, *lemm.*
saltabundus, 20, 3, 2
stomachabundus, 17, 8, 6
undabundus,[13] 2, 30, 3.

APVLEIVS.
auxiliabundus, *Deo Socr.* 11
certabundus, *de Mund.* 22
excusabundus, *Apol.* 79
gaudibundus,[14] *Met.* 8, 2
imaginabundus, *Id.* 3, 1
munerabundus, *Id.* 11, 18
murmurabundus, *Id.* 2, 20
nutabundus,[15] *Id.* 9, 41
periclitabundus, *Id.* 5, 23; *al.*
rimabundus,[16] *Id.* 2, 5; *al.*
spumabundus, *Apol.* 44

TERTVLLIANVS.
aucupabundus, *Anim.* 39
cauillabundus, *Id.* 34
commentabundus, *Paucker*
comminabundus, *adu. Marc.* 4, 15
contemplabundus, *Id.* 4, 40
famulabundus,[17] *Id.* 3, 7
palabundus,[18] *Apol.* 21

CYPRIANVS.
balabundus, *Ep.* 45, 3
cruciabundus, *Id.* 59, 3
fluctuabundus,[19] *de Laps.* 25

ARNOBIVS.
pauibundus,[20] 7, 13

IVLIVS VALERIVS.
amplexabundus, 2, 32
aurigabundus, 1, 17
eiulabundus, 2, 16
natabundus, 12, 24
nixabundus, 1, 11

CHALCIDIVS.
rotabundus, *Tim.* 40 *B.*
scrutabundus, *Id.* 26 *B.*
uentilabundus, *Id. ib.*

[1] Curt.; Apul. Met. [2] Fulg. Myth. [3] Suet.; Curt. [4] Solin. [5] Macr.; Augustin.; * Auct. Itin. Alex. [6] Lact.; Mart. Cap. [7] Solin.; Augustin. [8] Hyg. Fab.; Firm. Math.; Gloss. Labb. [9] Lact. [10] Hyg. Fab.; Vulg.; Mart. Cap. [11] Solin. [12] Sidon. Ep. [13] Amm. [14] Cypr. Ep. [15] Salu.; Lact. [16] Fulg. Myth. [17] Vulg. [18] Cypr. Ep. Auct. Itin. Alex. [19] Ambros.; Augustin.; Rufin. [20] *Augustin.

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PALLADIVS.
aestuabundus, 11, 17, 2

AVCT. ITIN. ALEX.
adminiculabundus, 8, (21)
uisabundus, 23

AMMIANVS.
uastabundus, 31, 8, 6

AMBROSIVS.
fluctuabundus,[1] *de Iob*, 4, 10, 27

AVGVSTINVS.
contremibundus, *in Ps.* 17, 20 *extr.*
insultabundus, *Ep.* 35, 3
mendicabundus, *Id.* 261, 1

MARTIANVS CAPELLA.
conspicabundus, 8, 803
flammabundus, 1, 90
fluibundus, 1, 88
salutabundus, 7, 729
uibrabundus, 8, 880

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
carminabundus, *Ep.* 8, 11
iactitabundus, *Id.* 3, 13 *extr.*
latitabundus, *Id.* 1, 6 *extr.*
ludificabundus, *Id.* 7, 14
otiabundus, *Id.* 4, 18

ALDHELMVS.
rudibundus, *de Re Gramm. in Class. Auct.* 5, 568
rugibundus, *Carm. de Virg.* 1226

§ 27. ADJECTIVES IN **-bilis**: That the frequent use of adjectives in **-bilis** is a feature of the *sermo plebeius* has been generally conceded,[2] and statistics tend to establish this view. The entire number in the language, as given by Paucker,[3] is 1082, *recc.* 801, *uett.* 289, and of these only 89 in Cic., barely 7½% of the whole. Of the remaining 200 *uett.* a number are poetic; thus Verg. gives 10; Ou. 27. 70 occur first in Silver Latin: L. Sen. 25, Plin. 16, Col. 3, Mart., Iuuen., and Pers. 1 each. The majority however belong to writers of inferior Latinity. They are numerous in early Latin, and Knapp[4] is undoubtedly correct in regarding them as another instance of the retention of archaisms in the *sermo plebeius*. The frequency in Plautus of these adjs., and of advs. in *-biliter* is often noticed by Lorenz,[5] and Schmilinsky (p. 38), gives a list of 22, which he attributes to the vulgar Latin. The prevalence of such adverbs in the wall-inscriptions of Pompeii has been cited by

[1] Augustin.; Cypr.; (Rufin.) Comm. in Oseam.

[2] Rebling, p. 24; Thielmann, Cornif. Rhet., p. 98; Stinner, p. 11; Köhler, p. 378; Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI., p. 169; Regnier, St. Aug. p. 6, "ce sont encore là des mots bien populaires;" Guericke, p. 33. [3] Paucker, Materialien III., p. 18. [4] Knapp, Gell., p. 155. [5] Lorenz ad Mil., 60; Id. ad Pseud. 933; Id. Kr. Anm. ad Most. 24; Id. ad Mil. 260, citing Plaut. *dissimulabiliter*, *perplexabiliter*, *pollucibiliter*, Naeu., *exanimabiliter*, Pacuu., *minitabiliter;* Acc., *indecorabiliter*, Cato, *imperabiliter:* Varr. Sat. Meu., *mutabiliter*.

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Munro,[1] as an evidence of their frequent use in the *sermo plebeius.*

It is chiefly however in the later language and first of all in the African writers, that this formation becomes prominent.[2] Gell. adds 15, Apul. 28, Tert. 74, Arnob. 10. From this time on, these adjs., like the verbal abstracts in **-tio, -sio,** seem to have been formed from any verb at pleasure.[3] Their number grew steadily under the Scriptt Eccl.; Hier. seems to have been especially fond of them, adding 20 to the list, and employing no less than 122 of those already in use.[4] As late as the 5th cent., a single author, Cael. Aurel., added 44 new words to this class,[5] and their frequency in the Romance languages shows that the suffix maintained its activity uninterrupted, until modern times.

These adjs. are regularly derived from the present stem; irregular formations from the *part. perf.*, as *flexibilis*, Cic., are rare in classic Latin, but become very frequent in the later language, (*uett.* 9, *recc.* 130)[6] thus, Tert., *accessibilis, diuisibilis, indiuisibilis, interemptibilis, irreprehensibilis*, etc.; Hier., *contemptibilis, impassibilis, irremissibilis*, etc.

The forms from verbs in **-scere** are worthy of note, as being evidence of the plebeian weakening of inchoative verbs: such forms are unknown to the classic Latin, and appear first in the literature of the decadence; thus, Tert., *immarcessibilis;* Hier., *putrescibilis, concupiscibilis*, Cassiod., *erubescibilis*, etc.[7]

Another evidence of the plebeian character of these adjs. is afforded by the large proportion compounded with prepositions, or formed from compound verbs. Thus in Paucker's list,

[1] Munro, ad Lucr. VI, 1176, cited by Knapp, Gell, p. 155. [2] Sittl, Lokal. Verschiedenh., p. 141, "Bei den Adjektiven haben namentlich die Ableitungen mit . . . -bilis den Afrikanern sehr viel zu danken." It has been sometimes suggested that the prevalence of these forms in Gell. is due to conscious imitation of the old writers. The large number however found in Tert., five times that of Gell., tends to prove that the latter was simply following the tendency of his age. In conscious archaism of Gell. and Apul. (as subs. in -or, adjs. in -bundus) their formations usually outnumber those of Tert. [3] Diez, p. 644, "Die spätere Latinität scheint auch dieses suffix wie einzige andre, fast an jeden belebige Verbum gefugt zu haben," *conf.* Bonnet, p. 466, "Il semble qu'on les ait aimés pour leur longeur même, car on ne craint ni l'ablatif en abilibus, ni surtout l'adverbe en abiliter," citing from Greg. Tur.: *execrabiliter, fauorabiliter, horribiliter, incessabiliter, inrationabiliter, inreprehensibilater, terribiliter, triumphabiliter, uenerabiliter.* [4] Pauck. Hier., p. 64. [5] Comp. Goelzer, p. 169. [6] Goelzer, p. 139; Pauck., Material. III, p. 2, *not.* 1. [7] Goelzer, p 140; Pauck. Material. III, p. 19, "22 doch nur *recc.*"

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about 600, or over one-half, are so compounded. These were much rarer in the classic language: thus Cic. has but 31; 4 with **ad-**, *accusabilis, admirabilis, affabilis, aspectabilis;* 4 with **con-**: *commemorabilis, congregabilis, comparabilis, comprehensibilis;* 1 with **de-**: *detestabilis;* 2 with **dis-**: *dissipabilis, dissolubilis;* 2 with **ex-**: *exitiabilis, exorabilis;* 17 with **in-**: *inaequabilis, inaestimabilis, incommutabilis, indissolubilis, inexorabilis, inexpiabilis, inexplebilis, inexplicabilis, inexpugnabilis, immobilis, implacabilis, incredibilis, innumerabilis, insanabilis, insatiabilis, insaturabilis, intolerabilis;* one with **per-**: *perflabilis.* Of the entire number of these adjs., there are over 350 compounded with **in-** negative; of these Cic. has barely 5 per cent.

It is noteworthy that these adjs. are rare in the Scriptt. R. R., and consequently do not belong to the *sermo rusticus.* In the following list, out of 4 words from Cato, only one, *restibilis,* is from the R. R. Varro, R. R., gives only one, *alibilis;* Col. 3, and Pall., writing at the period of greatest fertility of derivation, only two.

Before leaving this class of adjs. a few words must be said about their use in an active sense. The normal value of the suffix is passive, but in archaic and in late Latin the active meaning is not uncommon, and Paucker has indicated 277 adjs. which are so employed, either wholly or in part.[1] Of these, all are *recc.* but 63, and the majority of those are from early Latin. Very few are classical; Cic. has 9; *amabilis, elamentabilis, flebilis, incredibiliter, lamentabilis, patibilis, stabilis, terribilis.* Plaut. on the contrary has 12, *adjutabilis, conducibilis, discordabilis, dissimulabiliter, excruciabilis, immemorabilis, impetrabilis, incogitabilis, lucrificabilis, ludificabilis, perplexabilis, prostibilis;* Cato adds 1, *imperabiliter;* Pacuu. 1, *minitabiliter;* Ter. 1, *placabilis;* Acc. 3, *horrificabilis, indecorabiliter, tabificabilis;* Lucil. 2, *genitabilis, monstrificabilis;* Afran. 1, *intolerabilis;* Quadrig. 1, *exsuperabilis;* Varr. 3, *alibilis, significabilis, uigabilis;* Lucr. 2, *mactabilis, manabilis.* A few are first found with active meaning in the Augustan poets: Verg., *lacrimabilis, penetrabilis,* Hor., *illacrimabilis,* Ouid., *durabilis, resonabilis, sonabilis;* and the usage gains ground in Silver Latin: Val. Max., *uenerabilis;* Scrib., *irrequiebilis;* Col., *medicabilis;* Pers.,

[1] *Conf.* Pauck. Materialien, III., *passim.*

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reparabilis; Plin., *generabilis, meabilis, spirabilis, uisibilis,* Stat., *remeabilis,* Quint., *persuasibilis,* Tac., *delectabilis;* Inscrr. Pompeian., *festinabiliter, irrumabiliter.* But it is above all in the African writers that this usage flourished: Paucker cites from Gell. *consolabilis, cruciabilis, impeccabilis, incongelabilis, inuitabilis, obsequibilis, uocabilis;* and from Apul. *eiulabilis, inerrabilis, inexplebilis, mutabilis, uitiabilis, ululabilis;* and Sittl[1] attributes 7 to Arnob. *frustrabilis, irreuocabilis, irrecordabilis, penetrabilis, cruciabilis, uenerabilis, genetabilis.*

As all three of these authors are noted for their love of archaisms this active use of adjs. in **-bilis** may have been a conscious imitation of the older writers.

NAEVIVS.
exanimabiliter, *Com.* 35

PLAVTVS.
adiutabilis, *Mil.* 1144; *al.*
aequiperabilis,[2] *Trin.* 466
castigabilis, *Id.* 44
conducibilis,[3] *Id.* 36
cruciabiliter,[4] *Pseud.* 950
discordabilis, *Capt.* 402
dissimulabiliter, *Mil.* 260
donabilis,[5] *Rud.* 654
excruciabilis,[6] *Cist.* 653
exoptabilis,[7] *Stich.* 395
illocabilis, *Aul.* 191
*illutibilis, *Men.* 168
immemorabilis,[8] *Cist.* 538
immutabilis, *Epid.* 577
inamabilis,[9] *Bacch.* 614
incogitabilis,[10] *Mil.* 544
indomabilis,[11] *Cas.* 811
intestabilis, *Curc.* 30; *al.*
lucrificabilis, *Pers.* 712
ludificabilis, *Cas.* 761
perplexabilis, *Asin.* 792
pollucibiliter, *Most.* 24; *al.*
prostibilis, *Pers.* 837
sepelibilis, *Cist.* 62
spetabilis, *Capt.* 518
utibilis,[12] *Merc.* 1005
uerberabilis, *Aul.* 633
uoluptabilis,[13] *Epid.* 21

ENNIVS.
adulabilis,[14] *ap. Non.* 155, 30
propitiabilis,[15] *Com.* 6

CATO.
cognobilis,[16] *ap. Gell.* 20, 5, 13
imperabiliter, *ap. Charis.* 202, 11 *K.*
*inductibilis,[17] *ap. Plin.* 29, 14
restibilis,[18] *R. R.* 35, 2

PACVVIVS.
*luctificabilis, *Antiop.* 14
minitabiliter,[19] *Tr.* 15

[1] "Wahrscheinlich sind die Afrikaner auch bei der aktiven Verwendung der Adjektiva auf bilis in hervorragendem Grade beteiligt." Sittl, Lokal. Verschiedenh. p. 143.
[2] Apul.; Prud. [3] Cornif. Rhet.; Cael. Aur.; Eccl. [4] Auct. B. Afr.; Amm.; *adi.*—Gell.; Apul.; Prud. [5] Ambros. [6] Prud. [7] Lucil. Sat.; Sil. [8] Lucr. [9] Verg.; Ou.; Plin. Ep.; Sen. [10] Lact.; Amm.; Mart. Cap.; Fragm. Iur. Rom. Vat. [11] Mythog. Lat.; Vulg.; Augustin. [12] Ter.; Auct. Itin. Alex. [13] Amm. [14] Amm. [15] Prud. [16] Gell. [17] Cael. Aur. [18] Varr.; Col.; Plin. [19] Acc.

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TERENTIVS.
uincibilis,[1] *Phorm.* 225

ACCIVS.
*alternabilis,[2] *Tr.* 264
aspernabilis,[3] *Id.* 555
*horrificabilis, *Id.* 617
indecorabiliter, *Id.* 258
*inorabilis, *ap. Non.* 487, 15
odibilis,[4] *Didasc.* 1, 7 *Müll.*
tabificabilis, *Tr.* 421

LVCILIVS.
genitabilis,[5] *Sat.* 1, 1
*monstrificabilis, *Id.* 26, 50

POMPONIVS.
ascendibilis, *Com.* 18

QVADRIGARIVS.
exsuperabilis,[6] *Ann.* 1 *Fr.* 7

VARRO.
alibilis, *R. R.* 2, 11, 1; *al.*
famigerabilis,[7] *L. L.* 6, 55
inexstinguibilis,[8] *ap. Non.* 131
inuitabilis, *ap. Gell.* 13, 11, 4
significabilis,[9] *L. L.* 6, 52
uigilabilis, *Sat. Men.* 485

LVCRETIVS.
aerumnabilis,[10] 6, 1228
allaudabilis, 5, 158
auersabilis,[11] 6, 390
insedabiliter, 6, 1174
manabilis, 1, 534

CICERO (EPISTT.).
consolabilis,[12] *Ep.* 4, 3, 2
irritabilis,[13] *Att.* 1, 17, 4

HORATIVS.
immersabilis, *Ep.* 1, 2, 22
insolabiliter, *Id.* 1, 14, 8

VITRVVIVS.
perspicibilis, 9, 1, 11
sensibilis,[14] 5, 3, 6

CELSVS.
inuisibilis,[15] *Praef.*, p. 3, 27 *D.*
sorbilis,[16] 2, 18 *med.*

COLVMELLA.
inexputabilis, 9, 4, 6

PERSIVS.
plorabilis,[17] 1, 34

PLINIVS.
arabilis, 17, 41
cocibilis, 16, 25
computabilis, 19, 139
exscreabilis, 20, 157
friabilis,[18] 17, 29
fricabilis, 31, 113 *D.*
ineffabilis,[19] 5, 1
ineffugibilis, 28, 20
inexstirpabilis, 15, 84
inflexibilis,[20] 28, 192
ingestabilis, 7, 41
ingustabilis, 2, 238
meabilis, 2, 10; *al.*
uisibilis,[21] 11, 146

[1] * Col.; Apul.; Anthol. Lat. [2] Mnscrr. — *aeternabilis.* [3] Gell.; Capit.; Augustin. [4] Lampr.; Ambros.; Eccl. [5] Arnob. [6] Verg.; Stat. [7] Apul. Met.; Gloss. Labb. [8] Itala; Arnob.; Lact.; Vulg.; Scrib.; Augustin.; Heges. [9] Augustin. [10] Apul.; Ps.-Augustin. [11] Arnob. [12] Gell.; Ambros. [13] Hor. Ep.; Amm.; Lact. [14] Sen. Ep.; Apul.; Lact. [15] Lact.; Chalcid. Tim.; Macr. [16] Scrib.; Col.; Cael. Aur. [17] Claud. in Eutr. [18] Cael. Aur. [19] Apul.; Augustin. [20] Sen.; Plin. Ep.; Amm.; Cael. Aur. [21] Apul.; Prud.; *adu.* — Paul. Nol.

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MARTIALIS.
delebilis, 7, 84, 7

INSCRIP. POMPEIAN.
festinabiliter, *Ephem. Epigr.* 1, 177 *no.* 271
fratrabiliter, *C. I. L. IV*, 659
irrumabiliter, *Id.* 1931

IVVENALIS.
curabilis,[1] 16, 21

GELLIVS.
illatabilis, 1, 20, 9
impeccabilis, 17, 19, 6
imprensibilis, 11, 5, 4
inadulabilis, 14, 4, 3
incongelabilis, 17, 8, 16
indissimulabilis,[2] 10, 22, 24
indeprecabilis, 1, 13, 3
inopinabilis,[3] 17, 19, 18
insensibilis,[4] 17, 10, 17
*insperabilis,[5] 4, 18, 3
obsequibilis, 2, 29, 12
uocabilis,[6] 13, 20, 14

APVLEIVS.
adorabilis, *Met.* 11, 18
appetibilis,[7] *Dogm. Plat.* 2, *p.* 19
cachinnabilis, *Met.* 3, 7; *al.*
cogitabilis, *Apol.* 64
conuersibilis,[8] *Dogm. Plat.* 3, *p.* 267 *H.*
culpabilis,[9] *Mag. p.* 223
creabilis,[10] *Ascl.* 15
densabilis,[11] *Herb.* 59
effabilis, *Apol.* 64
eiulabilis, *Met.* 4, 3
hinnibilis,[12] *Dogm. Plat.* 3, *p.* 265 *H.*
improcreabilis, *Id.* 1, 5
inauersibilis, *Ascl.* 40
infinibilis,[13] *Dogm. Plat.* 1, 5
innominabilis, *Id. ib.*
inoptabilis, *Met.* 9, 12
interfectibilis, *Herb.* 89
inerrabilis,[14] *Dogm. Plat.* 1, 11
irrationabilis,[15] *Id.* 2, 16
irremunerabilis, *Met.* 3, 22
irreposcibilis,[16] *Apol.* 92
irresolubilis, *Dogm. Plat.* 2, 13
liquabilis,[17] *Apol.* 30
multiforabilis,[18] *Flor.* 3 *in.*
naturabilis, *Dogm. Plat.* 2, 12; *al.*
nutabilis, *Deo Socr.* 4
pronuntiabilis, *Dogm. Plat.* 3, *p.* 262
uitiabilis,[19] *de Mund.* 3
ululabilis,[20] *Met.* 5, 7

TERTVLLIANVS.
acceptabilis,[21] *de Or.* 7; *al.*
accessibilis,[22] *Prax.* 15
agnoscibilis,[23] *adu. Valent.* 27
apprehensibilis,[24] *Id.* 11
blasphemabilis, *Cult. Fem.* 2, 12
commiscibilis, *Anim.* 12
compassibilis,[25] *adu. Prax.* 29
concussibilis, *adu. Marc.* 1, 25
conseruabilis, *Id.* 2, 13
contaminabilis,[26] *Id.* 4, 20
contradicibilis, *Carn. Chr.* 23
*coodibilis,[27] *adu. Marc.* 4, 9; *al.*
demutabilis,[28] *Anim.* 2, 1
determinabilis, *adu. Herm.* 41
dispartibilis, *Id.* 39

[1] Cael. Aur. [2] Iulian. ap. Augustin. [3] Aur. Vict.; Amm. [4] Apul.; Lact.; Ser. Samm. [5] Amm. [6] Firm. Math. [7] Hier.; Augustin.; Macr. Sat. [8] Chalcid. Tim.; Augustin. [9] Tert.; Arnob.; Hier. [10] Augustin.; Hier.; Eccl. [11] Cael. Aur. [12] Cael. Aur. [13] Mart. Cap. [14] Ambros.; Augustin. [15] Lact. [16] Sidon. Ep. [17] Prud. [18] Sidon. Ep. [19] Prud.; Cael. Aur. [20] Amm. [21] Lact.; Hier.; ICt. [22] Eccl. [23] Augustin. [24] Cael. Aurel. [25] Eccl. [26] Augustin.; Eccl. [27] Eccl. [28] Eccl.; Prud.

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diuisibilis, *Anim.* 14
docibilis,[1] *Mon.* 12; *al.*
exspectabilis,[2] *adu. Marc.* 3, 16
fastidibilis, *Anim.* 33
fatigabilis, *Id.* 32
illaesibilis,[3] *adu. Valent.* 27
immarcescibilis,[4] *Cor. Mil.* 15
immundabilis, *de Pudic.* 20
importabilis,[5] *adu. Marc.* 4, 27
inapprehensibilis,[6] *adu. Valent.* 11; *al.*
incommiscibilis, *Anim.* 12
incompassibilis,[7] *Prax.* 29
inconcessibilis, *de Pudic.* 9
incongressibilis, *adu. Marc.* 2, 27
incontaminabilis,[8] *Id.* 4, 14
incontemplabilis,[9] *Res. Carn.* 55
incontemptibilis, *Apol.* 45
incontradicibilis, *adu. Marc.* 4, 39
inconvertibilis, *Hermog.* 12; *al.*
incorporabilis, *adu. Marc.* 3, 17
incorruptibilis,[10] *Anim.* 50
incussabilis, *ad Nat.* 1, 12
indemutabilis,[11] *Hermog.* 12
indeterminabilis,[12] *adu. Haer.* 7
indiuisibilis,[13] *Anim.* 51
ineffigiabilis, *Id.* 24
inemeribilis, *Res. Carn.* 18
inexcogitabilis,[14] *adu. Valent.* 37
informabilis, *adu. Prax.* 27
inhonorabilis, *adu. Marc.* 3, 17
ininterpretabilis,[15] *adu. Valent.* 14
ininuentibilis, *adu. Herm.* 45
ininuestigabilis,[16] *adu. Herm.* 45
innascibilis,[17] *adu. Haer.* 46
interemptibilis, *adu. Marc.* 3, 6
interminabilis,[18] *Id.* 2, 3; *al.*
interpretabilis, *adu. Valent.* 14
inobscurabilis, *Anim.* 3
inuincibilis,[19] *adu. Herm.* 11
irrecuperabilis, *Pudic.* 14
irreformabilis, *adu. Valent.* 29; *al.*
irreprehensibilis,[20] *Res. Carn.* 23
irrespirabilis, *Idol.* 24
iterabilis, *adu. Marc.* 2, 28
nascibilis,[21] *adu. Marc.* 3, 19; *al.*
noscibilis,[22] *ad Scapul.* 2 *fin.*
passibilis,[23] *adu. Prax.* 29
perpetrabilis, *ad Vxor.* 2, 1
placibilis, *Res. Carn.* 43
properabilis, *Anim.* 43
recussabilis, *adu. Marc.* 4, 35
remissibilis,[24] *Pudic.* 2
reuincibilis, *Res. Carn.* 63
scibilis,[25] *adu. Marc.* 5, 16
strangulabilis, *Anim.* 32
tardabilis, *Id.* 43
transfigurabilis, *Carn. Chr.* 6
usurpabilis, *adu. Marc.* 2, 6
inuituperabilis,[26] *adu. Marc.* 2, 10; *al.*
indemutabilis,[27] *adu. Hermog.* 12

TERTVLLIVS POLLIO.
damnabilis,[28] *Trig. Tyr.* 17
pompabilis, *Id.* 30, 24.

ARNOBIVS.
altercabilis, 5, 3
auspicabilis, 4, 7; *al.*
commeabilis, 3, 13; *al.*
contemptibilis,[29] 4, *p.* 155
corruptibilis,[30] 2, 68; *al.*
frustrabilis, 2, 22

[1] Ambros.; Vulg.; Eccl. [2] Auct. Itin. Alex. [3] Lact.; Eccl. [4] Vulg.; Hier.; Paul. Nol. [5] Cassiod. [6] Cael. Aurel.; Eccl. [7] Eccl. [8] Eccl.; Augustin. [9] Eccl. [10] Lact.; Eccl. [11] Eccl. [12] Eccl. [13] Diom.; Isid.; Eccl. [14] Eccl.; Lact. [15] Eccl.; Vulg. [16] Eccl. [17] Eccl. [18] Sid. Ep.; Salu.; Boeth. [19] *adu.*—Apul. [20] Arnob.; Vulg.; *adu.* — Cl. Mam. [21] Eccl. [22] Augustin.; Eccl. [23] Arnob.; Prud.; Vulg.; Eccl. [24] Cael. Aurel. [25] Mart. Cap. [26] Eccl. [27] *adu.*—Ennod. [28] Sidon. Ep.; Salu.; Augustin.; Eccl. [29] Lampr.; Vlp. Dig.; Eccl. [30] Lact.; Augustin.; Eccl.

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inexsaturabilis,[1] 2, 40
irrecordabilis, 2, 28
irrefutabilis,[2] 4, 18
suspicabilis,[3] 1, 48

LAMPRIDIVS.
pudibilis,[4] *Heliog.* 12, 2

CHALCIDIVS.
complexibilis, *Tim.* 168
contionabilis, *Id.* 223
deriuabilis, *Id.* 51, *E.*
formabilis,[5] *Id.* 203; *al.*
incommunicabilis,[6] *Id.* 3
infiltiabilis,[7] *Id.* 15
irrefrenabilis,[8] *Id.* 106; *al.*
perceptibilis,[9] *Id.* 27, *D.*
porrigibilis, *Id.* 44, *E.*
replicabilis,[10] *Id.* 105; *al.*

PALLADIVS.
condemnabilis, *Poet. de Insit.* 11
curuabilis, 12, 15, 2

AMMIANVS.
celebrabilis,[11] 29, 5, 56
despicabilis,[12] 26, 8, 5
inexpedibilis, 31, 13, 15
infigurabilis, 24, 4, 15
letabilis, 19, 4, 7
nexibilis, 29, 2, 11
permutabilis, 31, 2, 11
pensabilis, 31, 13, 11
perspicabilis,[13] 14, 8, 3
potabilis,[14] 18, 9, 2
regibilis, 16, 12, 10
rotabilis,[15] 23, 4, 2
uegetabilis,[16] 22, 8, 28

VEGETIVS.
irregibilis,[17] 2, 3

AMBROSIVS.
absolubilis, *in Ps.* 118, *Serm.* 12, 7
consociabilis, *Ep.* 7, 1
defensabilis, *Id.* 56, 5
enodabilis, *in Luc.* 10, 147
*gestabilis,[18] *de Noe et Arca*, 15, 52
impraeuaricabilis, *de Fug. Saec.* 3, 16
indocibilis,[19] *in Ps.* 47, 21
inexsolubilis, *Ep.* 9, 70; *al.*
inintelligibilis,[20] *Off.* 1, 14
inueniabilis,[21] *in Ps.* 35, 12
odorabilis,[22] *de Noe*, 15, 52
receptabilis, *Ep.* 44, 1
refutabilis, *in Luc.* 8, 49
resolubilis,[23] *in Ps.* 118, *Serm.* 13, 20
sulcabilis, *Hexaem.* 3, 4

HIERONYMVS.
capabilis,[24] *Didym. Sp. Sct.* 5
concupiscibilis,[25] *Quaest. in Paral.* 1, 1
contemptibilis,[26] *Ep.* 146, 2
desperabilis,[27] *in Ierem.* 3, *ad* 17, 9
diligibilis, *Phil.* 5, 1
indicibilis,[28] *Orig. in Iesai.* 7, 1
inconvincibilis, *Orig. in Ierem. Hom.* 3
infrangibilis, *in Ierem.* 3, *ad* 17, 1
inuenibilis, *in Iesai. Hom.* 2, 2
genibilis, *in Ezech.* 11 *ad* 5, 15
immensurabilis,[29] *in Ephes.* 47
imparticipabilis, *in Didym. de Spir. Sct.* 61

[1] Oros. [2] *adu.*—Iul. sp. Augustin. [3] Chalcid. Tim. [4] Auct. Itin. Alex. [5] Eccl. [6] Vulg. [7] Augustin. [8] Augustin. [9] Augustin.; Cassiod.; Boeth. [10] Serv. ad Aen.; Ven. Fort. [11] Ambros. [12] Ambros.; Sidon. [13] Augustin. [14] Auson.; Cael. Aur. [15] Augustin.; Inscrr. [16] Mart. Cap. [17] Cael. Aur. [18] Cassiod. [19] Eccl. [20] Eccl. [21] Greg. M. [22] Isid. [23] Prud.; Sidon. [24] Augustin.; Cassiod.; Cassian. [25] Eccl. [26] Vulg.; Eccl. [27] Vulg. [28] Maxim. Taur. [29] Cl. Mam.

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impotabilis, *Ep.* 78
imputribilis,[1] *Id.* 64, 9
intransibilis, *in Iesai.* 4, 11, 15
irrecusabilis,[2] *Ep.* 60, 14
motabilis,[3] *Nom. Hebr. col.* 90
putrescibilis, *in Iob.* 17
terminabilis, *Ep.* 98, 17
uolutabilis, *Nom. Hebr. col.* 95

AVGVSTINVS.
amissibilis,[4] *Trin.* 5, 4
capabilis,[5] *contr. Maxim.* 2, 9, 2
conuertibilis, *Ep.* 169, 11
dicibilis, *Serm.* 188, 22
discernibilis,[6] *Enchir.* 90
exaudibilis,[7] *Serm.* 351, 4; *al.*
fabricabilis, *Genes. ad Litt.* 15
gratulabilis, *Serm.* 285, 6
imperturbabilis, *Conf.* 2, 10, *al.*
inamissibilis,[8] *Ciu. Dei*, 22, 30, 3
inconuersibilis, *Music.* 5, 21
inscrutabilis,[9] *Ep.* 106, 4
insiccabilis,[10] *in Ps.* 41, 2
insonabiliter, *Ep.* 147, 37
irregressibilis, *Ciu. Dei*, 8, 22
irrisibilis, *Serm.* 87, 9; *al.*
permirabilis, *Genes. ad Litt.* 1, 10
perprobabilis, *Music.* 1, 6, 12
portabilis,[11] *Ep.* 31, 4
recordabilis,[12] *Music.* 6, 6
seductibilis, *in Ps.* 54, 22; *al.*

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
apertibilis, *Acut.* 3, 3, 24; *al.*
ascensibilis,[13] *Chron.* 3, 1, 4
bibilis, *Acut.* 2, 11, 81
commobilis, *Id.* 2, 9, 48
conabilis, *Id.* 3, 1, 4
digestibilis,[14] *Chron.* 1, 4, 88
excitabilis, *Chron.* 1, 5, 175
exercibilis, *Id.* 3, 8, 151
existimabilis, *Acut.* 2, 35, 185; *al.*
febribilis, *Chron.* 4, 8, 112
fingibilis, *Id.* 2, 4, 104
formicabilis, *Acut.* 2, 27, 145; *al.*
grauabilis, *Acut.* 1, 15, 136; *al.*
immitigabilis, *Chron.* 4, 3, 33
implebilis, *Id.* 3, 8, 139
inapprehensibilis,[15] *Acut.* 1, 3, 38
incurabilis,[16] *Id.* 2, 37, 191; *al.*
indicabilis, *Id.* 2, 3, 13
indigestibilis,[17] *Id.* 2, 9, 55; *al.*
innutribilis, *Acut.* 2, 9, 55
intemperabilis, *Chron.* 1, 4, 124
leuabilis, *Acut.* 3, 7, 71
mitigabiliter, *Id.* 1, 11, 76
nauseabilis, *Chron.* 3, 2, 18
nutribilis, *Id.* 5, 1, 9; *al.*
pausabilis, *Id.* 2, 13, 150
percussibilis, *Acut.* 1, 16, 163; *al.*
praefocabilis,[18] *Id.* 2, 6, 30
prouocabilis, *Id.* 3, 21, 198
recussabilis, *Chron.* 3, 6, 88
reflabilis, *Id.* 4, 1, 6
remissibilis, *Id.* 2, 13, 164
repercussibilis, *Id.* 1, 1, 45; *al.*
siccabilis, *Id.* 3, 8, 138; *al.*
suffocabilis, *Acut.* 1, 9, 59
uulnerabilis, *Id.* 3, 17, 171.

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
defaecabilis, *Ep.* 1, 5
monubilis, *Id.* 2, 2
peruagabilis, *Id. ib.*
plectibilis,[19] *Id.* 4, 6
prolectibilis, *Id.* 4, 18

BOETHIVS.
umbrabilis, *Cons. Phil.* 3, 4

[1] Rufin.; Augustin. Ep. [2] Cod. Iust. [3] Vulg. [4] Eccl. [5] Cassiod. [6] Eccl. [7] Schol. Iuuen. [8] Eccl. [9] Hilar.; Eccl. [10] Sidon. Ep. [11] Sidon. Ep. [12] Cl. Mam.; Eccl. [13] Arnob. Iun. [14] Ps.-Apic. [15] Eccl. [16] Th. Prisc.; Cassiod. [17] Th. Prisc. [18] Th. Prisc.; Plin. Val. [19] Cod. Theod.

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§ 28. ADJECTIVES IN **-iuus**: That a large proportion of these adjectives are plebeian was first claimed by Guericke,[1] in connection with the word *absentiuus* occurring in the speech of the vulgar Trimalchio, in place of *absens*. His position is sustained with reason by Schulze, who cites in support of his view the tables prepared by Paucker in his Materialien z. lat. Wörterbildungsgeschichte VI.[2] According to the latter, the language contains 527 of these words, *uett.* 93, *recc.* 434, and only 26 quite classic, so that five-sixths of the whole are found in late Latin, and barely one-fourth of the remainder, or 4 % of the whole, are classic. In Cic., aside from *lucratiuus*, found in his letters only, and the old word *soniuius*,[3] occurring in formulaic expressions, I have found only the following 24:

adoptiuus,	festiuus,	natiuus,
aestiuus,	fugitiuus,	praerogatiuus,
assumptiuus,	furtiuus,	ratiocinatiuus,
captiuus,	insitiuus,	subditiuus,
comparatiuus,	instauratiuus,	subsiciuus,
definitiuus,	intempestiuus,	tempestiuus,
deliberatiuus,	internecíuus,	translatiuus,
demonstratiuus,	lasciuus,	uotiuus.

Of 434 *recc.* not less than 124 occur first, or alone in the grammarians, e.g., Priscian 34; many others occur in earlier writers, but have been retained by grammarians in a technical sense, as *positiuus*. Those introduced by the grammarians I have excluded from the list. It seemed on the other hand advisable to include in full the words due to Cael. Aurel., and to Boeth., (as given by Paucker), to show the enormous extent to which these two late writers employed the suffix. Like most suffixes freely used in late Latin, it has given rise to numerous new formations in the Romance languages,[4] and is especially frequent in **Fr.**, as *appréciatif, craintif, fautif, maladif, oisif, tardif, joli,* = **O. Fr.**, *jolif*; **Sp.**, *altivo, pensativo, sombrio*; **Ital.**, *attentivo, sensitivo*, etc.

The comparative frequency of these forms in the Scriptt. R. R. is worthy of note: out of the 19 which occur earlier

[1] Guericke, p. 32. [2] Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI, 176; Paucker, Mater. VI, p. 12; *conf.* Rönsch, p. 129 sq. [3] For the form -iuius Paucker compares *lixiuus, lixiuius*; *conf.* Cael. Aur. *Chron.* 2, 3, 70, *uolgo* lixiuium *uocant.* [4] Diez. p. 669; Meyer-Lübke, Ital. Gramm. p. 297; Mätzner, Fr. Gramm. p. 275

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than Cic., Cato has 5, Varr. 5; Col. adds 3, and Plin. 8, while the late rustic writer Agennus Vrbicus, in the few pages extant, has no less than 5 new forms. In conclusion I have no hesitation in attributing this suffix to the plebeian, and especially to the rustic speech, excepting so far as grammarians availed themselves of it, to form a technical vocabulary.

PLAVTVS.
abditiuus,[1] *Poen.* 65
ascriptiuus,[2] *Men.* 184
collatiuus,[3] (*act.*), *Curc.* 231
uaciuus[4] (*uociuus*), *Cas.* 29; *al.*

CATO.
conditiuus,[5] *R. R.* 6, 1
irrigiuus, *Id.* 8, 1; *al.*
lixiuus,[6] *Id.* 23
sementiuus,[7] *Id.* 7, 3
strictiuus, *Id.* 146
tortiuus,[8] *Id.* 23, 4

VARRO.
conceptiuus,[9] *L. L.* 6, 26
incentiuus,[10] *R. R.* 1, 2, 15
indictiuus,[11] *L. L.* 5, 160; *al.*
satiuus,[12] *ap Gell.* 17, 3, 4
succentiuus, *R. R.* 1, 2, 15

CICERO (EPISTT.).
lucratiuus,[13] *ad Att.* 7, 11, 1

HORATIVS.
abortiuus,[14] *Sat.* 1, 3, 46
optiuus,[15] *Ep.* 2, 2, 101

VITRVVIVS.
infectiuus, 7, 14, 2
interpensiua, orum, 6, 3, 1

COLVMELLA.
arbustiuus,[16] 3, 13, 6; *al.*
primitiuus,[17] 9, 13; *al.*
sectiuus,[18] 11, 3, 30; *al.*

PETRONIVS.
absentiuus, 33, 1.

PLINIVS.
armentiuus,[19] 28, 232
cadiuus,[20] 15, 59; *al.*
coctiuus,[21] 15, 94
exortiuus, 7, 160; *al.*
impositiuus,[22] 28, 33
intergeriuus,[23] 13, 82; *al.*
nociuus,[24] 20, 12
pruritiuus, 19, 157

FRONTO.
*internatiuus, (*nates*), *ad Amic.* 1, 13 *ed. Mai.*
uoluptatiuus, *Ep. ad Antonin. Imp.* 2, 6, p. 164 *ed. Rom.*

[1] Paul. ex Fest. [2] Varr. L. L. [3] Paul. ex Fest.; *pass.*, Cod. Theod; Macr.; Nazar. Pan.; Ambros. [4] Ter.; *adu.* — Phaedr. [5] Varr.; Col.; Sen. Ep.; Macr.; Inscrr. [6] Varr. ap. Plin.; Col.; Scrib.; Pall. [7] Varr.; Ou.; Plin.; Tert.; Macr.; Cloat. ap. Macr. [8] Col.; Plin.; Cael. Aur. [9] Paul. ex Fest.; Tert. [10] Arnob.; Ambros.; Prud.; Mar. Victorin.; Donat.; Oros. [11] Paul. ex Fest. [12] Plin.; Rufin. [13] Quint.; Fronto; Ambros.; ICt. [14] Mart.; Iuuen.; Plin.; Hier.; Vulg. [15] Gai. Inst. [16] Pall. [17] Solin.; Vulg.; Prud.; Prisc. [18] Plin. [19] Veget. [20] Marc. Emp. [21] Ps.-Apic. [22] Prisc. [23] Inscrr. [24] Phaedr.; Vulg.; Thom. Thes.

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GELLIVS.
complexiuus,[1] 10, 29, *lemm.*
connexiuus, 10, 29, 1
disiunctiuus,[2] 5, 11, 8; *al.*
frequentatiuus,[3] 9, 6, 3
infestiuus, 1, 5, 3
pluratiuus,[4] 19, 8, 4; *al.*
positiuus,[5] 10, 4 *lemm.*
priuatiuus,[6] 5, 12, 10
uocatiuus,[7] 14, 5, 1; *al.*

APVLEIVS.
abdicatiuus, *Dogm. Plat.* 3
abiudicatiuus, *Id. ib.*
declaratiuus,[8] *Id. ib.*
dedicatiuus,[9] *Id. ib.*
glutinatiuus, *Herb.* 72; *al.*
illatiuus,[10] *Dogm. Plat.* 3
negatiuus,[11] *Id. ib.*
odoratiuus, *Herb.* 79 *extr.*
passiuus,[12] (*pando*), *Met.* 6, 14
praedicatiuus,[13] *Dogm. Plat.* 3
subiectiuus,[14] *Id. ib.*
substitutiuus, *Id. ib.*

TERTVLLIANVS.
antecessiuus, *Virg. Vel.* 4
comminatiuus, *adu. Marc.* 2, 25
concupiscentiuus, *Anim.* 16
confirmatiue,[15] *adu. Marc.*
coniunctiuus,[16] *adu. Herm.* 26
consubstantiuus, *adu. Valent.* 12 *fin.*
defectiuus,[17] *Id.* 14
deuestiuus, *Id. ib.*
distantiuus,[18] *Anim.* 9
dubitatiuus,[19] *adu. Marc.* 2, 25
imputatiuus, *Id. ib.*
indignatiuus,[20] *Anim.* 16
inenarratiuus, *adu. Valent.* 27
interrogatiue,[21] *adu. Marc.* 4, 41
ordinatiuus,[22] *adu. Herm.* 19.
potestitatiuus, *Id. ib.*
praescriptiue,[23] *adu. Marc.* 4, 1
procreatiuus, *Anim.* 39
promissiue,[24] *adu. Marc.* 4, 10
prouocatiuus,[25] *Anim.* 37 *extr.*
putatiuus,[26] *adu. Marc.* 3, 8
sitiue, *adu. Prax.* 29
substantiuus,[27] *Id.* 26; *al.*
successiuus, *Paucker.*

SOLINVS.
spontiuus, 2, 36

ARNOBIVS.
relatiuus,[28] 7, *p.* 221

LAMPRIDIVS.
uacantiuus, *Alex. Seu.* 15, 3 *P.*

CHALCIDIVS.
motiuus,[29] *Tim.* 57; *al.*

VEGETIVS.
comitiuus,[30] *Mil.* 2, 9

[1] Mart. Cap.; Fortunat. [2] Ascon. in Cic.; Seru. ad Verg.; Papin. Dig.; African. Dig. [3] Diom. et al. Grammatt. [4] Gai. Dig.; Arnob. [5] Chalcid. Tim.; Grammatt. [6] Boeth. [7] Charis. et al. Grammatt. [8] Mar. Vict.; Mart. Cap. [9] *adu.* — Mart. Cap. [10] Diom.; Charis. [11] Gai.; Chalcid. Tim.; Seru. ad Verg.; Schol. Iuuen. [12] Tert.; Augustin.; Schol. Iuuen. [13] Mart. Cap.; Boeth. [14] Tert.; Ter. Scaur.; Mart. Cap. [15] *adj.*, Diom.; Prisc.; Seru. ad Aen.; Ambros.; Schol. Iuuen. [16] Agenn. Vrb.; Mart. Cap. et al. Grammatt. [17] Amm.; Augustin.; Cael. Aur.; Grammatt. [18] Chalcid. Tim. [19] Prisc. et al. Grammatt. [20] Dosith.; Diom. [21] Schol. Iuuen.; Ps.-Ascon.; *adj.* — Dosith. et al. Grammatt. [22] Diom. et al. Grammatt. [23] *adj.* — Sulp. Sen.; Iul. Vict. [24] Diom. et al. Grammatt. [25] Cael. Aur. [26] Intpr. Iren.; *adu.* — Hier.; Hilar. [27] Prisc. [28] Augustin.; Mart. Cap.; Prisc. et al. Grammatt. [29] Gloss. Labb. [30] Cod. Theod.; L. Paulin. Carm. Euchar.; Cassiod.

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AMMIANVS.
inuectiuus,[1] 28, 1, 20; *al.*
irrisiue,[2] 16, 12, 67

HIERONYMVS.
* concupiscitiuus, *in Ezech.* 1, *ad* 1, 7
dispensatiue,[3] *Ep.* 112, 14
incorruptiuus,[4] *Id.* 152
* irrascitiuus, *Id.* 14, 11
optatiuus,[5] *in Osee* III, *ad* 14, 1

AVGVSTINVS.
desideratiuus,[6] *de Gram.* 2006 *P.*
intellectiuus,[7] *de Gen. ad Litt.* 12, 7
musiuus,[8] *Ciu. Dei*, 16, 8
operatiuus, *Quaest.* 63
praenuntiatiuus,[9] *c. Faust.* 6, 9; *al.*
praesumptiue,[10] *Id.* 24, 1

AGENNVS VRBICVS.
deiunctiuus, *p.* 68
expositiuus, *p.* 69
iniectiuus, *p.* 67
recuperatiuus, *p.* 69
spectiuus, *p.* 68; *al.*

MARTIANVS CAPELLA.
compositiuus, 9, 945
denominatiuus,[11] 4, 381
deprecatiuus,[12] 5, 457
occassiuus,[13] 6, 594

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
apertiuus, *Acut.* 3, 4, 40
corporatiuus, *Chron.* 1, 6, 183
densatiuus, *Acut.* 2, 37
denuntiatiuus, *Chron.* 1, 4, 67
depurgatiuus, *Acut.* 3, 16, 134
districtiuus, *Id.* 2, 29, 159; *al.*
euaporatiuus, *Id.* 3, 8, 93
inductiue,[14] *Chron.* 1, 5, 157
interfectiuus, *Acut.* 1, *Praef.* 12; *al.*
mitigatiuus, *Id.* 1, 5, 45 *al.*
mordicatiuus, *Chron.* 3, 8, 144
praedicatiuus, *Acut.* 1, 12, 100
recorporatiuus, *Id.* 3, 16
recusatiuus, *Salut. Praescr.* 22
resumptiuus, *Chron.* 2, 1, 47; *al.*
siccatiuus,[15] *Id.* 2, 3, 69
purgatiuus,[16] *Acut.* 2, 19, 123
temperatiuus, *Chron.* 4, 1, 11
uexatiuus, *Acut.* 2, 29, 156; *al.*

BOETHIVS.
acquisitiuus,[17] *Arist. Top.* 5, 1, p. 680
aegrotatiuus, *ap. Paucker.*
agitatiuus, *Id.*
aucupatiuus, *Id.*
circumductiuus, *Id.*
comprehensiuus,[18] *Id.*
congregatiuus,[19] *Id.*
conseruatiuus, *Id.*
constructiuus, *Id.*
conuersiuus, *Id.*
cooperatiuus, *Id.*
descriptiuus,[20] *Id.*
designatiuus, *Id.*
determinatiuus, *Id.*
disgregatiuus, *Id.*
dissolutiuus, *Id.*
distributiuus,[21] *Id.*
diuisiuus, *Id.*
exercitatiuus, *Arist. Top*, 1, 9, *p.* 667

[1] Prisc.; Fortunat. [2] Schol. Iuuen. [3] *adj.* — Augustin.; Isid. [4] Eccl. [5] Charis.; Diom. [6] Prisc. [7] Boeth.; Prisc. [8] Inscrr. [9] Isid. [10] Prisc.; Cassian. [11] Boeth.; Prisc. [12] Boeth.; Prisc.; Isid. [13] Gloss. Labb. [14] *adj.* — Boeth.; Prisc. [15] Th. Prisc.; Cassiod. [16] Fortunat. [17] Prisc. [18] Prisc. [19] Prisc. [20] Fortunat. [21] Prisc.

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generatiuus,[1] *ap. Paucker.*
habituatiuus, *Id.*
inquisitiuus,[2] *Id.*
insignitiuus, *Id.*
inspectiuus,[3] *Id.*
instantiuus, *Id.*
inuocatiuus,[4] *Introd. ad. Syllog. p.* 561
indicatiuus, *ap. Paucker.*
machinatiuus, *Id.*
medicatiuus, *Id.*
monstratiuus, *Id.*
multiplicatiuus,[5] *in Porphyr. Dial.* 1, *p.* 27
perfectiuus,[6] *ap. Paucker.*
perspectiuus, *Id.*
progenitiuus, *Id.*
propositiuus, *Id.*
sanatiuus, *Id.*
speculatiuus,[7] *Porphyr. Dial,* 1, *p.* 2
subscriptiuus, *ap. Paucker.*
superabnegatiuus, *Id.*
susceptiuus, *Id.*
tentatiuus, *Id.*
uenatiuus, *Id.*

ANTHIMVS.
crudiuus, 74; *al.*

§ 29. ADJECTIVES IN **-ax**: Owing to their intimate phonetic relation with the suffixes **-ago, -aceus**, both of which are so prevalent in the *sermo rusticus*, adjs. in **-ax** might well be expected *a priori* to belong to plebeian Latin, and some authorities have so regarded them. Ludwig[8] first advanced this view, in connection with the word *abstinax*, in Petr., and cited such forms as *potax*, Gloss.; *catax*, *uatrax*, Lucil.; *olax*, etc., in support of his claim. His opinion has been followed by Guericke,[9] and more recently by Schulze,[10] who cites as usual Paucker's tables, to prove his case. According to the latter, the whole number of adjs. in **-ax** is 93, *recc.* 43, and of the remaining 50 Cic. has 26, or more than half. Schulze however claims that some of these belong to the *sermo familiaris*, such as *uorax*, *sagax*, *furax*, words which certainly lack the tone of an elevated style. But a class of words sparingly used by Plautus, rare in Silver Latin, (only 5 new forms), neglected by the archaists (Gell., Apul., 1 each), and the later writers, (with exception of Sidon. Apoll. and Fulg.), and of small importance in the Romance languages,[11] but which reached its highest activity in classical times, with 50% of the *uett.* in Cic., cannot be regarded as inherently vulgar. Still they are rare words at all periods, and a certain number of them are inter-

[1] Dionys. Exeg. [2] Prisc. [3] Prisc.; Gromat. Vet.; Cassiod. [4] Serv. ad Verg. [5] Beda. [6] Prisc. [7] Cassiod.

[8] Ludwig, p. 30. [9] Guericke, p. 31. [10] Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI, p. 182, citing Pauck., Materialien II, p. 19, Epimetr. 1. [11] Diez, p. 632.

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esting for our purpose, as at least savoring of the popular speech.

PLAVTVS.
ferritribax, *Most.* 356
mordax,[1] *Bacch.* 1146
nugax,[2] (*adu. superl.*), *Trin.* 819
trahax, *Pers.* 410

CATO.
uendax,[3] *R. R.* 2, 7

TERENTIVS.
percontumax, *Hec.* 3, 5, 54

ACCIVS.
peruicax,[4] *Tr.* 8, *sq.*

LVCILIVS.
catax,[5] *Sat.* 2, 19
tagax,[6] *Id.* 30, 86
uatrax, *Id.* 28, 55

NIGIDIVS.
bibax, *ap. Gell.* 3, 12, 2

VARRO.
salax,[7] *R. R.* 3, 9, 5

CAELIVS.
efficax,[8] *ap. Cic. ad Fam.* 8, 10, 3

PETRONIVS.
abstinax, 42

APVLEIVS.
sonax, *Met.* 4, 157; *al.*

MINVCIVS FELIX.
*lucifugax, 8, 4

SYMMACHVS.
retinax, *Ep.* 1, 47

HIERONYMVS.
inferax,[9] *Hom. ex Orig.* 2

SIDONIVS.
incursax, *Ep.* 8, 12
persequax, *Id.* 4, 9
trebax, *Id.* 1, 11
uomax,[10] *Id.* 9, 3

BOETHIVS.
putrimordax, *ap. Paucker.*

FVLGENTIVS.
(carniuorax, *Serm.* 22.)
petax, *Myth.* 2, 1; *al.*
praegnax, *Id.* 2, 3

VENANTIVS FORTVNATVS.
luciferax, *Carm.* 2, 4, 3
falsiloquax, *Vit. S. Mart.* 1, 101

[1] Labeo; Plin.; Pers.; Hor. Ep.; Ou.; Phaedr.; Sen.; Hier.; Augustin.; Sidon. [2] Cael. ap. Cic. Fam. 8, 15, 1; Petr.; Ambros. Ep. [3] Turran. ap. Diom. 368, 26. [4] Ter.; Liu.; Flor.; Col.; Tac.; Plin. [5] Mythogr. Lat. 1, 176; *conf.* Paul. ex Fest. 45, 4. [6] Cic. Att., 6, 3, 1. [7] Hor. Sat.; Ou.; Col.; Auct. Priap. [8] Liu.; Hor.; Cels.; Col.; Curt.; Tac.; Plin.; Plin. Pan.; Vell.; Treb. Pol.; Mela; Apul. Met. [9] Boeth. [10] form *uomex*—Prisc. 4, 39.

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§ 30. ADJECTIVES IN **-c-eus, -c-ius, (-aceus, -icius, -uceus)**: These adjs., like the kindred subs. in **-ago, -igo, -ugo,** are a feature of the *sermo rusticus.* The simple suffix **-eus** was chiefly productive of denominative adjectives denoting material, which were not rare in the classic language but were especially prevalent in the Scriptt. R. R., who formed them freely from the names of plants and trees, as *buxeus, cedreus, fageus, fraxineus, laureus, orneus,* etc. They were especially adapted to pastoral poetry, and were freely introduced by Verg. and other Augustan poets whose authority has given the class as a whole a more elevated tone. Paucker has computed that out of 190 *uett.*, 60 (more than 31 %) occur first, and many of them exclusively, in poetry.[1] Meanwhile the activity of the simple suffix declined; post-Hadrian literature has produced only 87 new forms, while examples in the Romance languages are rare and chiefly poetic: in **Rum.** they are wanting altogether.[2]

Very different is the history of the strengthened form of the suffix in **-c-eus**: the epenthetic syllable **-ac-, (-ic-, -uc-),** seems almost universally characteristic of the *sermo rusticus.* The relation existing between subs. in **-ax, -ix, (-ex), -ox,** and in **-aca, -ica, -uca** with adjs. in **-aceus, -iceus, -uceus,** has been discussed by Corssen;[3] the connection between these adjectives and subs. in **-ago, -igo, -ugo,** already treated, was pointed out by Buecheler,[4] who compares *uir : uirago : *uiraceus = far: farrago : farraceus,* and subsequently at greater length by Thurneysen and Paucker.[5] But a brief inspection of these various classes of substantives makes it evident that while rare in classic Latin, they were prevalent in the speech of the people, and principally in the rustic language, where the prevailing forms were those in **ā.** The forms in **-x** seem to be another instance of archaisms conserved in the *sermo plebeius.* Of those which I have collected only 3 are *recc., sentix,* and the hybrid formations, *mastix, granomastix;* several are distinctly archaic, as *struix; struices antiqui dicebant,* Fest., p. 310 Müll.; *rumex, celox,* cited by Gell., 10, 25, 1–5, among words *quae in historiis ueteribus scripta sunt.* Very few of these formations are classical; Cic. has *cicatrix, cornix, fornax, fornix,*

[1] Pauck., Materialien, V, p. 109. [2] Diez, p. 623. [3] Corssen, Aussprache, 2, p. 195. [4] Buech., Rhin. Mus. 20, 441. [5] K. Thurneysen, Zts. f. Vergl. Sprachf., 26, p. 205. Pauck. Material. V, p. 10, *not.* 10.

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radix, ueruex, appendix, and a few others. On the other hand many are used by vulgar writers in a distinctly obscene sense, as *limax* = *meretrix,* (Plaut., cited below); *filix,* in a similar sense, Petr. 45, 9; *fornix* in its later sense, (which gives rise to numerous derivatives, *fornicator, -trix,* etc.) A large number are plainly rustic, such as *matrix, iunix,* and various names of plants, *culix, filix, larix, sentix,* etc. The following partial list, taken chiefly from Corssen,[1] will give a general idea of these forms as a class.

LIVIVS ANDRONICVS.
cimix,[2] *ap. Fest.* 210, 17
struix,[3] *Id.* 1, 1

PLAVTVS.
celox,[4] *Capt.* 874; *al.*
coturnix,[5] *Id.* 1003
culex,[6] *Curc.* 500
hallex,[7] *Poen.* 1310; *al.*
iuuenix,[8] *Mil.* 304
limax,[9] (= *meretrix*), *Cist.* 405
pulex,[10] *Curc.* 500
rumex,[11] *Pseud.* 815
salix,[12] *Fr. Fab. Inc.* 27.
uiuix,[13] *Fr.* 90

VARRO.
matrix,[14] *R. R.* 2, 5, 12

ASINIVS POLLIO.
lodix,[15] *ap. Quint.* 1, 6, 42

VERGILIVS.
filix,[16] *Ge.* 3, 297

HORATIVS.
fornix,[17] (= *brothel*), *Sat.* 1, 2, 30

VITRVVIVS.
larix,[18] 2, 9, 14
uitex,[19] 2, 9, 9

PLINIVS.
culix,[20] (*herba*), 19, 68
ulex, 33, 76

APVLEIVS.
sentix,[21] *Herb.* 87

ISIDORVS.
mastix, 17, 8, 7
granomastix.

The subs. in **-ca** are still more largely confined to the Scriptt. R. R. A few of those in **-ica** are classic and frequent,

[1] Corssen, Aussprache. II, p. 195.

[2] Varr. R. R.; Catull.; *Hor. Sat.; Col.; Plin.; Petr.; Mart.; Veget. [3] Naeu.; Plaut.; Itala; Solin.; Arnob. [4] Coel. Antip.; Enn.; Turpil.; Varr. Sat. Men.; Liu.; Apul.; *conf.* Gell. 10, 25, 5. [5] Lucr.; Varr. R. R.; Ou.; Quint.; Fronto; Lact.; Vulg.; Edict. Diocl. [6] Lucr.; Hor. Sat.; Plin.; Mart.; *conf.* Pseudo-Verg. *Culex.* [7] Isid. [8] form *iunix* — Pers. 2, 47; Paul. Nol.; Inscrr. [9] *alio sensu,* Col.; Plin. [10] Cels.; Col.; Plin.; Mart. [11] Lucil.; Ps.-Verg. *Moret.; conf.* Gell. 10, 25, 2. [12] Cato R. R.; Varr. R. R.; Lucr.; Verg. Ge.; Col.; Plin.; Prud. [13] Cato; Pers.; Plin.; Prisc. [14] Col.; Suet.; Tert.; Inscrr.; — *uterus,* Sen. Veget. [15] Mart.; Iuuen.; Augustin. [16] Hor. Sat.; Cels.; Col.; Pers.; Petr.; Plin.; Gl. Labb. [17] Sen.; Petr.; Mart.; Iuuen.; — *pathicus,* Suet; *alio sensu* — Cic., etc. [18] Plin.; Lucan.; Pall.; Veget. Mil. [19] Plin. [20] *form -ex* — Pall. [21] Isid.

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as *amica, formica, lectica:* but *amica* in the sense of *meretrix* had acquired so bad a meaning that according to the jurist Paulus, citing Masurius Sabinus, (*Dig.* 50, 16, 144), the title *concubina* was the more honorable of the two. Corssen cites the following examples of these forms:

PLAVTVS.
brassica,[1] *Pseud.* 815
festuca,[2] *Mil.* 961
lingulaca,[3] *Cas.* 497; *al.*
*mastruca,[4] *Poen.* 1313
pertica,[5] *Asin.* 589
rubrica,[6] *Truc.* 294
urtica,[7] *Rud.* 298

CATO.
alica,[8] *R. R.* 76
fistuca,[9] (festuca), *Id.* 28, 2
uerruca,[10] *ap. Gell.* 3, 7, 6

VARRO.
lactuca,[11] *L. L.* 5, 104.
portulaca,[12] *ap. Non.* 551, 15

HORATIVS.
eruca,[13] (= *brassica*), *Sat.* 2, 8, 51

VITRVVIVS.
aeruca, 7, 12, 1

CELSVS.
pastinaca,[14] 2, 18; *al.*

PLINIVS.
*uruca,[15] 18, 154
uerbenaca,[16] 25, 105

IVVENALIS.
*curruca,[17] 6, 276

VEGETIVS.
balluca,[18] 1, 20, 3

Turning again to the adjs. in **-aceus, -icius, -uceus,** we must first notice certain differences which exist between these three sub-classes, in formation and usage. Those in **-icius,** (rarely **-iceus**), are the most numerous, 197 in all, but are largely verbal derivatives, (*i.e.*, 131, *recc.* 86). The denominatives, 66, *recc.* 34, are outnumbered by forms in **-aceus,** while those in **-uceus** are of purely sporadic occurrence.

The forms in **-aceus** are by far the most foreign to classic Latin. Paucker gives a list of 87, exclusively denominative, *uett.* 46, only 10 of which are ante-Augustan, and 8 of these be-

[1] Cato R. R.; Propert.; Col.; Plin.; Veget.; Plin. Val. [2] Varr.; Col.; Pers.; Plin. [3] Varr. Sat. Men.; Paul. ex Fest.; (*herba*), Plin. [4] Cic., *semel*, (*pro Scaur.* 45; *conf.* Quint. 1, 5, 8, *mastrucam, quod est Sardum, irridens Cicero ex industria dixit*); Prud.; Arnob. [5] Varr. R. R.; Ou.; Propert.; Curt.; Col.; Plin.; Plin. Ep.; Apul.; Gromat. Vet. [6] Cornif. Rhet.; Hor.; Vitr.; Col.; Pers.; Quint.; Charis.; Paul. Dig. [7] Catull.; Plin.; Iuuen.; Ps.-Apic. [8] Cels.; Plin.; Mart.; Ps.-Apic. [9] Caes., *semel*, (B. G. 4, 17, 4); Plin. [10] Hor. Sat.; Plin.; *-ucula*, — Cels.; Col.; Arnob. [11] Hor. Sat.; Cels.; Col.; Plin.; Mart.; Auct. Priap.; Ps.-Apic.; Pall. [12] Cels.; Col.; *form porcillaca* — Plin. 20, 210; al. [13] Cels.; Plin.; Mart.; Iuuen.; — *caterpillar*, Col.; Plin.; Hier. [14] Plin.; Isid.; Edict. Diocl. [15] Schol. Iuuen.; Gloss. Labb. [16] Apul. Herb. [17] Gloss. [18] Cod. Theod.; Cod. Iust.; Gloss. Labb.

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long to the rustic writings of Cato and Varr.[1] Cic. uses only 3: *mustaceus*, in the *Epistt.*; *uinaceus*, *semel*, in the *de Sen.*, (elsewhere confined to the Scriptt. R. R.), and the Plautine *gallinaceus*, usually in the stereotyped expression *gallus gallinaceus*, (*de Diu.* 1, 34, 74; *Id.* 2, 26, 56; *pro Muren.* 29, 61), which elsewhere is confined to more plebeian writers: Plaut. *Aul.* 472, *factast pugna in gallo gallinacio*; *al.*, Lucil. 8, 15, *gallinaceu' cum uictor se gallus honeste sustulit in digitos*; *Varr. Sat. Men.* 348–9, . . . *cantatiumque gallus gallinaceus*, with which *uir* **uiraceus*, *Id.* 300, is compared by Buecheler.[2] With this exception, these adjs. belong to vulgar Latin, chiefly to the *sermo rusticus*. Cato gives 3, Varr. adds 5, Col., Pall., and Veget. 2 each, Pelag. Vet. 1, and Plin., who in regard to vocabulary may be regarded as one of the Scriptt. R. R., has 25, about two-thirds of all post-Aug. forms. African Latin is here deficient; Apul. and Tert. have 1 each, Gell. none at all.

The adjs. in **-icius**, (rarely **-iceus**), have gained more acceptance in the classic literature, but have nevertheless been frequently held to belong to the *sermo plebeius*.[3] Those derived from verbs have properly no place in the present section, but as no material distinction can be drawn in signification, they are included as a matter of convenience. Of the two classes, a somewhat larger proportion of the denom. are due to the Scriptt. R. R., but at the same time a greater number are found in Cic. Of the 77 *uett.* the latter first employs 5 verbal, (less than 6 %), *adscripticius*, *commendaticius*, *conuenticius*, *dediticius*, *editicius*; and 9 denom., (over 25 %), *aedilicius*, *compitalicius*, *gentilicius*, *natalicius*, *nouicius*, *patricius*, *sodalicius*, *tribunicius*, *uenalicius*. Caes., however, far more conservative in his vocabulary than Cic., first uses two of each, verbal, *congesticius*, *dediticius*; denom., *ericius*, *latericius*. The Scriptt. R. R. favored both classes; Cato introduced 6, 3 verbal; Varr. 16, 9 verbal; Silver Latin neglected this formation, having only 19, of which 10 are denom.; of these Col. has only 1 denom.; Plin. 8, 5 of them verbal. African Latin neglected the verbal derivatives; Fronto, Gell., Tert., have one each, Apul. none. In denom. forms however they were fertile;

[1] Paucker, Materialien, V, p. 10, *not.* 10. [2] Buecheler, Rhein. Mus., 20, 441.
[3] Wölfl., ALL. 1, p. 415 sq., " . . . so wird man wohl schliessen dürfen, dass sie vorwiegend der Volkssprache angehörten," citing Köhler, Act. Sem. Erlang. 1, 376.

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Gell. had 1, Apul., and Fronto 2 each, Tert. 10. It is noteworthy that the popularity of forms in **-icius**, and **-aceus**, varies in inverse proportion at different periods; e. g., in Silver Latin when the suffix **-aceus**, was at its height, **-icius** was neglected, while in African Latin the converse was true.

Of adjs. in **-uceus**, (**-ucius**) I am able to cite only 3 examples,

cannuciae, *Gromat. Vet.* 315, 16
masucius, *Paul. ex Fest.* 139, 1
pannuceus, *Pers.* 4, 21; *Petr.; Plin.; Cloat. ap. Macr.; Paul. Nol.*

Of these the first is elsewhere found in the form *canniceus*, for which it is evidently a rustic variant, while of *pannuceus*, the Scholiast says *pannucea uulgariter pro pannosa dixit.* The same formation however has survived from earlier times in numerous proper names, among which Corssen[1] cites *Albucius, Genucius, Vinucius, Lassuccia.*

In this, as in all characteristic features of rustic Latin an interesting question is how far they are due to the influence of other Italic dialects. In the present instance such influence may have been considerable; not only are these suffixes found in the Osco-Umbr. branch,[2] (**Osc.**, *Iúvkiiúí* "*Jovicio,*" *Vestirikiiúí* "*Vestricio,*" *Kastrikiíeís* "*Castricii,*" **Umbr.**, *Kastruciie* "*Castricii*"), but Lattes, in his valuable study of the Etruscan Mummy-Wrapping at Agram,[3] has recently pointed out numerous words with these endings occurring in that manuscript and in Etruscan inscriptions: in **-acius**, *Fesθiχvaχa, Tlenace,* both names of female deities, with which he compares *Proserpinacia,* in an *incantamentum magicum* given in Fleckeisens Jahrb. Supplb. XIX, 2, p. 488; in **-icius**, *Apice, Θurice, muθikus, cerixu, Aχaprialice:* in **-ucius**, *lupuce, marunuχ, Munθuχ, suθce,* etc. With the present knowledge of Etruscan morphology these forms are open to question,[4] but they certainly are suggestive, especially those in **-ucius**, which would help to explain the fertility of that suffix in the modern Italian.

These suffixes are all prevalent in the Romance languages, where they have acquired some new and special meanings:

[1] Corssen, Aussprache, II, p. 195. [2] Brugmann, Grundriss, II, p. 243; Huschke, Osk. u. Sabell. Sprachdenkmäler, p. 330; Buck, Vocalismus, p. 52. [3] E. Lattes, Saggi ed Appunti intorno all' iscrizione Etrusca della mummia, Milano, 1894, pp. 28, *not.* 43, 189, *not.* 136, 219. [4] e. g., *lupuce* may be a verbal form; cf. Lattes, p. 213.

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thus **-aceus** not only denotes source and resemblance, but frequently has an augmentative and derogatory force: compare **Ital.**, *acquaccia, figuraccia, grandaccio, poveraccio, vecchiaccio;* **Fr.**, *bestiasse, grimace, paperasse, vinasse;* **Span.**, *animalazo, bastonazo, bestiaza,* etc. **-icius, -uceus,** form diminutives in Italian and Rumanian; thus **Ital.**, *alticcio, bianchiccio, secchericcio; boccuccia, cartuccia, febbretuccio;* **Ruman.**, *corfiţă, fetiţă, porumbiţă; acruţ, albuţ, olcuţă,* etc. **-uceus** is frequent in Ital. with proper names, as terms of endearment, as *Carlo, Carluccio, Laura, Lauruzza.* The Italian, in its fondness for these suffixes not infrequently uses them in combination, *-ucci-accio,* as *accidentucciaccia, casucciaccia.* Whether **-uceus** has survived in the north and west is questionable; Spanish has *capuz, caperuza, gentuza, testuz, terruzo,* all, except the last, borrowed from Italian; Diez cites from the French *coquelluche, guenuche, peluche.* But its main activity is in Italian, where its survival certainly suggests some non-Roman influence.[1]

I have given, in connection with the forms in **-aceus -icius,** a list of rarer forms in the simple suffix **-eus,** to show their prevalence in the Scriptt. R. R. In the list of adjs. in **-icius,** those from nominal stems have been italicized, in order to show more readily their relation to the verbal forms.

a. *Adjectives in* **eus**:

NAEVIVS.
musteus,[2] *Com.* 34

PLAVTVS.
bliteus,[3] *Truc.* 854
faeceus, *Trin.* 297
ferrugineus,[4] *Mil.* 1178; *al.*
floreus,[5] *Men.* 632
herbeus, *Curc.* 231
iunceus,[6] *Stich.* 639
loreus,[7] *Mil.* 157
lūteus,[8] *Truc.* 854
oculeus,[9] *Aul.* 555
pugneus, *Rud.* 768
pulmoneus,[10] *Id.* 511
scirpeus,[11] *Aul.* 595
stercoreus,[12] *Mil.* 90
stimuleus, *Id.* 511
testudineus,[13] *Aul.* 49
uerbereus, *Pers.* 184; *al.*
ulmeus,[14] *Asin.* 363; *al.*

CATO.
adoreus,[15] *R. R.* 83; *al.*
corneus,[16] (*cornus*), *Id.* 18, 9
fagineus,[17] *Id.* 21, 4

[1] Compare in general, Diez, p. 633, *sq.*, cited by Stuenkel, p. 46, and by Wölfl., ALL. 1, p. 416; Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Roman. Spr. II, pp. 457–64; Id., Ital. Gramm., §§ 559, 561.

[2] Cato; Col.; Plin.; Plin. Ep. [3] Laber. [4] Verg.; Plin. [5] Verg.; Tibull.; Val. Fl.; Arnob. [6] Ter.; Ou.; Col.; Plin.; Prud. [7] Cato; Plin. [8] Cic., *semel*, (Verr. 4, 32); Ou.; Vitr.; Plin.; Mart.; Hier. [9] Apul.; Mart. Cap. [10] Plin. [11] Varr.; Ou.; Arnob. [12] Arnob. [13] Varr.; Prop.; Tibull.; Mart.; Dig. [14] Cato; Col. [15] Varr.; Col.; Verg.; Stat.; *subst. fem. adorea* — Plaut.; Hor. Carm., etc. [16] Verg.; Ou. [17] Ou.; Plin.

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graneus,[1] *Id.* 86
iligneus,[2] *Id.* 18, 9
mulleus,[3] *Origg.* 7, *Fr.* 7
nuceus,[4] *R. R.* 31
oleagineus,[5] *Id.* 48
querneus,[6] *Id.* 5, 8
*siliceus,[7] *Id.* 18, 3 *Codd.*
siligineus,[8] *Id.* 121
sparteus,[9] *Id.* 11, 2; *al.*
uitigineus,[10] *Id.* 41, 3

ACCIVS.
alneus,[11] *Tr.* 261

LVCILIVS.
aereus,[12] *Fr. Dub.* 7

VARRO.
*buxeus,[13] *Sat. Men.* 489
charteus,[14] *Id.* 519
ficulneus,[15] *R. R.* 3, 16, 37
pancarpineus, *Sat. Men.* 567
rubeus,[16] (*ruber*), *R. R.* 2, 5, 8
scorteus,[17] *L. L.* 7, 84 *M.*
terreus,[18] *R. R.* 1, 14, 2
uiteus,[19] *R. R.* 1, 31, 4

NIGIDIVS.
cerreus,[20] *ap. Plin.* 16, 25

LVCRETIVS.
creteus, 4, 295

VITRVVIVS.
*palmeus,[21] 10, 20, 3
*querceus,[22] 7, 1, 2
robusteus, 5, 12, 3
saligneus,[23] 10, 11, 2; *al.*
sappineus,[24] 2, 9, 7

HYGINVS.
aprineus, *Fab.* 69

CELSVS.
cinereus,[25] 6, 6, 7
subcaeruleus, 6, 5

COLVMELLA.
canneus, 12, 50, 8
carpineus,[26] 11, 2, 92
consemineus, 3, 21, 7; *al.*
orneus, 11, 2, 82
roburneus, 9, 1, 5
subereus,[27] 9, 1, 3
tiliagineus, 12, 47, 5

PETRONIVS.
coccineus,[28] 32, 2
eboreus,[29] 32, 4
fuligineus,[30] 108, 2
russeus,[31] 27, 1

PLINIVS.
fageus, 16, 37; *al.*
felleus,[32] 26, 124
feruleus,[33] 16, 226
*iaspideus, 37, 156 *Ian.*
melleus,[34] 15, 51; *al.*
sambuceus,[35] 29, 57

[1] Hier. [2] Col. [3] Titin.; Plin.; Vopisc. [4] Hier. [5] Varr.; Nep.; Col.; Plin.; Paul. ex Fest.; Veget.; Gromat. Vet.; Ven. Fort. [6] Verg.; Ou.; Prop.; Suet.; Col.; Pall. [7] Vitr. [8] Varr.; Sen.; Plin.; Mart.; Auct. Priap. [9] Col.; Apul.; Donat. [10] Col.; Plin. [11] Vitr. [12] Varr. Sat. Men.; Verg.; Liu.; Vitr.; Curt.; Plin.; Gai.; Treb. Pol.; Ampel. [13] Col.; Plin.; Mart.; Solin. [14] Auson. [15] Cels.; Col.; Vulg.; Eccl. [16] Col.; Pall. [17] Cels.; Paul. ex Fest.; Petr.; Mart.; Placid. Gloss. [18] Verg. Ge.; Prud. [19] Verg.; Solin.; Ambros.; Prud. [20] Col.; Hyg. ap. Plin. [21] Col.; Plin. [22] Col.; Tac.; Aur. Vict.; Acron ad Hor.; Seru. ad Verg.; Inscrr. [23] Col.; Vlp. Dig. [24] Col. [25] Col.; Scrib.; Plin. [26] Plin. [27] Ser. Samm. [28] Mart.; Iustin.; Vulg. [29] Plin.; Quint.; ICt. [30] Arnob. [31] Plin.; Lampr.; Apul.; Pall. [32] Augustin.; Cael. Aur. [33] Cael. Aur. [34] Apul.; Chalcid. Tim.; Auson. [35] Aur. Vict.

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MARTIALIS.
membraneus,[1] 14, 7 *Lemm.*

GELLIVS.
furfureus, 11, 7, 3
impluereus, 5, 6, 21
incorporeus,[2] 5, 15, 1

APVLEIVS.
cinnameus,[3] *Met.* 8, 5
lanugineus, *Herb.* 62
subluteus,[4] *Flor.* 12, p. 14, 12 *Kr.*

SOLINVS.
nigrogemmeus, 22, 1

SPARTIANVS.
gypseus, *Seu.* 22, 3

VOPISCVS.
blatteus, *Aur.* 46, 4

FIRMICVS MATERNVS.
aqueus, *Math.* 2, 12

CHALCIDIVS.
stirpeus, *Tim.* 31

PALLADIVS.
albumeus, 4, 13, 4
amygdaleus, *de Insit.* 157

VEGETIVS.
galbineus, 3, 2, 22

HIERONYMVS.
adipeus, *Ep.* 147, 8; *al.*
carneus,[5] *Id.* 36, 16; *al.*
sacceus,[6] *Vit. Hilar.* 44; *al.*

AVGVSTINVS.
uaporeus,[7] *Serm.* 80, 3

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
aurugineus, *Chron.* 2, 11, 132
fellineus, *Id.* 4, 7, 92
nitreus, *Id.* 2, 7, 108

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
hirundineus, *Ep.* 2, 14

VENANTIVS FORTVNATVS.
acerneus,[8] *Ep.* 1, *ad Greg. Pap.*

b. *Adjectives in* -aceus, (-acius):

PLAVTVS.
gallinacius,[9] *Aul.* 465; *al.*
Geryonaceus, *Id.* 546

CATO.
hederaceus,[10] *R. R.* 111
hordaceus,[11] *Id.* 157, 5
mustaceus,[12] (*s. m.*), *Id.* 121
uinaceus,[13] *Id.* 25

VARRO.
betaceus,[14] *R. R.* 1, 2, 27
farraceus,[15] *Id.* 1, 31, 5
loliaceus, *Id.* 3, 9, 20
testuacium, *L. L.* 5, 106
*uiraceus, *Sat. Men.* 300 *ed. Buech.*

LABERIVS.
*populacius, *ap. Non.* 150, 24

CORNELIVS NEPOS.
uiolaceus,[16] *ap. Plin.* 9, 136

[1] Vlp. Dig.; Gloss. Labb. [2] Macr.; Eccl. [3] Auson. [4] Arnob. [5] Augustin.; Prud.; Prosp. [6] Arnob. Iun. [7] Th. Prisc. [8] Inscrr. [9] *Form -aceus*, Lucil. Sat.; Varr. Sat. Men.; Id. R. R.; Liu.; Hyg.; Col.; Petr.; Plin.; Suet.; Inscrr.; Cic., *freq.*, but chiefly in the phrase *gallus gallinaceus*, (Diu. 1, 34, 74; Id. 2, 26, 56; pro Mur. 29, 61). [10] Col.; Vopisc.; Gallien. ap. Treb. Poll. [11] Varr.; Cels.; Col.; Sen.; Hier. [12] Iuuen.; *form -um* — Cic. ad Att.; Caper 103, 1 K.; Ps.-Apic. [13] Varr. R. R.; Cic., *semel*, (de Sen. 52); Col.; Pall.; Vulg. [14] Arnob.; Ps.-Apic.; Gloss. Labb. [15] Plin. [16] Plin.; Solin.; Ps.-Apic. *s. n.* uiolacium.

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IMP. AVGVSTVS.
pulleiaceus, *ap. Suet. Aug.* 87

HYGINVS.
apiacius, *Fab.* 74 *M.*

VITRVVIVS.
aeracius,[1] 3, 1, 82
miniaceus,[2] 7, 4, 4
silaceus,[3] 7, 5, 1 ; *al.*
testaceus,[4] 2, 8, 18 ; *al.*

CELSVS.
murtaceus, 7, 17

COLVMELLA.
ampulaceus,[5] 8, 2, 15
pampinaceus, 12, 20, 5

PETRONIVS.
balaenaceus, 21, 2

PLINIVS.
arenaceus,[6] 17, 43
argillaceus, *Id. ib.*
arundinaceus, 18, 58
auenaceus, 22, 137 ; *al.*
bulbaceus, 21, 170
capillaceus,[7] 12, 114
cineraceus, 27, 44 ; *al.*
cretaceus, 18, 86
ferulaceus, 34, 170 ; *al.*
foliaceus, 19, 42 ; *al.*
formaceus, 35, 169
furnaceus, 18, 105
herbaceus, 19, 110
intubaceus, 27, 106
lappaceus, 22, 41
maluaceus, 21, 19
membranaceus,[8] 10, 168 ; *al.*
oleraceus, 26, 85
papyraceus, 6, 82 ; *al.*
pauonaceus, 36, 159
porraceus, 21, 117 ; *al.*
rapacius, 18, 127
resinaceus, 24, 99
rosaceus, 21, 8 ; *al.*
tofaceus,[9] 17, 43

APVLEIVS.
lupinaceus, *Herb.* 21, 2
sebaceus, *Met.* 4, 18

TERTVLLIANVS.
cacabaceus,[10] *adu. Hermog.* 41
limaceus, *Res. Carn.* 49 *in.*

VLPIANVS.
chartaceus,[11] *Dig.* 32, 52 *in.*

GARGILIVS MARTIALIS.
personacia,[12] (*herba*), *Cur. Boum.* 5

SOLINVS.
fauillacius, 35, 8

CAPITOLINVS.
tiliacius, *Anton. Pii* 13 *in.*

MARCELLVS EMPIRICVS.
alutacius, 23, 77 ; *al.*

PALLADIVS.
fabaceus,[13] 12, 1, 2
liliaceus,[14] 6, 14 *Lemm.*

PLINIVS VALERIANVS.
rutaceus,[15] 2, 28
siliqnaceus, 1, 46
uerminaceus, 1, 45

[1] *form -aceus* — Not. Tir.; Not. Bern. [2] Gloss. Labb. [3] Plin. [4] Plin.; Pall.; Hier.; Inscrr. [5] Plin. [6] Isid. [7] Itala; Augustin. [8] Cassiod.; Inscrr. [9] Form *-ius*, — Pall. [10] Augustin. [11] Cassiod. [12] Plin. Val.; Marc. Emp.; Pelag. Vet. [13] Veget.; Pa.-Apic.; Macr. Sat. [14] Th. Prisc. [15] Marc. Emp.; Th. Prisc.; *form -ius*, — Cael. Aur.

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AMMIANVS.
coriaceus,[1] 24, 3, 11

PELAGONIVS.
faecacius, *Vet.* 59

VEGETIVS.
frumentaceus,[2] 3, 57
pulmonaceus, 1, 12, 2

AMBROSIVS.
farinaceus,[3] *in Luc.* 6, 81
plumacium,[4] *Ep.* 26, 12

HIERONYMVS.
piracium, *adu. Iuu.* 2, 5, *extr.*

THEODORVS PRISCIANVS.
cucumeracius, 2, 3; *al.*

MARTIANVS CAPELLA.
lymphaceus, 6, 569

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
columbinaceus, *Acut.* 2, 18, 111

c. *Adjectives in* -icius:

PLAVTVS.
adoptaticius, *Poen.* 1045
caesicius, *Epid.* 230
conducticius,[5] *Id.* 313
confusicius, *Cist.* 472
conuenticius,[6] *Id.* 40
demissicius, *Poen.* 1303
emissicius,[7] *Aul.* 41
expositicius, *Cas.* 79
paniceus,[8] *Capt.* 162
proiecticius,[9] *Cist.* 191
subrepticius, (*subrepo*), *Curc.* 205
subrepticius, (*subripio*), *Men.* 60; *al.*
suppositicius,[10] *Pseud.* 1167

CATO.
depsticius, *R. R.* 74
rapicius,[11] *Id.* 35, 2
recepticius,[12] *Oratt. fr.* 32, 1

VARRO.
afflicticius, *R. R.* 3, 12, 1
armenticius,[13] *Id.* 2, 5, 16; *al.*
cinericius,[14] *Id.* 1, 9, 7
circumcisicius, *Id.* 1, 54, 3
compositicius,[15] *L. L.* 6, 55; *al.*
*effuticius, *Id.* 7, 93
empticius,[16] *R. R.* 3, 2, 12; *al.*
fossicius,[17] 1, 7, 8; *al.*
impositicius,[18] *L. L.* 8, 5
insiticius,[19] *R. R.* 1, 2, 5
pastoricius,[20] *Id.* 1, 2, 16

CICERO (EPISTT.).
collecticius,[21] *Ep.* 7, 3, 2

AVCT. BELL. AFR.
importaticius, 20, 4

AVCT. BELL. HISP.
stramenticius,[22] 16, 2

VITRVVIVS.
caementicius,[23] 2, 8, 16; *al.*
craticius,[24] 2, 8, 20; *al.*

COLVMELLA.
sarmenticius,[25] 6, 26, 3

[1] Placit. de Medic. [2] Hier. [3] Ps-Augustin.; Thom. Thes.; Gloss. Labb. [4] Cassiod. [5] Varr.; Nep.; Porcius ap. Suet.; Vulg. [6] Cic., *semel*, (Rep. 3, 47). [7] Anthol. Lat.; Tert. [8] form *-ius* — Seru. ad Verg. [9] Amm. [10] Varr.; Mart. [11] Plin. [12] Gai. Dig.; Cod. Iust. [13] Prisc. [14] Itala; Cypr.; Cassiod.; Placid. Gloss. [15] Tert. [16] Sen.; Petr.; Inscrr. [17] Vitr.; Plin.; Pall. [18] Paul. Dig.; Vlp. Dig.; ICt. [19] Plin. Ep.; Apul. [20] Cic. ad Att.; Id. Cael.; Apul. [21] Sen. Nat. Qu. [22] Petr. [23] Inscrr. [24] Vlp. Dig.; Pall. [25] Tert.

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PETRONIVS.
lanisticius, 45, 4

PLINIVS.
artopticius, 18, 88 ; *al.*
canalicius, 33, 68
eiecticius, 11, 210
excepticius, 18, 115
facticius,[1] 31, 81; *al.*
ficticius,[2] 14, 98 ; *al.*
Palilicius, 18, 247
stillaticius,[3] 16, 54

MARTIALIS.
cathedralicius, 10, 13, 1
Floralicius, 8, 67, 4
missicius,[4] 3, 91, 1
praetoricius,[5] 8, 33, 1

FRONTO.
erraticius, *de Diff. Voc.* 2200 *P.*
rogaticius, *ad Ver.* 2, 1, *p.* 123, 11 *N.*

GELLIVS.
pacticius, 1, 25, 8
praedaticius, 13, 25, 28

APVLEIVS.
capillicium,[6] *Met.* 2, 2
concinnaticius, *Id.* 2, 11
panaricium, *Herb.* 42

TERTVLLIANVS.
additicius,[7] *Res. Carn.* 52
compacticius, *adu. Valent.* 31
comparaticius, *Id.* 13
damnaticius, *Praescr.* 34.
elementicius, *Anim.* 32
nundinaticius, *Virg. Vel.* 3
obuenticius, *adu. Marc.* 2, 3
ostentaticius, *Virg. Vel.* 3
prouocaticius, *adu. Marc.* 2, 3
superinducticius, *Id.* 5, 3

INTPR. IREN.
alleuaticius, 1, 30, 2

SPARTIANVS.
sigillaricius,[8] *Hadr.* 17

CAPITOLINVS.
cespiticius,[9] *Anton. Pius*, 5
coctilicius, *Pert.* 3, 3 *P.*
genitalicius, *Id.* 15, 5
toficius, *Maxim.* 6, 9

ARNOBIVS.
caepicium,[10] 5, 1 *R.*

LAMPRIDIVS.
subditicius, *Heliog.* 17, 9
tractaticius, *Id.* 17, 5 *P.*

PALLADIVS.
acinaticius,[11] 1, 6
cannicias,[12] 1, 13, *lemm.*
pellicius,[13] 1, 43, 4

VEGETIVS.
sideraticius, 3, 35

AMMIANVS.
uenaticius, 29, 3, 3 ; *al.*

HIERONYMVS.
mixticius, *in Ierem.* 5, 25, 19
subcinericius,[14] *in Osee*, 2, 8, 7

AVGVSTINVS.
arrepticius,[15] *Ciu. Dei*, 2, 4

[1] Faust. ap. Augustin.; Prisc.; Cassiod. [2] Vlp. Regul. [3] Marc. Emp. [4] Suet.; Inscrr. [5] Inscrr. [6] Mart. Cap. [7] ICt. [8] Vopisc. [9] Vopisc. [10] Adj., *-ius*. Caper. ap. Prisc. [11] Plin. Val.; Cassiod. [12] Augustin.; form *-uciae* — Gromat. Vet. [13] Lampr.; Sulp. Seu.; Isid.; ICt. [14] Vulg.; Isid. [15] Eccl.; Schol. Lucan.

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duumuiralicius,[1] *Cur. pro Mort. Ger.* 12
immolaticius, *Ep.* 47, 4; *al.*
inducticius,[2] *de Duab. Anim.* 18

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
circumlaticius, *Ep.* 2, 2, *extr.*
locaticius, *Id.* 6, 8
oblaticius,[3] *Id.* 7, 9

§ 31. ADJECTIVES IN **-osus**: These adjectives form one of the most numerous classes in Latin, but in proportion to their number are used sparingly by the best writers. Paucker[4] has collected altogether 844, (which might be considerably increased by *addenda* published in the Archiv f. Lat. Lex.[5]), *uett.* 406, of which he attributes 118, barely 30 %, to Ciceronian or equivalent authority; of these I have found only 97 in Cic. They are regularly derived from substantives and in general only such have the sanction of classic usage. On the other hand these adjectives abound in plebeian Latin, being especially prevalent in the rustic and the African writers, and are formed alike from subs. and adjs., and occasionally even from verbs, the sonorous suffix being well adapted to satisfy the plebeian craving for lengthened and intensified formations. Guericke[6] first connected them with the *sermo plebeius*, observing their frequency in Cato and the early dramatists, and citing the admonition in Prob. App., "*rabidus non rabiosus.*" Stuenkel subsequently called attention to their special frequency in the Scriptt. *R. R.*, and regarded them as a characteristic of the *sermo rusticus*, an opinion which a casual glance at those writers will confirm.[7] The opening pages of the *R. R.* of Cato show numerous examples, e. g.; *periculosum . . . studiosumque . . . periculosum et calamitosum . . . ne calamitosum siet . . . sumptuosumque . . . quamuis quaestuosus siet, si sumptuosus erit, . . .*, and so *passim.* I have counted in Cato 16 forms, most of them occurring frequently. Varr. has 13, the majority from Cato; 6 are new. Col. uses 31, of which 18 are new, and is especially fond of using them in the comparative and superlative; from the opening pages I can cite *laboriosissimus, scrupulosissime, luxuriosius, generosiora*, etc. Plin. is as-

[1] Inscrr. [2] Gloss. Labb. [3] Cod. Theod.

[4] Paucker, Materialien, IV, p. 15. [5] Conf. Schönwerth-Weyman, ALL. V, p. 192. [6] Guericke, p. 32. [7] Stuenkel, p. 50, "(adjs. in -osus) quae praeter Varronem Cato ceterique rei rusticae scriptores in deliciis habebant"; conf. Koehler, Bell. Hisp., p. 11; Schulze, Diss. Hal., VI, p. 180, "Haec adiectiva in sermone cotidiano usitatissima fuisse constat"; Wölfl. Cass. Fel., p. 407; Kraut, Sall., p. 4, citing discordiosus, as vulgar; Ulrich, Vitr., II, p. 4.

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tonishingly fertile; I have counted in the *Hist. Nat.* over 87, of which 48 are new. Taking the Teubner texts as a basis of comparison, this gives to Plin. an average of one in every 20 pages, while Cic. with 97 words has barely one in 50. Many of these words Plin. has taken from the Scriptt. R. R.; many of the new ones bear on their face evidence of their kinship with the *sermo rusticus*, and were probably borrowed from works on agriculture: such are *buxosus*, *foliosus*, *glebosus*, *lignosus*, *petrosus*, *racemosus*, *radicosus*, *sarmentosus*, etc. The same fondness for these adjs. is seen in the veterinary and medical writers, whose vocabulary has many points in common with rustic Latin. Pelag. Vet. has 5 new words; Veg. Vet. has 11; Cael. Aur. is especially fertile, adding 24.

The prevalence of these adjs. in African Latin was observed by Kretschmann in connection with the language of Apul., and he called attention to the occurrence in African Inscriptions of numerous proper names in **-osus**, which have since received special treatment at the hands of Mommsen, and are noticed by Kübler, in his study of those Inscriptions in the Archiv f. Lat. Lex.[1] This is all the more interesting, because the relation between rustic and African Latin is not by any means clear, and points of analogy in vocabulary are rare; in adjs. perhaps the only other instance is furnished by denominatives in **-icius**, which as has been already seen, are rarer in the *sermo rusticus* than those in **-aceus**, while the latter are avoided by African writers.[2] It has been shown by Rönsch that the *sermo Africus* and the Campanian Latin, as exhibited in Petr. and the Pompeian inscriptions, have many idioms in common, owing to the more direct communication by sea, and possibly this served as a connecting link.[3]

A less probable theory has been advanced by Lattes,[4] in explanation of the presence of an Etruscan manuscript in the

[1] Kretschmann, de Lat. Apul., p. 50, cited by Sittl, Lokal. Verschiedenh., p. 141; Mommsen, Afric. Eigennamen, Ephem. Epigr., IV, p. 520 sq.; Schuchardt, Vocalismus, II, p. 451, "Die namen in -osus erscheinen nirgends häufiger als in afrikanischen Inschriften;" Kübler, ALL. VIII, p. 201. [2] *Conf. supra*, § 30, p. 114. [3] Rönsch, p. 7; *conf.* Budinsky, Ausbreitung d. Lat. Sprache, p. 261. [4] E. Lattes, Saggi ed Appunti intorno all' Iscrizione Etrusca della Mummia, p. 189, *not.* 136, "Qui espongo brevemente alcune osservationi, circa la predilezione dell' onomastica latino-africana pei derivati in -osa, -ica, -itta, e della latinità africana per gli aggettivi in -alis, -icius, perchè tutto ciò, il confesso, mi sa assai d'etrusco," citing Mommsen, Kübler, Schuchardt.

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African provinces. He seems inclined to admit the existence there of an Etruscan colony, and wishes to trace the prevalence of adjs. in **-icius**, **-osus**, to Etruscan influence. With our present knowledge such a claim can neither be admitted nor denied, but if it were to be admitted it would be hard to show why the same influence developed adjs. in **-aceus** on Italian territory, and **-icius** in Africa. However, the theory is suggestive.

It is worth while in this connection to glance briefly at the adjs. used by the African writers, and see how far they drew upon the vocabulary of the Scriptt. R. R. Fronto is not fond of the suffix and adds no new forms, but borrows one from Cato, which is probably to be regarded as an intentional archaism. Gell. has 9 new forms; of the older ones used by him, none is from the Scriptt. R. R. Apul. adds 21 of these adjs. and uses over 40, only one of them from the Scriptt. R. R., (but five from Plin., *callosus*, *fabulosus*, *glebosus*, *laciniosus*, *salinosus*). Tert. has 10 new forms, and uses none from the Scriptt. R. R. A marked coincidence in the employment of these words would have pointed strongly to some direct relationship between the African and rustic dialects, while the absence of such coincidence is at least good negative evidence that the suffixes developed independently.

A few points in regard to the formation of these adjs. are worthy of notice. As has been said, they are normally formed only from substantives, but in the plebeian and late writers numerous exceptions occur. Those formed from verbs are rarest, there being but five instances in the older language, and one of these is doubtful. Gell. in the well-known passage, 3, 12, 1, citing *bibosus* from Nigidius, directly censures this method of formation; "*nondum etiam usquam repperi, nisi apud Laberium, neque aliud est, quod simili inclinatu dicatur*," and on the strength of this opinion C. Fr. Hermann emends Cic., Acad. 2, 143 **opinosissimi* to **spinosissimi*, which is accepted by Schönwerth-Weyman, in the article already cited, where the few other examples of this improper formation are discussed.[1] Here again the license of the *sermo cotidianus* may be seen surviving in the Romance languages; compare **Ruman.** *lunecos*, *spărios*; **Ital.**, *adontoso*, *rincrescioso*; **Port.**, *abduros*, etc.[2]

[1] Schönwerth-Weyman, ALL. V, p. 203. [2] Diez, p. 663; Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr. II, p. 514.

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Derivatives from other adjectives are more numerous, although they also were avoided in the best period. Out of the 73 examples cited by Paucker, 9 only are *uett.*, and of these only 3 are classic: *bellicosus, ebriosus, tenebricosus.* In later Latin, however, such methods of derivation became more and more common as a means of making adjectives longer and proportionately more forcible.[1] The derivation from adjectives is still common in the Romance languages, where it has retained an intensifying force, thus in **Ruman.**, *umedos;* **Ital.**, *cuvidoso, freddoso;* **Span.**, *caudaloso, rancioso.*[2]

Of the derivatives from substantives, one or two classes are interesting. Formations from the rustic substantives in **-ago, -igo, -ugo,**[3] seem to have been avoided by classic writers as carefully as the substantives themselves. Cic. has only *caliginosus* (*bis*). The general character of the remainder is best seen from the following list:

PLAVT. robiginosus, *Mart.; Apul.; Fronto.*
VARR. R.R., uliginosus, *Col.; Plin.; Arnob.*
BELL. HISP., uoraginosus, *Frontin.; Apul.; Amm.*
CATVLL., imaginosus,
CELS., cartilaginosus, *Plin.*
COL., scaturiginosus,
PLIN., lanuginosus,
uertiginosus,
VAL. MAX., lentiginosus,
AVCT. PRIAP., pruriginosus, *Dig.*
APVL. IVN., auriginosus,
PLIN. VAL., porriginosus,
VEG. VET., coriaginosus,
VVLG., aeruginosus,
PRVDENT., fuliginosus,
PS.-TH. PRISC., petiginosus,
CASS. FEL., mucilaginosus,
DIG. IVST., impetiginosus,
NOT. TIR., intertriginosus,
GLOSS. LABB., depetiginosus.

In derivatives from abstract substantives in **-or**, African Latin shows a peculiarity quite in keeping with the *tumor Punicus*, adding the suffix directly to the stem, without loss of the final syllable as is usual in classic Latin, (compare *clamor, clam-osus, fragor, frag-osus*). Thus from Apul. we have *uapor-osus*, from Tert. *nidor-osus;* Augustin., *clamor-osus;* Cass. Fel. and Ps.-Apul. *humor-osus*, and 15 others are cited by Paucker,[4]

[1] Schönwerth-Weyman, l. l., p. 200, "Von Adjektiven wurden weitere Adjektiva gebildet, um die Bedeutung zu verstärken, beziehungsweise zu nüancieren oder — und dies war in Spätlatein und damit in den romanischen Sprachen der leitende Gesichtspunkt — um das Wort zu verlängern und dadurch lebenskräftiger zu machen." [2] Diez, p. 668; Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr. II, p. 514; Id. Ital. Gramm. § 540. [3] *Conf. supra*, § 23, p. 82. [4] Paucker, Materialien IV, p. 5, *not.* 4.

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several of which have found their way into the Romance languages, e.g., *amorosus, saporosus, uigorosus,* = **Fr.**, *amoreux, savoureux, vigoreux.*

Lastly, plebeian Latin seems sometimes to have added this termination to diminutives, although this is a question of dispute. Compare the following forms:

amariculosus, *Thes. Nou. Lat.*
lacticulosus, *Petr.; Gloss.*
meticulosus, *Plaut.; Apul.; Vlp. Dig.*
segniculosus, *ap. Paucker.*
siticulosus, *Hor. Sat.; Vitr.; Col.; Plin.; Auct. Priap.; Sidon.*
somniculosus, *Cinna, Fr. ap. Gell.; Laber.; Cic., semel,* (*de Sen.*); *Col.; adu.*=*Plaut.*

Schönwerth-Weyman include these forms among those in **-io-osus, -in-osus,** and other strengthened forms, "*somniculosus, . . . siticulosus, . . .* sind hier zu nennen, da die deminutiva somniculus und siticula nur in den not. Tiron. u. Bern. nachzuwiesen sind," but cite against their view Bechstein,[1] Stud. VIII (1875) p. 373.

LIVIVS ANDRONICVS.
septuose,[2] *ap. Non.* 170, 17

NAEVIVS.
citrosus, *B. Pun. Fr. Inc.* 4

PLAVTVS.
aestuosus,[3] *Bacch.* 471
axitiosus,[4] *ap. Varr. L. L.* 7, 66
cicatricosus,[5] *Amph.* 446
confragosus,[6] *Men.* 591
elloborosus, *Most.* 952; *al.*
fluctuosus,[7] *Rud.* 910
hircosus,[8] *Merc.* 575
ieiuniosus, *Capt.* 466
illecebrosus,[9] *Bacch.* 87
impendiosus, *Id.* 396
inopiosus, *Poen.* 130
lienosus,[10] *Cas.* 414
luscitiosus,[11] *Mil.* 323
metuculosus,[12] *Amph.* 293
mulierosus,[13] *Poen.* 1303
obnoxiosus,[14] *Trin.* 1038
obsequiosus, *Capt.* 418
peculiosus,[15] *Rud.* 112
periuriosus, *Truc.* 153
podagrosus,[16] *Merc.* 595
propudiosus,[17] *Stich.* 334

[1] *Conf.* ALL., V, p. 209.
[2] *Form saeptuosa* — Pacuu. Tr. 5. [3] Pacuu.; Cic. Att.; Catull.; Hor.; Col.; Plin. [4] Ser. Claud. ap. Varr. [5] Sen. Rhet.; Quint. [6] Varr.; Liu.; Sen.; Col.; Quint.; Frontin.; Mall. Theod.; Pall.; Veget.; *adu.* — Mar. Vict. [7] Plin. [8] Sen.; Pers.; Mart.; *form -uosus* — Apul. Met. [9] Amm.; Prud.; Augustin. [10] Cels.; Plin. [11] Varr.; Fulg.; Isid. [12] Apul. Flor.; Vlp. Dig. [13] Afran.; Cic., *semel*, (*Fat.* 10). [14] Enn. [15] Augustin.; Sidon. Ep. [16] Lucil.; *subst. masc.* — Hadr. ap. Vopisc.; Lampr. [17] Gell.; Apul.; Min. Fel.; Arnob.; Rutil. Nam.

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radiosus, *Id.* 365
repudiosus, *Pers.* 384
robiginosus,[1] *Stich.* 228
scruposus,[2] *Capt.* 185
sycophantiose, *Pseud.* 1211
uentriosus,[3] *Asin.* 400; *al.*

CATO.
aquosus,[4] *R. R.* 34
cariosus,[5] *Id.* 34, 2; *al.*
consiliosus,[6] *ap. Gell.* 4, 9, 12
cretosus,[7] *R. R.* 128
disciplinosus,[8] *Re. Mil. Fr.* 14
fistulosus,[9] *R. R.* 157, 3
insomniosus, (*insomnia*) *Id. ib.*
lutosus,[10] *ap. Plin.* 18, 176
manupretiosus, *Oratt. Inc. Fr.* 10
*medicamentosus,[11] *R. R.* 157, 2
morbosus,[12] *Id.* 2, 7
praemiosus,[13] *Oratt. Inc. Fr.* 7
rubricosus,[14] *R. R.* 34, 2; *al.*
sentinosus,[15] *Origg.* 2, *Fr.* 31
stercorosus,[16] *R. R.* 45, 1
ueternosus,[17] *ap. Gell.* 1, 15, 9
uictoriosus,[18] *Id.* 4, 9, 12

CAECILIVS.
gramiosus, *Com.* 268

TERENTIVS.
cadauerosus,[19] *Hec.* 411

TITINIVS.
pedicosus, *Com.* 177

CASSIVS HEMINA.
literosus, *ap. Non.* 133, 5

CAELIVS ANTIPATER.
bellosus, *ap. Non.* 80, 32

LVCILIVS.
acerosus,[20] *Sat.* 15, 29
labosus, *Id.* 3, 10
rugosus,[21] *Id.* 12, 26
scelerosus,[22] *Id.* 1, 20
squarrosus, *Fr. Inc.* 108

AFRANIVS.
senticosus,[23] *Com.* 1

VARRO.
agrosus, *L. L.* 5, 13
alsiosus,[24] *R. R.* 2, 3, 6
argillosus,[25] *Id.* 1, 9, 2
dictiosus, *L. L.* 6, 61
glareosus,[26] *R. R.* 1, 9, 3
mammosus,[27] *Id.* 2, 9, 5
paeminosus, *Id.* 1, 51, 1
suspendiosus,[28] *ap. Seru ad Aen.* 12, 603
tuberosus,[29] *Id.* 1, 49, 2
uliginosus,[30] *Id.* 1, 6, 6

LVCRETIVS.
labeosus, 4, 1161

NIGIDIVS FIGVLVS.
bibosus,[31] *ap Gell.* 3, 12, 2

CICERO (EPISTT.).
pannosus,[32] *ad Att.* 4, 3, 5
per-luctuosus, *ad Q. Fr.* 3, 8, 5
per-odiosus, *ad Att.* 10, 17, 2; *al.*
per-officiosus, *ad Fam.* 9, 20, 3
per-tumultuose, *Id.* 15, 4, 3
sub-contumeliose, *ad Att.* 2, 7, 3
sub-odiosus, *Id.* 1, 5, 4

[1] Mart.; Fronto; Apul. [2] Lucr.; Apul. [3] Plin.; Cassiod. [4] Varr.; Verg.; Hor.; Ou.; Prop.; Sen.; Col.; Plin.; Mart.; Pall. [5] Afran.; Lucil.; Manil. ap. Varr.; Varr.; Ou.; Cels.; Phaedr.; Col.; Plin.; Mart.; Ambros.; Eccl. [6] Fronto; Sidon. Ep. [7] Varr.; Ou.; Plin.; Hygin.; Pall. [8] *Conf.* Gell. 4, 9, 12. [9] Vitr.; Sen.; Col.; Plin. [10] Lucil.; Col. [11] Vitr. [12] Labeo ap. Gell.; Varr.; Masur. Sabin. ap. Gell.; Catull.; Auct. Priap.; Petr.; Veget. [13] Acc. [14] Col.; Plin. [15] Ambros. [16] Sen.; Col. [17] Ter.; Sen.; Plin.; Augustin.; Sidon. [18] Quint.; Iul. Val.; Amm.; Augustin., Sidon.; Inscrr. [19] Ambros. [20] Paul. ex Fest. [21] Hor.; Ou.; Tibull.; Val. Max.; Cels.; Pers.; Mart.; Hier. [22] Ter.; Lucr.; Apul. [23] Apul. Flor.; Iulian. ap. Augustin. [24] Plin.; Gloss. Labb. [25] Col.; Plin.; Pall.; Vulg. [26] Liv.; Col.; Plin. [27] Laber. ap. Gell.; Plin. [28] Plin. [29] Petr. [30] Plin.; Arnob.; Pall. [31] Laber. ap. Gell. [32] Sen.; Mart.; Iuuen.; Iust.; Apul. Met.; Augustin.

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AVCT. BELL. HISP.
uoraginosus,[1] 29, 2

CATVLLVS.
araneosus,[2] 25, 3
arundinosus, 36, 13
cuniculosus, 37, 18
febriculosus,[3] 6, 4
imaginosus, 41, 8
spumosus,[4] 64, 121

HORATIVS.
callosus,[5] *Sat.* 2, 4, 14
nodosus,[6] *Id.* 2, 3, 70; *al.*
plagosus,[7] *Ep.* 2, 1, 7

VITRVVIVS.
aluminosus,[8] 8, 3, 4
bituminosus, *Id. ib.; al.*
calculosus,[9] 3, 3, 1
nitrosus,[10] 8, 3, 5
pumicosus,[11] 2, 3, 4
sabulosus,[12] 2, 6, 5
sulphurosus, 8, 2, 8
terrosus, 2, 1, 1; *al.*

CELSVS.
biliosus,[13] 5, 26, 10; *al.*
carnosus,[14] 4, 22 *init.*
cartillaginosus,[15] 8, 8, 2; *al.*
glutinosus,[16] 5, 26, 20; *al.*
labrosus, 7, 26, 2 *fin.*
medullosus, 8, 1 *p.* 327; *al.*
mucosus,[17] 2, 8, *p.* 50; *al.*
musculosus,[18] 5, 20, 1
pustulosus,[19] 5, 26, 31
spongiosus,[20] 4, 1, *p.* 121
suc(c)osus,[21] 2, 18, *p.* 65
uenosus,[22] 4, 1, *p.* 121
unguinosus,[23] 5, 26, 20

PHAEDRVS.
comosus,[24] 5, 8, 2

COLVMELLA.
aestiuosus,[25] 5, 8, 5
caenosus,[26] 7, 10, 6
calcitrosus,[27] 2, 2, 26
carbunculosus, 3, 11, 9
*cesposus, *Poet.* 10, 130
compendiosus,[28] 1, 4, 5
cymosus, *Poet.* 10, 138
dispendiosus,[29] 2, 20, 1
frutectosus,[30] 2, 2, 11
fungosus,[31] 4, 29, 6
glandulosus, 7, 9, 1
glomerosus, 9, 3, 1
graminosus,[32] 7, 9, 8
grandinosus, 3, 1, 6
*humerosus,[33] (*humerus*), 3, 10, 5
lanosus,[34] 7, 3, 7
pampinosus,[35] 5, 5, 14
pectorosus,[36] 8, 2, 8
pulicosus, 7, 13, 2
resinosus,[37] 12, 20, 3
rixosus,[38] 8, 2, 5
scabiosus,[39] 11, 2, 83
scaturiginosus, 5, 8, 6

[1] Frontin.; Apul.; Amm. [2] Plin.; Auct. Priap. [3] Gell.; Fronto. [4] Ou.; Pers.; Plin.; Scrib; Pelag. Vet.; Claud.; Cael. Aur. [5] Plin.; Gell.; Apul.; Ps.-Apic.; Pall.; Anthim.; Eccl. [6] Ou.; Val. Max.; Sen.; Curt.; Pers.; Gell.; Augustin.; Macr. [7] *Pass.* — Apul. [8] *Subst.* — Plin. [9] Cels.; Col.; Plin.; Cloat. ap. Macr. Sat.; Scrib.; Pall.; Veget. [10] Plin. [11] Sen.; Plin. [12] Plin.; Pall. [13] Scrib.; Isid.; Schol. Pers. [14] Plin. [15] Plin. [16] Col.; Pall.; Pelag. Vet.; Veget. [17] Col.; Plin.; ICt. [18] Col. [19] Col. [20] Plin. [21] Col.; Petr.; Plin. [22] Pers.; Plin. [23] Plin. [24] Plin.; Auct. Priap. [25] Plin. [26] Iuuen.; Solin.; Hier.; Salu. [27] Petr.; Vlp. Dig.; Pelag. Vet. [28] Iustin.; Apul.; Ambros.; Prud. [29] Pall.; Cassian.; Cod. Theod. [30] Plin. [31] Plin. [32] Pall. [33] *quos h. rustici uocant*, Col. *l. l.; (humeros, ed. Schneider).* [34] Apul. Met.; Pall. [35] Plin. [36] Plin.; Auct. Priap. [37] Plin. [38] Tert.; Vulg. [39] Pers.; Plin.; Gai. Dig.

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strumosus,[1] 7, 10, 3
suffraginosus, 6, 38, 2
suspiriosus,[2] 6, 38, 1
tineosus,[3] 9, 14, 20

PETRONIVS.
dignitosus,[4] 57, 10
fastosus,[5] 131
inspeciosus, 74, 8
lacticulosus,[6] 57, 8
linguosus,[7] 43, 3; *al.*
stigmosus,[8] 109, 8

PLINIVS.
acinosus, 12, 47; *al.*
aerosus,[9] 33, 95
algosus,[10] 32, 95
angulosus,[11] 16, 86; *al.*
argentosus, 33, 93
articulosus,[12] 24, 150
assulose,[13] 12, 105
bulbosus, 21, 102; *al.*
buxosus, 12, 119
cauernosus,[14] 26, 58; *al.*
centrosus, 37, 98
cerosus, 32, 27
corticosus,[15] 12, 58
crustosus, 12, 36
cumminosus, *Id. ib.; al.*
foliosus, 25, 161; *al.*
formicosus, 10, 206
furfurosus, 12, 125
glebosus,[16] 35, 191
granosus, 21, 14; *al.*
iliosus, 20, 26
laciniosus,[17] 5, 62
lanuginosus, 29, 85; *al.*
lignosus, 13, 112; *al.*
loculosus, 15, 88
lusciosus,[18] 28, 170; *al.*
marmorosus, 33, 159; *al.*
*myrtuosus, 12, 48
nauseosus, 26, 59
oleosus,[19] 27, 106; *al.*
petrosus,[20] 9, 96
plumbosus, 34, 175; *al.*
pluuiosus,[21] 18, 225
racemosus, 14, 40; *al.*
radicosus, 16, 151
ramitosus, 30, 136
ramulosus, 16, 92
saliuosus,[22] 16, 181
saniosus,[23] 7, 66
sarmentosus, 25, 140
sebosus,[24] 11, 214
surculosus, 19, 98
thymosus,[25] 11, 39
uerminosus, 20, 146
uermiosus, 17, 261 *D.*
*uertiginosus, 23, 59, *Ian.*

MARTIALIS.
ficosus,[26] 7, 71, 1
pediculosus,[27] 12, 59, 8
pertricosus, 3, 63, 14
polyposus,[28] 12, 37, 2

AVCT. PRIAP.
fascinosus, 79, 4

[1] Iuuen.; Schol. Bob. ad Cic. [2] Plin.; Gargil.; Pelag. Vet.; Veget. [3] Th. Prisc.; Augustin.; Marc. Emp. [4] Gloss. Labb. [5] Mart.; Auct. Pan. ad Pis.; *form -uosus* — Mart. Cap. [6] Gloss. Labb. [7] Augustin.; Cassiod.; Eccl. [8] M. Regul. ap. Plin. Ep. 1, 5, 2. [9] Paul. ex Fest.; ICt. [10] Auson. [11] Augustin. [12] Quint. [13] *Form astulosus* — Marc. Emp. 36; *asclosus* — Pelag. Vet. 334; *conf.* Veget. 6, 14, 5. [14] Augustin.; Prud. [15] Solin. [16] Apul. [17] Apul.; Tert.; Hier.; Arnob. Iun.; Eccl.; Schol. Bob. ad Cic. [18] Gloss. Labb. [19] Cassiod. [20] Hygin.; (*petrosa, -orum*, Ambros.; Vulg.; Eccl.) [21] Porphyr. ad Hor. [22] Apul.; Cael. Aur. [23] Augustin.; Cael. Aur.; Th. Prisc. [24] *Nom. Propr.* Sebosus — Cic., etc. [25] Plin. Val.; Macr. [26] Auct. Priap. [27] Form *peduculosus* — Gloss. Labb. [28] Vlp. Dig.

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membrosus,[1] *praef.* 5
pruriosus,[2] 62, 18
seminosus, 51, 17

GELLIVS.
ambagiosus, 14, 1, 33
armentosus, 11, 1, 2
dubiosus, 3, 3, 3; *al.*
fallaciosus,[3] 14, 1, 34; *al.*
gestuosus,[4] 1, 5, 2
iurgiosus,[5] 1, 17, 1; *al.*
ludibriosus,[6] 6, 11, 5
praestigiosus,[7] 6, 14, 11; *al.*

APVLEIVS.
botruosus,[8] *Herb.* 66
cinerosus, *Met.* 7, 27; *al.*
elephantiosus,[9] *Herb.* 84, 3
folliculosus, *Id.* 54
floccosus, *Id.* 63
furcosus, *Id.* 8; *al.*
furculosus, *Id.* 57, 2
gemmosus, *Met.* 5, 8
geniculosus, *Herb.* 78
humorosus,[10] *Id.* 51
incendiosus,[11] *Id.* 59
instudiosus, *Apol.* 40
pascuosus, *Herb.* 92
populosus,[12] *Met.* 8, 6; *al.*
pulposus, *Id.* 7, 16
sarcinosus, *Id.* 8, 15
silentiosus,[13] *Id.* 11, 1
stipidosus, *Herb.* 67; *al.*
uaporosus, *Met.* 9, 12; *al.*
uiriosus,[14] 7, 18 *H.*

TERTVLLIANVS.
affectiosus, *Anim.* 19
colubrosus, *adu. Valent.* 4
foraminosus, *de Patient.* 14
inaquosus,[15] *Bapt.* 1
incopiosus, *de Ieiun.* 5
nidorosus,[16] *adu. Marc.* 5, 5
opiniosus, *Id.* 4, 35
tabidosus, *Apol.* 14
tabiosus, *de Pudic.* 14

GARGILIVS MARTIALIS.
amaritosus,[17] *de Arb. Pomif.* 3, 7 *p.* 68 *ed. Rom.*

SOLINVS.
abominosus,[18] 1, 40
dorsuosus,[19] 27, 3 *M.*
pabulosus, 22, 2

LAMPRIDIVS.
aurosus,[20] *Heliog.* 31

FIRMICVS MATERNVS.
cauillosus, 5, 8
crapulosus, 8, 20
gibbosus,[21] 3, 5, 6; *al.*

PALLADIVS.
uermiculosus, 12, 7, 14
uirgosus, 1, 24, 2

PLINIVS VALERIANVS.
effectuosus, *Praef.*
porriginosus, 1, 4

AMMIANVS.
caerimoniosus, 22, 15, 17
inlacrimosus, 14, 11, 24
insulosus, 23, 6, 10; *al.*
maniosus, 28, 4, 16 *G.*
tumidosus, 21, 10, 3

[1] Gloss. Labb. [2] Cael. Aur. [3] Apul. [4] Apul. [5] *adu.* — Iul. Vict. [6] *adu.* — Tert.; Amm.; Augustin. [7] Arnob. [8] Isid. [9] Augustin.; Marc. Emp.; Th. Prisc. [10] Cael. Aur. [11] Cael. Aur. [12] Solin.; Chalcid. Tim.; Amm.; Veg. Mil. [13] Cassiod. [14] Tert. [15] Eccl. [16] Cael. Aur. [17] *Form amarecosus* — Thom. Thes. Nou. Lat. p. 52. [18] Diom. [19] Amm. [20] Pall.; Veg. Vet.; Herm. Past.; Plin. Val.; form *-cosus* — Cassiod. [21] Isid.

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PELAGONIVS.
ap(p)iosus,[1] *Vet.* 405; *al.*
bulimosus, *Id.* 188
coriaginosus,[2] *Id.* 26
farciminosus, *Id. Ind. Cap.* XXXV.
ozaenosus, *Id.* 216

VEGETIVS.
aurosus,[3] *Vet.* 3, 17, 1
conglutinosus, *Id.* 2, 12, 2
contagiosus, *Id.* 1, 14, 2
*dolorosus,[4] *Id.* 6, 22, 1
farinosus, *Id.* 2, 30
febricosus, *Id.* 1, 38, 4
gambosus, *Id.* 3, 10
ossuosus,[5] *Id.* 3, 13, 4
roborosus, *Id.* 5, 23
stipendiosus, *Mil.* 1, 18
strophosus,[6] *Vet.* 3, 57
uomicosus,[7] *Id.* 11, 10, 3; *al.*

AMBROSIVS.
actinosus, *Iob. et Dau.* 2, 4, 6
dissidiosus, *Ep.* 76, 9
opprobriosus,[8] *Cain et Abel,* 1, 4, 14

HIERONYMVS.
fetosus, (*fetus*) *adu. Iouin.* 1, 19; *al.*
inherbosus, *Nom. Hebr. col.* 14, 4
leprosus,[9] *in Eccl.* 10, *col.* 472; *al.*
uenenosus,[10] *adu. Iouin.* 1, 3

AVGVSTINVS.
anfractuosus, *Serm.* 59, 6; *al.*
clamorosus,[11] *de Oratt. p.* 1115, 47
conuiciosus,[12] *c. Sec. Resp. Iul.* 1, 11
frontosus, *Ciu. Dei* 7, 4; *al.*
imbecillosus, *Ver. Relig.* 15
inactuosus,[13] *Ciu. Dei* 4, 16
staturosus, *Id.* 15, 23; *al.*

MARCELLVS EMPIRICVS.
carcinosus, 4, 45
liquaminosus, 5, 18
malandriosus, 19, 23; *al.*
mentiosus, 33, 8
ramicosus, 33, 23; *al.*
stranguriosus, 26, 66; *al.*

THEODORVS PRISCIANVS.
alopeciosus, 1, 6 *lemm.*
catarrhosus, 2, 2, 1
derbiosus, 1, 10
fermentosus, 4, *fol.* 317 *b.*
foetosus,[14] (*foetor*), 1, 21
materiosus,[15] 4, 317 *a.*
petiginosus, 1, 12
serniosus, *Id. ib.*

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
anhelosus, *Acut.* 2, 28, 148
anxiosus, *Chron.* 3, 8, 103; *al.*
bromosus,[16] *Acut.* 2, 37; *al.*
cachinnosus, *Id.* 1, 3, 41
capillosus,[17] *Chron.* 5, 4, 53
corporosus, *Acut.* 3, 17, 148
fellosus, *Chron.* 4, 6, 91
flammosus, *Acut.* 3, 17, 174; *al.*
iecorosus,[18] *Chron.* 3, 4, 49
medicosus, *Id.* 2, 1, 59; *al.*
mellosus, *Acut.* 2, 29, 151
mortuosus, *Id.* 1, 3, 38; *al.*
panosus, *Chron.* 1, 4, 91; *al.*

[1] Veg. Vet. [2] Veg. Vet. [3] Lampr.; Pall.; Plin. Val.; Eccl. [4] Cael. Aur. [5] *Form ossosus* — Cael. Aur.; Thom. Thes. [6] Ven. Fort. [7] Cael. Aur. [8] Cod. Iust. [9] Prud.; Sedul. [10] Augustin.; Ps.-Cypr.; *adu.* — Cassiod. [11] Ps.-Ambros. [12] Gloss. Hildebr. [13] Seru. ad. Aen. [14] *Form -erosus,* — Zeno 1, tr. 15, 6. [15] Gloss. Philox. [16] *Form brumosus, conf.* Pauck. Subrel. Add. Lex., *s. u.* [17] Prob. App. 199, 28. [18] Sidon.

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pulsuosus, *Acut.* 2, 14, 91; *al.*
putruosus, *Chron.* 2, 14, 205
ramentosus, *Id.* 4, 3, 41
ruginosus, *Acut.* 1, 11, 86
sanguinosus, *Id.* 3, 4, 30
somniosus, *Id.* 3, 5, 51
stimulosus, *Chron.* 5, 9, 90; *al.*
tractuosus,[1] *Acut.* 2, 32, 167
tussiculosus, *Id.* 2, 13, 90
uentriculosus, *Id.* 3, 17, 143; *al.*
uesiculosus, *Id.* 3, 17, 171

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
cantilenosus, *Ep.* 3, 14; *al.*
praesumptiosus, *Id.* 1, 11
tofosus, *Id.* 3, 13
tribulosus, *Id.* 3, 2; *al.*
uluosus, *Id.* 1, 5; *al.*
uoluminosus, *Carm.* 9, 76

VENANTIVS FORTVNATVS.
aristosus, *Misc.* 10, 3, 325 *M.*
florosus, *Carm.* 5, 6, 7

ALDHELMVS.
bombosus, *Laud. Virg.* 20
coulosus, *de Gram.* (*Class. Auct. Vol.* 5, *p.* 579).
lapillosus, *Septen.* 218 *t.* 89 *M.*

§ 32. ADJECTIVES IN **-lentus**: These adjectives, like those in **-bundus**, are both archaic and vulgar.[2] Out of a total of 63 cited by Paucker in his Materialien,[3] only 14 are counted by him as of "ciceronischer oder gleichwerther Attestation," and of these I have failed to find more than 11 in Cicero: *fraudulentus, luculentus, lutulentus, opulentus, potulentus, puluerulentus, temulentus, truculentus, turbulentus, uinolentus, uiolentus.* As but 28 of the 63 are *recc.*, *uett.* 35, Cic. used less than one-third of *uett.* Plautus has 11, of which only 5, *luculentus, lutulentus, fraudulentus, opulentus, truculentus,* became classic. Cato and Titin. each added 2 to the language, Enn. and Laeu. 1 each. Silver Latin has only 3 new forms, Cels. 2, Scrib. 1. With the archaists Gell. and Apul. they become more numerous: the former uses not less than 7, two of them new, *amarulentus, uirulentus;* Apul. has 14, 5 from Plaut., *luculentus, macilentus, mustulentus, pisculentus, truculentus;* 6 are new and 3 peculiar to Apul., *farinulentus, glebulentus, iussulentus;* only 4 out of the 14 are Ciceronian. Later formations are comparatively rare but are sufficiently frequent to show that the suffix lived in the popular speech; in so late a writer as Aldhelmus one example occurs, *pompulentus.* The suffix has survived in the Romance languages;[4] compare **Ital.**, *sonnolento;* **Fr.**, *sanglant;* **Span.**, *feculento, soñoliento;* and as new formations,

[1] Plin. Val.
[2] Compare Landgraf, Blätt. f. bayer. Gymn. VII, p. 320; Schmilinsky, p. 39; Rönsch, p. 138 sq. [3] Pauck. Material. IV, p. 20 sq. [4] Diez, p. 681; Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr., II, p. 483.

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Ital., *famulento, puzzolento;* **Span.**, *friolento;* **O. Fr.**, *famolent, pullent;* **Prov.**, *suzolen, famolen.*

PLAVTVS.
bucculentus, *Merc.* 639
corpulentus,[1] *Epid.* 10
frustulentus, *Curc.* 313
macilentus,[2] *Capt.* 647
mustulentus,[3] *Cist.* 382
pisculentus,[4] *Rud.* 907
truculentus,[5] *Truc.* 265; *al.*

ENNIVS.
gracilentus,[6] *Ann.* 259

CATO.
rorulentus,[7] *R. R.* 37, 4
purulentus,[8] *Id.* 157, 3

TITINIVS.
lotilentus, *Com.* 137
obstrudulentus, *Id.* 165

LAEVIVS.
pestilentus, *Fr. ap. Gell.* 19, 7, 7
silentus, *Id. ib.*

VARRO.
aquilentus, *Sat. Men.* 400

CELSVS.
faeculentus,[9] 5, 26, 19
iurulentus, 1, 6; *al.*

GELLIVS.
amarulentus,[10] 3, 17, 4
uirulentus,[11] 16, 11, 2

APVLEIVS.
farinulentus, *Met.* 9, 5
foetulentus,[12] *Apol.* 7
glebulentus, *Deo Socr.* 8
iussulentus, *Apol.* 39, *extr.*
somnolentus,[13] *Met.* 1, 26; *al.*
suc(c)ulentus,[14] *Id.* 2, 22

TERTVLLIANVS.
caenulentus,[15] *Pall.* 4
sordulentus, *de Poen.* 11 *in.*

SOLINVS.
carnulentus,[16] 2, 41; *al.*
florulentus,[17] 7, 18
spinulentus, 46, 4

AMMIANVS.
crapulentus, 29, 5, 54

PRVDENTIVS.
aurulentus,[18] περὶ στεφ. 12, 49
rosulentus,[19] *Id.* 3, 199
terrulentus, *Ham. Praef.*, *al.*

MARCELLVS EMPIRICVS.
febriculentus, 22, 13

FVLGENTIVS.
marculentus, 2, 8
merulentus, 1 *Praef. p.* 13 *M.*

ALDHELMVS.
pompulentus, *de Re Gramm.* (*in Auct. Class.* 5, 565).

[1] Paul. ex Fest.; Col.; Quint.; Gell.; Tert.; Chalcid. Tim.; Hier.; Vulg. [2] Apul.; Pall.; Pelag. Vet.; Non.; Hier.; Vulg. [3] Varr.; Apul. Met. [4] Cato; Solin.; *subst.* — Apul. [5] Ter.; Cornif. Rhet.; Cic. Sest.; Catull.; Hor.; Ov.; Plin.; Tac.; Quint.; Val. Max.; Apul.; Spart.; Augustin. [6] Gell. [7] Acc. Tr.; Col.; Plin.; Solin. [8] Cels.; Sen.; Plin.; Pelag. Vet. [9] Plin.; Apul.; Solin.; Veget.; Arnob.; Pall.; Augustin. [10] Macr. [11] Cassiod. [12] Arnob. [13] Solin.; Ambros. [14] Hier.; Prud.; Paul. Nol. [15] Ambros. [16] Prud. [17] Ambros.; Prud.; Salu.; Peruig. Ven. [18] Ven. Fort. [19] Mart. Cap.

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§ 33. ADJECTIVES IN **-urnus, -turnus**; In the classic language these adjectives were limited to *diurnus, diuturnus, nocturnus, taciturnus.* A few other sporadic examples occur :

alburnus,[1] *Gloss. Mai. Cl. Auct., Vol.* 6 ; *s.m.* = *Auson.* ; *s.n.* = *Plin.* ; *nom. propr., conf. infra.*
longiturnus, *Vulg. Baruch.* 4, 35
mensurnus, *Cypr. Ep.* 34, 4 ; *Nouat.*
somnurnus, *Varr. Sat. Men.* 427

These words have been treated by Pott,[2] who points out that *somnurnus* is formed regularly on the model of *diurnus*, while *mensurnus* is the result of false analogy. In early Latin the suffix must have had a wider scope, as is indicated by the numerous proper names of this form, of deities and localities, as

Alburnus, (*deus*), *Tert. adu. Marc.* 1, 18
Iuturna (*dea*), *Verg. Aen.* 12, 146 ; *al.*
Lacturnus, (*deus*), *Aug. Ciu. Dei.*
***Liburnus,** (*deus*), *Arnob.* 4, 9
Manturna, (*dea*), *Aug. Ciu. Dei* 6, 9
Saturnus, (*deus*), *passim.*
Alburnus, (*mons*), *Verg. Ge.* 3, 146
Taburnus, (*mons*), *Id.* 2, 38

I am inclined to believe that the suffix survived in the rustic language. Rönsch[3] has cited *longiturnus, mensurnus, somnurnus*, in his lists of plebeian forms, and the presence of several unmistakable instances of this formation in Italian seems to justify his view. Diez cites **Ital.**, *musorno, piorno, sajorno* ; **Span.**, *piorno.*[4]

§ 34. PARTICIPIAL ADJECTIVES IN **-atus**: These adjectives are formed on the model of participles from denominative verbs in **-are**, and logically they should be considered under that head.[5] But as they are treated like adjectives in the *sermo plebeius*, and formed at will from almost any substantive, apparently without thought of the corresponding verbal forms, it has seemed best to group them separately, so that the abundance of them in plebeian authors will be more apparent, reserving a detailed discussion of them for the section on

[1] Cited by Nettleship, Contrib. Lat. Lex., p. 114, comparing somnurnus, taciturnus.
[2] *Conf.* Stuenkel, p. 52, citing Pott, E. F. II, p. 1036; Corssen, Aussprache, I, p. 236. [3] Rönsch, p. 138. [4] Diez, p. 685. [5] *Conf. infra*, § 51.

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denominative verbs. Their plebeian character has been frequently noticed by the authorities.[1]

PLAVTVS.
aculeatus,[2] *Bacch.* 63
aleatus,[3] *Most.* 48
amussitatus, *Mil.* 632
ansatus,[4] *Pers.* 308
anulatus,[5] *Poen.* 981
argentatus,[6] *Pseud.* 312
caesariatus,[7] *Mil.* 768
columnatus,[8] *Id.* 211
eburatus,[9] *Stich.* 377; *al.*
hostiatus, *Rud.* 270
impluuiatus,[10] *Epid.* 224
ingeniatus,[11] *Mil.* 731
iubatus,[12] *Amph.* 1108
manuleatus,[13] *Pseud.* 738
nimbatus, *Poen.* 348
oculatus,[14] *Truc.* 490
ostreatus, *Poen.* 398
patibulatus, *Most.* 56

ENNIVS.
runatus, *Ann.* 576
tutulatus,[15] *Id.* 124

CATO.
alueatus, *R. R.* 43, 1
arenatus,[16] *Id.* 18, 8
faecatus, *Id.* 11, 4
laserpiciatus,[17] *Id.* 116

CAECILIVS.
atratus,[18] *Com.* 268

TITINIVS.
fimbriatus,[19] *Com.* 138

CASSIVS HEMINA.
citratus, (*citra*), 4, *Fr.* 37

LVCILIVS.
aceratus,[20] *Sat.* 9, 47
adipatus,[21] *Id.* 5, 10
capitatus,[22] *Id.* 2, 21
papaueratus,[23] *Inc. Fr.* 139

POMPONIVS.
coleatus, *Com.* 40; *al.*

VARRO.
compluuiatus,[24] *R. R.* 1, 8, 2
costatus, (*costa*), *Id.* 2, 5, 8
decemplicatus, *L. L.* 6, 38
fabatus,[25] *ap. Non.* 341, 28
loculatus, *R. R.* 3, 17, 4
murtatus,[26] *L. L.* 5, 110
ocellatus,[27] *Sat. Men.* 283
petasatus,[28] *Id.* 410
reticulatus,[29] *R. R.* 3, 7, 3

[1] Schulze, Diss. Hal., VI, p. 181, "Reblingius (p. 25) recte affert, adjectiua in -atus, quae fere omnia sunt participia perfecti passiui, praecipue uulgaria sunt." *conf.* Rönsch, p. 142; Guericke, p. 36.

[2] Cic. ad. Att. *et semel*, (Acad. 2, 75); Plin. [3] Donat. Ter. Phorm. [4] Enn.; Varr. L. L.; Col.; Decret. Vet. [5] Apul. Met. [6] Liu.; Lampr.; Vopisc. [7] Apul.; Tert. [8] Ambros.; Ampel. [9] Lampr. [10] Non. [11] Gell.; Apul.; Chalcid. Tim. [12] Cornif. Rhet.; Varr. L. L.; Liu.; Plin. [13] Sen. Ep.; Suet. [14] Plin.; Tert.; Arnob.; Hier.; Fulg.; Mart. Cap.; Cassiod.; Ven. Fort.; Adhelm. [15] Pompon. Com. [16] Vitr.; Plin. [17] Plin. [18] *Acc. Tr.; *Cic. *semel*, (Vat. 30); Prop.; Tac.; Suet.; Amm.; Macr. Sat. [19] Plin.; Apul.; Auct. Itin. Alex.; Schol. Iuu. [20] Paul. ex Fest.; Non. [21] Cic., *semel*, (Or. 25); Iuuen.; Charis. [22] Varr.; Col.; Iulian. ap. Augustin. [23] *Conf.* Plin. 8. 195. [24] Plin. [25] Fest.; s. *f.*, *fabata*, (— *puls*), Plin. 18, 118 *Ian.* [26] Plin. [27] Suet.; Gl. Labb. [28] Cic. Ep.; Suet.; Inscrr. [29] Vitr.; Plin.

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sculponeatus, *Sat. Men.* 457
ualuatus,[1] *L. L.* 8, 29
undulatus,[2] *ap. Non.* 189, 25

LVCRETIVS.
uiuatus,[3] 3, 409; *al.*

CATVLLVS.
uirgatus,[4] 64, 319

HORATIVS.
ocreatus,[5] *Sat.* 2, 3, 234

VITRVVIVS.
displuuiatus, 6, 3, 1
frontatus, 2, 8, 7
lingulatus,[6] 8, 6, 8
*mammatus,[7] 7, 4, 2
puluinatus,[8] 1, 2, 6; *al.*
securiclatus,[9] 10, 10, 3
stadiatus, 5, 11, 3
stolatus,[10] 1, 1, 5
sulfuratus,[11] 8, 3, 2
testudinatus,[12] 2, 1, 4

CELSVS.
capitulatus,[13] 8, 1
piperatus,[14] 4, 26
resinatus,[15] 2, 24; *al.*

COLVMELLA.
brachiatus,[16] 5, 5, 9
cantheriatus, 5, 4, 1
characatus, 5, 4, 1; *al.*
corticatus,[17] 12, 23, 1
denticulatus,[18] 2, 20, 3; *al.*
malleatus,[19] 12, 19, 4
nitratus,[20] 12, 57, 1
*normatus,[21] 3, 13, 12
paleatus,[22] 5, 6, 13
scabratus, 4, 24, 22
scalpratus, 9, 15, 9
uericulatus, 2, 20, 3

PERSIVS.
balanatus,[23] 4, 37
cirratus,[24] 1, 29
farratus,[25] 4, 30
peronatus, 5, 102

PETRONIVS.
prasinatus, 28, 8
rubricatus,[26] 46, 7
staminatus, 41, 12

PLINIVS.
albiceratus, 15, 18
aluminatus,[27] 31, 59
apiatus,[28] 13, 97
bituminatus, 31, 59
canaliculatus, 19, 119; *al.*
cauceatus, 9, 13; *al.*
colostratus, (*s. m.*) 28, 123
conchatus, 10, 43; *al.*
crebratus,[29] 11, 81
cultellatus,[30] 8, 91; *al.*
cultratus, 13, 80
cylindratus, 18, 125
digitatus, 11, 256
echinatus, 15, 92; *al.*
fluuiatus,[31] 16, 196
foliatus,[32] 13, 15
gradatus,[33] 13, 29
mucronatus, 32, 15; *al.*

[1] Vitr. [2] Plin. [3] *Conf.* Fest. 376 (a), 15. [4] Verg.; Sen.; Sil.; Val. Fl. [5] Plin. [6] Isid. [7] Plin. [8] Plin. [9] Plin. [10] Calig. ap. Suet.; Petr.; Mart.; Hier.; Inscrr. [11] Sen.; Cels.; Mart.; Tert.; *s. n. pl.* — Mart.; Plin. [12] *Conf.* Fest. 243, 7; *form -eatus* — Col. [13] Plin.; (-are, Gloss.) [14] Col.; Petr.; Mart.; Ps.-Apic.; Sidon. [15] Plin.; Mart.; Iuuen. [16] Plin. [17] Pall. [18] Plin. [19] Vlp. Dig. [20] Mart. [21] Diom. [22] Plin. [23] Prisc.; Thom. Thes. [24] Mart.; Capit.; Amm.; Augustin. [25] Iuuen.; Spart. [26] Auct. Priap.; Itala; Augustin.; Marc. Emp. [27] Marc. Emp. [28] Th. Prisc. [29] Alcim. [30] Gromat. Vet. [31] *-are* — Gloss. [32] Mart.; Iuuen.; Apul. Met. [33] Plin. Ep.

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muricatus,[1] 20, 262
ouatus, 15, 85; *al.*
persollata, 25, 113; *al.*
rigoratus, 17, 211
ruderatus, 21, 20
russatus, 7, 186
rutatus,[2] 19, 156
sandaracatus, 35, 177
scutulatus,[3] 11, 81; *al.*
solatus,[4] (*sol.*), 29, 118
teporatus, 36, 199
thoracatus, 35, 69
tubulatus,[5] 9, 130
turbinatus,[6] 37, 56; *al.*
uertebratus, 11, 177; *al.*
uirgulatus, 9, 109
umbilicatus, 13, 32

MARTIALIS.
amethystinatus, 2, 57, 2
baeticatus, 1, 96, 5
canusinatus,[7] 9, 23, 9
cerussatus,[8] 7, 25, 2; *al.*
coccinatus,[9] 1, 96, 6; *al.*
galbinatus, 3, 82, 5
guttatus,[10] 3, 53, 15
mutuniatus,[11] 3, 73, 1; *al.*
palliolatus,[12] 9, 33, 1
pexatus, 2, 58, 1
sistratus, 12, 29, 19
spleniatus, 10, 22, 1

IVVENALIS.
caligatus,[13] 3, 321
segmentatus,[14] 6, 89

AVCT. PRIAP.
*fibratus, 51, 22
mentulatus, 36, 11

APVLEIVS.
caloratus,[15] *Met.* 6, 23
caseatus,[16] *Id.* 1, 4
cauliculatus, *Herb.* 90
lenticulatus, *Id. ib.*
tesseratus, *Met.* 8, 28

MINVCIVS FELIX.
ungulatus,[17] 22, 5

TERTVLLIANVS.
disciplinatus,[18] *Fug. in Persec.* 1
feturatus, *adu. Valent.* 25
linguatus,[19] *Anim.* 3
lucernatus, *ad Vxor.* 2, 6
luridatus, *adu. Marc.* 4, 8
pigmentatus,[20] *Cult. Fem. fin.*
praeputatus,[21] *adu. Marc.* 5, 9
quadrangulatus,[22] *Anim.* 17
speciatus, *adu. Herm.* 40
squamatus,[23] *Apol.* 21
stuporatus, *Cult. Fem.* 2, 3

SOLINVS.
amiculatus, 52, 19

SPARTIANVS.
bucellatum,[24] *s. n.*, *Pesc. Nig.* 19, 4; *al.*

LAMPRIDIVS.
dalmaticatus, *Comm.* 8, 8; *al.*
mastichatus, *Heliog.* 19, 4
puleiatum,[25] *s. n.*, (*uinum*) *Id.* 19
suminatus, *Alex. Seu.* 22, 8
uasatus, *Heliog.* 5, 3; *al.*

VOPISCVS.
specillatus, *Prob.* 4, 5

[1] Fulg. Myth. [2] Mart.; Pelag. Vet. [3] Pall.; Schol. Iuuen.; Isid.; *s. n. pl.* — Iuuen.; Vulg.; Cod. Theod. [4] *s. n.*, Fest. 300 sq. [5] Plin. Ep. [6] Inscrr. [7] Suet. [8] Cod. Theod. [9] Suet. [10] Pall. [11] Auct. Priap.; *form mutoniatus*, — Gloss. Labb. [12] Suet.; Vopisc. [13] Suet.; Vlp. Dig. [14] Symm. Ep.; Isid.; Act. Fratr. Arual. [15] Psued.-Apic.; Fulg. Myth.; Porphyr. ad Hor.; Isid. [16] Hier. Ep. [17] Tert.; Mart. Cap. [18] Vulg.; Alcim. Auit. [19] Vulg.; Augustin.; Anthol. Lat.; (*-are* — Gloss.) [20] Prud.; Hier. [21] Eccl. [22] Vulg.; Eccl. [23] Vulg.; *s. m.* — * Isid. [24] Amm.; Augustin.; Cod. Theod. [25] *adi.* — Veget.

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FIRMICVS MATERNVS.
sensatus,[1] 3, 10; *al.*

PALLADIVS.
cuminatus,[2] 12, 22, 5
gummatus, 11, 12, 6
manubriatus,[3] 1, 43, 2

PLINIVS VALERIANVS.
anisatum, *s. n.*, 5, 34
chymiatus, 2, 18
laseratus,[4] 1, 21
thymatus, 1, 22
uiscellatus, 2, 17

PELAGONIVS.
furnatus, *Vet.* 29
mixturatus, *Id.* 71
uermigeratus, *Id.* 278

AMMIANVS.
tropaeatus, 23, 5, 17

VEGETIVS.
acutatus, *Vet.* 1, 22

AMBROSIVS.
toxicatus,[5] *de Tob.* 7, 26

HIERONYMVS.
farinatus, *Nom. Hebr. col.* 8
fuliginatus, *Ep.* 54, 7
inuittatus, *Reg. Pach.* 101

AVGVSTINVS.
liciatus, *Ciu. Dei* 22, 14; *al.*
situatus, *ad Fr. Erem. Serm.* 37
uxoratus, *Serm.* 116, 4 *Mai*; *al.*

MARCELLVS EMPIRICVS.
caniculatus, 14, 64
ficatum,[6] *s. n.*, 22, 34
susinatus, 7, 20

THEODORVS PRISCIANVS.
sambucatus, *de Diaet.* 12
saponatum, *s. n.*, 1, 16

PSEVDO-APICIVS.
anethatus, 6, 239; *al.*
conchiclatus, 5, 4
coriandratus, 8, 388
insiciatus, (esiciatus), 8, 402; *al.*
iuscellatus, 8, 394
liquaminatus, 8, 373; *al.*
oenogaratus, 8, 329; *al.*
omentatus, 2, 40
rapulatus, 4, 153

MARTIANVS CAPELLA.
perpendiculatus, 6, 593
sertatus, 1, 35; *al.*

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
carnatus, *Chron.* 1, 4, 95
meratus, *Id.* 1, 1, 17; *al.*

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
aureatus, *Carm.* 9, 396
castorinatus, *Ep.* 5, 7
foraminatus, *Id.* 2, 2
sapphiratus, *Poet. Ep.* 2, 10
tiaratus, *Ep.* 8, 3
tintinnabulatus, *Id.* 2, 2

FVLGENTIVS.
centratus, *Myth.* 1, 11
pecuatus, *in Moral.* 35

VENANTIVS FORTVNATVS.
margaritatus, 8, 6, 266
sculpturatus, 9, 15, 8

ISIDORVS.
cucullatus, 19, 24, 17
laculatus, 22, 19, 11
manicleatus, 19, 22, 8
phoenicatus,[7] 12, 1, 49
sphingatus, 20, 11, 3

[1] Vulg. [2] Ps.-Apic. [3] Amm. [4] Ps.-Apic.; Beda. [5] Mythogr. Lat. [6] Ps.-Apic.; Cael. Aur.; Anthol. Lat. [7] Form *-ciatus*, Serv. Verg. Ge. 3, 82.

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§ 35. ADJECTIVES IN **-inus**: Aside from the *nomina gentilia* in **-inus**, as *Latinus, Praenestinus*, etc., forms in **-inus, -a, -um** are not numerous, and although belonging largely to the older language, are rare in writers of the best period. Paucker's list,[1] which, while not exhaustive, is sufficiently complete to form a basis for comparison, contains, exclusive of the distributive numerals *bini, trini*, etc., 192 forms. Of these, 135, or over 70%, are *uett.*, yet I have been able to find in Cic., aside from the *Epistt.*, only the following 23 examples, most of them prevalent throughout the language:

caprinus,	inquilinus,	pistrinum,
clandestinus,	intestinus,	popina,
concubinus, -na,	libertinus,	pruina,
culina,	marinus	repentinus,
equinus,	matutinus,	sagina,
genuinus,	medicinus, -na,	sobrinus -na,
haedinus,	officina,	supinus.
haruspicinus,	peregrinus,	

A majority of the adjectives of this termination are derived from the names of animals, and in these the importance of the class centres, in regard to the *sermo plebeius*. Out of Paucker's list, 104, considerably more than half, are thus formed, *uett.* 65, *recc.* 29. Of these the majority occur in early comedy and in the Scriptt. R. R. Their use by classic writers is chiefly confined to proverbial expressions, in which they are frequent at all periods of the language, a further evidence of their popular character. I have found only 5 in Cic., *caprinus, *equinus, haedinus, miluinus, columbinus*, the last two in the *Epistt.*, and both used proverbially, *plures pauones confeci, quam tu pullos* columbinos, *ad Fam.* 9, 18, 3; *Licinium plagiarium cum suo pullo* miluino, *ad Qu. Fr.* 1, 2, 2, § 6, with which may be compared Plaut. *Pseud.* 851, *an tu inuenire postulas quemquam coquum, nisi* miluinis *aut* aquilinis *ungulis ?*; Petr. 42, *mulier quae mulier* miluinum *genus*; Apul. *Met.* 6, 27, miluinos *oculos effugere.*[2]

I have found no occurrence of such adjectives in Caes. or Nep. Sall. has two instances, *ferinus, caninus*, the latter quoted from Appius, in the phrase *canina facundia*, which is an especially frequent popular metaphor; compare Ouid. *Ib.* 230,

[1] Paucker, Spicilegium, p. 203, *not.* 53. [2] Otto, Tiersprichwörtern, ALL., III, p. 395, "Der Falke erscheint sprichwörtlich als gierig und hungrig."

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latrare canina *uerba in foro;* Quint. 12, 9, 9, canina, *ut ait Appius, eloquentia;* Pers. 1, 109, canina *littera;* Colum. 1, *praef*, 9, *sed ne* caninum *quidem sicut dixere ueteres locupletissimum quemque adlatrandi;* Petr. 42, *ego uerum dicam, qui linguam* caninam *comedi;* Hier. *Ep.* 50, 1, *libros* canino *dente rodere*, etc.[1]

On the other hand these adjectives are frequent in all the usual sources of plebeian Latin. Plaut. is fond of them, using no less than 15, of which 4, *catulinus, formicinus, noctuinus, soricinus*, are ἅπαξ εἰρημένα. They occur largely in proverbial expressions and metaphors; *e.g.*, *Rud.* 533, *utinam fortuna nunc hic* anetina *uterer; Truc.* 780, *quamquam uos* colubrino *ingenio ambae estis; Men.* 888, *moue* formicinum *gradum; Pseud.* 967, *Heus tu, qui cum* hirquina *barba astas; Curc.* 191, *Tune etiam cum* noctuinis *oculis odium me uocas? Epid.* 18, *caprigenum hominum non placet mihi neque* pantherinum *genus*, etc. The satirists, as usual, are well represented. Lucil. has 3, 1 from Plaut., 2 new; Hor. has 5, only one of which occurs in the *Carm.*, and that in a proverbial phrase, *Carm.* 1, 8, 9, *sanguine* uiperino *cautius uitare;* In *Ep.* 1, 18, 15, he has another proverb, *de lana* caprina *rixari*, with which compare Varr. *Sat. Men.* 71, caprinum *proelium.* Pers., besides the *canina littera* above cited, has the undoubtedly vulgar form *caballinus*, in his Prologue. From Iuuen. may be cited *Sat.* 14, 251, *longa et* ceruina *senectus; Id.* 16, 21, *dignum erit* . . . mulino *corde Vagelli; Id.* 10, 271, canino *rictu.* As further instances of such popular phrases, compare Phaedr. *App.* 23, (Anth. Lat. 822 *R.*), *ubi leonis pellis deficit* uolpina *est induenda;* Varr. *Sat. Men.* 575, *prandium* caninum; Apul. *Met.* 2, 9, coruina *nigredine*, (*conf.* Petr. 43, *niger tamquam coruus*)[2]; Dig. 17, 2, 29, § 2, *Aristo refert: Cassium respondisse, societatem talem coiri non posse ut alter lucrum tantum, alter damnum sentiret, et hanc societatem* leoninam *solitum appellare.*

But it is in the Scriptt. R. R. that these adjectives abound. Thus Varr. has 14, only 8 of which are found earlier; Col. and Pall. have 7 each, the majority from Varr., while Plin. is the most prolific of all, using 23 from the older language, and adding 11 others. In the Scriptt. R. R. these words are largely used in connection with *stercus*, or *fimus*, as *s. asininum*, Varr.

[1] Otto, *l. l.*, p. 390. [2] Otto, *l. l.*, p. 384, "Wie der Weisse Schwan, so ist auch der schwartze Rabe sprichwörtlich."

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1, 38, 2; *f. caballinus*, Plin. 29, 102; *s. caprinus*, Cato *R. R.* 36; *s. equinum*, Varr. *R. R.* 1, 38, 3; *f. murinus*, Plin. 29, 106; *f. taurinus*, Id. 28, 232; etc. It may have been partly this association which caused these adjectives to be avoided by the best writers.

Like some other classes prevalent in rustic Latin, these adjectives have given rise to numerous names of Divinities; e. g.,

Cunina, *Varr. ap. Non.* 167, 32; *Lact.; Augustin.*
Fabulinus, *Varr. ap. Non.* 532, 27
Iugatinus, *Aug. Ciu. Dei* 6, 7
Libentina, *Varr. L. L.* 6, 48; *al.*
Limentina, *Tert. Idol.* 15; *al.; Arnob.*
Lucina, *passim*,
Meditrina, *Paul. ex Fest. p.* 123, 15
Montinus, *Arnob.* 49
Nemestrinus, *Id.* 4, 7
Potina, *Varr. ap. Non.* 108, 19; *Augustin.*
Rusina, *Augustin. C. D.* 4, 8
Rumina, *Varr. R. R.* 2, 11, 5; *al.*
Sentinus, *Id. ap. Aug. Ciu. Dei* 7, 2; *Tert.*
Statina, *Tert. adu. Nat.* 2, 11; *al.*
Tutilina, *Varr. L. L.* 5, 163; *et Al.*
Volutina, *Aug. Ciu. Dei* 4, 8

As has been said, these adjectives became less popular in the later language; they occur abundantly, however, in the Romance languages,[1] owing partly, perhaps, to their fusion with forms in **-ĭnus**, caused by the shifting of accent to the short vowel in the latter suffix. Like some other suffixes denoting resemblance, **-inus** acquired later a diminutive force, the idea of resemblance merging in that of not quite equaling, and so of being inferior to, or smaller than, the object of comparison.[2] That the transition began in Latin is shown by the examples cited by Paucker, *mollicina* (*uestis*), quoted from Nou. Pedio by Non., and a still stronger case from the Nott. Tir. '*geminus, gemellus, gemininus.*'[3] In the modern languages the prevailing force of the suffix is diminutive, especially in **Ital.** and **Port.**, where it is frequent both with subst. and adj.;[4] thus **Ital.**, subst. *bambino, botteghino, chiesino, principino, signorino, tavolino;* adj. *bellino, bonino, pianino;* **Span.**, subst. *collarin, labrantin; anadino, palomino, porcino;* adj. *verdino;* **Port.**, *cophino, filhino;* adj. *branquinho, docezhino, rotinho*, etc. In **Fr.** the diminutive force is less frequent; Diez cites only *fortin, ignorantin.*[5]

[1] Diez, p. 649 sq.; Meyer-Lübke, § 490. [2] *Conf. infra*, § 39; Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr. II, p. 493; *conf. contra* Goelzer, p. 154, "Il y en a un autre en Latin; c'est un suffixe plutot grec que latin; il a la valeur d'un diminutif et se retrouve non seulement dans les langues romanes, mais même dans le latin du moyen-âge (casina vallina)," citing Schwabe, De deminutiuis graecis et latinis, Gissae, 1859, p. 57. [3] Paucker, Spicilegium, p. 204, *not.* 58. [4] Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr. II, p. 493. [5] Diez, p. 651, but compare Etienne, de Deminutiuis, etc. in Francogallico sermone nominibus, Paris, 1883, p. 61, sq.

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In the following list, forms not from names of animals are italicized.

NAEVIVS.
**orcinus,*[1] *ap. Gell.* 1, 24 *Codd.*

PLAVTVS.
agninus,[2] *Pseud.* 319
anetinus,[3] *Rud.* 533
aquilinus,[4] *Pseud.* 852
caninus,[5] *Cas.* 973
cantherinus,[6] *Men.* 395
catulinus, *ap. Paul. ex Fest.* 45, 3
clurinus,[7] *Truc.* 269
colubrinus,[8] *Id.* 780
formicinus, *Men.* 888
furinus, Pseud. 791
hircinus,[9] *Id.* 967
hirundininus,[10] *Rud.* 598
leoninus,[11] *Men.* 159
miluinus,[12] *Pseud.* 852
noctuinus, (*noctua*), *Curc.* 191
pantherinus,[13] *Epid,* 18 *G.*
soricinus, *Bacch.* 889

CATO.
caprinus,[14] *R.R.* 86
columbinus,[15] *Id. ib.*
pecuinus,[16] *Id.* 132, 2
ueterinus,[17] *ap. Fest. p.* 369

PACVVIVS.
anguinus,[18] *Tr.* 3

TERENTIVS.
mustelinus,[19] *Eun.* 689

TITINIVS.
femininus,[20] *Com.* 171

ACCIVS.
uiperinus,[21] *Tr.* 552

LVCILIVS.
aprinus,[22] *Fr. Inc.* 121
equinus,[23] *Sat.* 5, 21

POMPONIVS.
passerinus, *Com.* 177

VARRO.
asininus,[24] *R. R.* 1, 38, 2
ceruinus,[25] *Id.* 3, 9, 14
figlinus,[26] *Id.* 3, 9, 3
leporinus,[27] *Id.* 2, 11, 4
murinus,[28] *Sat. Men.* 358
pauoninus,[29] *R. R.* 3, 9, 10
paupertinus,[30] *ap. Non.* 162, 23
ricinus, (*rica*), *Sat. Men.* 433
*suinus,[31] *R. R.* 2, 4, 8 *codd.*
sutrinus,[32] *L. L.* 5, 93
tibinus, Sat. Men. 132

[1] Suet.; ICt. [2] Titin.; Varr.; Plin.; Pelag. Vet.; ICt. [3] *s.f.*—Petr. [4] Apul.; Tert.; Dar. Phryg. [5] Appius ap. Sall.; Lucil.; Varr.; Ou.; Cels.; Col.; Pers.; Petr.; Plin.; Iuuen.; Val. Max.; Tert.; Aur. Vict.; Hier.; Augustin. [6] Col.; Plin.; Pall. [7] Arnob. [8] Tert.; *s.f.*—Apul. [9] Hor. Sat.; Plin.; Apul.; Solin.; Arnob.; Prud.; Amm.; *s.f.*—Gloss. Labb. [10] Plin.; Mart. [11] Varr.; Vitr.; Plin.; Val. Max.; Vlp. Dig. [12] Cic. Q. Fr.; Col.; Plin.; Paul. ex Fest.; Solin. [13] Plin. [14] Varr.; Cic., *semel,* (N. D. 1, 29, 82); Hor. Ep.; Liv.; Col. [15] Varr.; Cic. Ep.; Hor.; Cels.; Plin.; Pall.; *s. m.*—Mart.; Edict. Diocl. [16] Apul. [17] Lucr.; Plin.; Arnob.; *s. f.*—Varr.; Plin. [18] Varr.; Catull.; Plin. [19] Plin. [20] Varr.; Plin.; Quint.; Apul.; Vlp. Dig.; Arnob.; Vulg. [21] Hor.; Plin.; Oros.; *s.f.*—Apul. [22] Solin.; Augustin.; Gloss. Labb. [23] Varr.; Cic., *semel,* ([a] Tusc. 5, 21, 62); Hor.; Vopisc.; Solin.; Vulg. [24] Plin.; Cael. Aur. [25] Hor.; Ou.; Calp.; Col.; Plin.; Iuuen.; Pall.; *s. f.*—Edict. Diocl. [26] Vitr.; Plin.; Cael. Aur.; *form -ulinus*—Arnob.; *s. f.*—Varr.; Plin.; Inscrr. [27] Cels.; Plin.; Lampr.; ICt.; *s. f.*—Gloss. Labb. [28] Col.; Plin.; Iustin.; Pall. [29] Col.; Petr.; Mart.; Tert.; Pall. [30] Gell.; Apul.; Arnob.; Symm.; Amm. [31] Prisc.; Th. Prisc. [32] Vitr.; Tac.; *s. f.*, *conf. supra,* § 22.

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LVCRETIVS.
ferinus,[1] 5, 1418
taurinus,[2] 6, 1069

VITRVVIVS.
mulinus,[3] 8, 3, 16

CELSVS.
anserinus,[4] 5, 21, 4
felinus, 5, 18, 15

PHAEDRVS.
masculinus,[5] 4, 14, 15
uulpinus,[6] 1, 28, 3

COLVMELLA.
pristinus, (*pristis*), 11, 2, 5; *al.*
ursinus,[7] *Arb.* 15

PERSIVS.
caballinus,[8] *Prol.* 1

PLINIVS.
**abacinus*, 35, 3, *ed. Detl.*
aluinus, 21, 172
camelinus,[9] 11, 261; *al.*
coruinus,[10] 10, 32
fibrinus,[11] 32, 110; *al.*
maiorinus,[12] 15, 15
uitellinus, 16, 177
palumbinus,[13] 30, 110
pullinus,[14] 8, 172
scrofinus,[15] 28, 163
spadoninus, 15, 130
struthocamelinus, 29, 96
subalpinus, 25, 71
tigrinus, 13, 96
uaccinus,[16] 28, 185
uulturinus,[17] 29, 123

GELLIVS.
beluinus,[18] 19, 2, 2

APVLEIVS.
naccinus, *Met.* 9, 27
simininus,[19] *Herb.* 86

TERTVLLIANVS.
molinus,[20] *adu. Marc.* 4, 35

PALLADIVS.
phasianinus,[21] 1, 29, 2

PLINIVS VALERIANVS.
capreolinus, 5, 30
ericinus,[22] 5, 33
gruinus,[23] *Id. ib.*
ibicinus, 5, 45
pecorinus,[24] 5, 43
struthioninus, 2, 30

AVCT. ITIN. ALEX.
subaquilinus, 6

VEGETIVS.
bubulinus,[25] *Vet.* 3, 4, 29; *al.*

AMBROSIVS.
serpentinus,[26] *in Luc.* 2, 2, 51
castorinus,[27] *de Dign. Sacerd.* 4

[1] Sall.; Verg.; Ou.; Sen.; Plin.; Gell.; Amm.; Porphyr. ad Hor.; *s.f.*—Verg.; Val. Fl.; Plin. [2] Catull.; Verg.; Ou.; Cels.; Plin.; Stat.; Claud.; Edict. Diocl.; *s.f.*—Anthol. Lat. [3] Plin.; Iuuen. [4] Col.; Petr.; Plin.; Gloss. Labb. [5] Plin.; Casell. Vindex ap. Gell.; Quint.; Apul.; Charis.; Grammatt.; *adu.*—Paul. ex Fest.; Arnob. [6] Plin.; Grat. [7] Plin.; Veget. Mil.; Gell.; Pall.; Isid.; Edict. Diocl.; *s.f.*—Petr. [8] Plin. [9] Arnob. [10] Apul. Met.; Vulg.; *nom. propr.*, Coruinus, *freq.* [11] Isid. [12] Cod. Theod. [13] Lampr.; Edict. Diocl. [14] Lampr.; Oribas.; *s. f.*—Ps.-Apic. [15] Marc. Emp.; *s. f.*—Plin. Val.; Gloss. Labb. [16] Marc. Emp. [17] Mart. [18] Prud.; Iul. Val.; Augustin. [19] *Iul. Obs. [20] *s. f.*—Amm.; Cassiod. [21] Plin. Val. [22] Augustin. [23] Marc. Emp. [24] On. Lat. Gr. [25] Marc. Emp.; Gargil.; Anthim. [26] Augustin. [27] Marc. Emp.

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HIERONYMVS.
eunuchinus, Ep. 22, 27
sturninus, *in Iesai.* 66, 20

AVGVSTINVS.
cloacinus,[1] *c. Faust.* 20, 11

MARCELLVS EMPIRICVS.
leopardinus,[2] 36, 5
taxoninus, *Id. ib.*

THEODORVS PRISCIANVS.
bouinus, *de Diaet.* 15
ouillinus, *Id.* 3; *al.*
porcellinus,[3] *Id.* 6

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
barrinus, *Ep.* 3, 13
ciconinus, *Id.* 2, 14

GREGORIVS TVRONENSIS.
suillinus, *H. F.* 10, 24

ANTHIMVS.
agnellinus, 5

§ 36. ADJECTIVES IN **-anus**: There are two groups of these adjectives which are of some interest in connection with the *sermo plebeius*: a. those derived from other adjectives; b. those formed by false analogy in **-ianus**.

a. Adjectives in **-anus** are formed normally from substantives. A few however occur, derived from adjectives, with no further difference in meaning than the increased emphasis gained by additional syllables, a class of formations thoroughly in keeping with the spirit of the *sermo plebeius*. They were first treated as such, by H. Schnorr v. Carolsfeld, who discusses them at some length in the Archiv f. Lat. Lex., (I, p. 188), and has been followed by Ulrich in his Programm on the use of words in Vitr.[4] The few examples which they are able to cite are confined chiefly to writers of inferior style. Lucil. affords the first, *decimanus*, in the sense of *magnus*, as *decimus* is often employed; compare Ou. *Met.* 11,530, *decimae ruit impetus undae.* Cic., aside from a single instance of *Punicanus*, has only *rusticanus*, usually coupled with a slight tinge of contempt, which suggests its kinship with the *sermo rusticus*; compare Apul., *rusticanus upilio.* Only the forms from numerals, *primanus, secundanus*, etc. have come into general use, and these always in some specialized sense, generally that of *milites primae, secundae*, etc., *legionis*; and even here the origin may be assigned to the *sermo castrensis.*

[1] (Venus) Cloacina, *freq.* [2] Ediot. Diocl. [3] Ps.-Apic.: Anthim.

[4] H. Schnorr v. Carolsfeld, l. l. "Diese Erscheinung gehört natürlich der Volkssprache an;" *conf.* Ulrich, Vitr. II, p. 4, "Sermonis uulgaris proprium fuisse adiectiui primitiui syllabarum numerum significatione non mutata augere comprobatur uocabulis in anus cadentibus."

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The relation of these forms to the Romance languages is well established. Compare with *medianus*, **Ital.** *mezzano*, **Fr.**, *moyen*, **Span.** *mediano*, and numerous new formations, **Ital.**, *certano*, *lontano*, *provano*; **Fr.**, *certain*, *lointain*, *prochain*, **Sp.**, *certano*, *tardano*, etc.[1]

The following are the more important forms cited in the Archiv:

LVCILIVS.
decimanus,[2] (= *magnus*), *Sat.* 4, 6

VARRO.
Punicanus,[3] *R. R.* 3, 7, 8

CICERO.
rusticanus,[4] *freq.*

VITRVVIVS.
medianus,[5] 5, 1, 6; *al.*

PLINIVS.
siccanus,[6] 16, 72
uarianus, (*uarius*), 14, 29

MARTIALIS.
orcinianus, 10, 5, 9

TREBELLIVS POLLIO.
Daciscanus, *Claud.* 17, 3
Illyricianus,[7] *Id.* 14

CHALCIDIVS.
aquilonianus, *Tim.* 66; *al.*

AVGVSTINVS.
Italicianus,[8] *Conf.* 6, 10

MARTIANVS CAPELLA.
secundanus, (= *secundus*) 1, 47; *al.*

COD. THEOD.
Castrensianus,[9] 6, 32

INSCRR.
Asiaticianus, *Inscrr. Orell.* 2642

b. Formations in **-ianus**, like *Caesarianus*, *Ciceronianus*, first arose through false analogy with forms from stems in **-io-**, **-ia**, the **-i-** being treated as if belonging to the suffix and not to the stem: thus *Augustus : Augustanus* = *Iulius : Iulianus* = *Caesar : Caesarianus*. Such usage was undoubtedly an outgrowth of the *sermo plebeius*. No example is to be found earlier than Cic., who aside from the *Epistt.*, admits no such forms in **-ianus**, except a few derived from nouns in **-o**, **-onis**, like *Milonianus*, *Orat.* 165, *Neronianus*, *de Orat.* 2,248, *Pisonianus*, *Har. Resp.* 2. Such a form as *Caesarianus* is not to be

[1] *Conf.* Dies, p. 647; ALL., I, p. 188; Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr. II, p. 490.
[2] Paul. ex Fest. p. 71, 5, decumana oua dicuntur et decumani fluctus, quia sunt magna. [3] Cic., *semel*, (Mur. 36, 75), *P. lectuli*, "also bei Gegenständen des täglichen Lebens," ALL., I, p. 188. [4] Apul.; Eutr.; Hier. Ep. [5] Vlp. Dig.; Veg. Vet.; Ps.-Apic.; Inscrr. [6] Pelag. Vet. [7] Cod. Theod. [8] Cod. Theod. [9] Cod. Iust.

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found in either Caes. or Cic.[1] The latter uses the adj. *Caesarinus, ad Att.* 16, 10. In the Auctt. Bell. Alex., Afr., and Hisp., however, the form *Caesarianus* becomes common, probably, as is suggested by H. Schnorr v. Carolsfeld, being borrowed from the *sermo castrensis.*[2] The same would seem probable of many of the instances found in the later historians, as they are largely designations of political factions, as the *Brutiani, Crassiani,* of Vell. Patr., or the *Galbiani* of Tac. Among the rare examples not derived from proper names, two deserve to be emphasized as originating in the *sermo circensis, prasiniani, uenetiani.* In later Latin this suffix largely replaced the original one **-anus,** and is common in the modern languages; compare **Ital.,** *italiano, prussiano, russiano,* **Fr.,** *indien, italien, phénicien, prussien.*

The following forms, cited in the Archiv, will serve to show the development of this suffix:

CICERO (EPISTT.).
Lepidianus,[3] *ad Att.* 16, 11, 8

AVCT. BELL. AFR.
Caesarianus,[4] 59
Labienianus, 21, 2

CORNELIVS NEPOS.
Tamphilianus, *Att.* 13, 2

CATVLLVS.
Thyonianus,[5] 27, 7

IVSTINVS.
Histrianus, 9, 2, 1.

SENECA RHETOR.
Montanianus, *Contr.* 9, 5, 17

VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS.
Brutianus,[6] 2, 72; *al.*
Crassianus,[7] 2, 82, 2

VALERIVS MAXIMVS.
Paulianus,[8] 8, 11, 1

SENECA.
Phryxiana,[9] *s. f., Ben.* 1, 3, 7
Seianianus, *ad Marc.* 1, 2, 3

COLVMELLA.
Dolabellianus,[10] 5, 10, 18; *al.*

PETRONIVS.
prasinianus,[11] 70, 10

PLINIVS.
Pseudodecimianus, 15, 54
Varianus,[12] 7, 149

MARTIALIS.
Capellianus, 11, 31, 17
Catullianus, 11, 6, 14

[1] ALL., I, p. 185. "ein Caesarianus ist also weder bei Cicero noch bei Caesar möglich, fehlt auch wirklich bei beiden!" [2] ALL. I, p. 185, "offenbar der Soldatensprache entnommen."

[3] Macr. Sat. [4] Auct. Bell. Hisp.; Auct. Bell. Afr.; Nep., *semel,* (Att. 7, 1); Cels.; Vopisc.; Serv. ad Verg.; Cod. Iust. [5] Auson. [6] Val. Max.; Lact. [7] Plin.; Flor. [8] ICt. [9] *Adj.,* Plin. [10] Plin. [11] Capit. [12] Suet.

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Cosmianus, 3, 82, 26; *al.*
Patroclianus, 12, 78, 9

TACITVS.
Augustianus,[1] *Ann.* 14, 15
Drusianus, *Id.* 2, 8
Galbianus, *Hist.* 1, 51
Lucullianus,[2] *Ann.* 11, 32, 37

SVETONIVS.
Marcellianus, *Vesp.* 19

TERTVLLIANVS.
Chrestianus, *Apol.* 29 *extr.*
Valentinianus,[3] *adu. Valent.* 1 *sq.*

VLPIANVS.
Sabinianus,[4] *Dig.* 24, 1, 11

IVLIVS PAVLVS.
Pegasianus,[5] *Sent.* 4, 3, 4

SPARTIANVS.
Commodianus,[6] *Nigid.* 6; *al.*
Marcianus,[7] *Seuer.* 7

CAPITOLINVS.
Faustinianus, *Anton. Pii* 8, 2; *al.*
uenetianus,[8] *Ver.* 6, 2

LAMPRIDIVS.
Agrippianus, *Alex. Seu.* 26, 7

Macrinianus, *Anton. Diad.* 1, 1
Probianus, *Alex. Seu.* 40, 6

AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS.
Constantinianus,[9] 27, 5, 1; *al.*
praefectianus,[10] 17, 3, 6; *al.*

SERVIVS.
Deiotarianus, *ad Aen.* 9, 546

AVGVSTINVS.
praetorianus, (*praetor*), *Conf.* 6, 10

MARTIANVS CAPELLA.
Caeciniana, *s.f.*, 5, 527
Murenianus, 5, 525

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
Symmachianus, *Ep.* 8, 10
Theodoricianus, *Id.* 2, 1 *extr.*

FVLGENTIVS.
magistrianus, *Cont. Verg. p.* 160 *M.*

INST. IVST.
Largianus,[11] 3, 7 *extr.*

CORIPPVS.
Iustinianus, *Ioh.* 5, 58

INSCRR.
Paelignianus, *Inscrr. Orell.* 5466

§ 37. ADJECTIVES IN **-arius**: These adjectives, comprising one of the most numerous classes in the language, are proportionately rare in the literature of the best period, but like all words in heavy suffixes, were popular in the *sermo plebeius.* As has already been shown, the masc. and fem., used substantively as *nomina personalia,* to denote tradesmen, artizans, etc.,

[1] Tert.; Gromat. Vet.; Inscrr. [2] Suet. Tib. 73 — Lucullanus, "also von Georges unrichtig Lucullianus zitiert," Schnorr v. Carolsfeld, ALL., 1, p. 186. [3] Lact.; Cod. Theod. [4] ICt. [5] Iust. Inst. [6] Capitol. [7] Capitol.; Inscrr. [8] Inscrr. [9] Cod. Theod. [10] Cod. Iust. [11] Cod. Iust.

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gained some acceptance in Ciceronian Latin, and became prevalent in the later literature.[1] On the contrary the purely adjective use of these forms belongs principally to the earlier period, as a study of Paucker's tables makes apparent.[2] He gives a total of 1170 forms in **-arius, -a, -um,** of which 499, about 42 %, are *uett.*, 671 *recc.* Of the former all but 25 % occur as adjectives, while of the *recc.* 409, or over 60 %, are found only as substantives. The remaining 262 are largely confined to the Inscriptions, or to the cumbersome phraseology of the jurists, which is a frequent vehicle for the preservation of archaisms. In the best period the limited number of these forms which occur as true adjectives fall largely into two categories: a. those borrowed from legal or mercantile phraseology; b. those pertaining to military matters, and therefore presumably due to the influence of the *sermo castrensis.* Of the 18 occurring in Caes. all but 6 (*aerarius, contrarius, extraordinarius, pecuniarius, temerarius, transuersarius*), may reasonably be assigned to the latter class:

actuarius, (*nauigium*),	frumentarius, (*res, nauis*),	sexcentarius, (*cohors*),
alarius, (*miles*),	legionarius, (*miles*),	stipendiarius, (*Aedui*),
ancorarius, (*funis*),	onerarius, (*nauis*),	subsidiarius, (*cohors*),
beneficiarius, (*miles*),	sarcinarius, (*iumentum*),	uoluntarius, (*miles*).

Cic. is somewhat more liberal in his use of these adjectives, employing outside of the *Epistt.*, 49, or about 10 % of the *uett.*, (4 % of the whole). Besides 9 forms, which he uses in common with Caes., (*actuarius, aerarius, contrarius, extraordinarius, frumentarius, pecuniarius, stipendiarius, temerarius, uoluntarius*), I have found the following forms, many of them evidently belonging to the legal (*Leg.*), or military (*Mil.*) speech:

admissarius, *semel*,	compendiarius, *semel*,
aduersarius,	consectarius, *semel*,
agrarius, (*Leg.*),	coronarius, (*Mil.*), *semel*,
anniuersarius, (*Leg.*),	dodrantarius, (*Leg.*),
aquarius, (*Leg.*),	extrarius,
arbitrarius, (*Leg.*),	Februarius,
auctionarius, (*Leg.*),	gregarius, (*Mil.*),
bustuarius, *semel*,	hereditarius, (*Leg.*),
Catilinarius, *semel*,	honorarius, (*Leg.*),

[1] *Conf. supra*, § 18.

[2] Paucker, Spicilegium, p. 233 sq.

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Ianuarius,
iudiciarius, (*Leg.*),
librarius, *semel*,
mercenarius,
mulierarius, *semel*,
necessarius,
nummarius, (*Leg.*),
olearius, *semel*,
penarius, *bis*.
primarius, *semel*,
protelarius, (*Leg.*),
quadrantarius, (*Leg.*),
secundarius,
solitarius,
statarius, *semel*,
talarius, *semel et Epp.*
testamentarius, (*Leg.*),
tignarius, *bis*,
tributarius, (*Leg.*)
uicarius, *semel*,
uinarius,
uoluptarius.

But the chief activity of these adjectives belongs to archaic and rustic Latin. The prevalence in Plaut. of such forms as *datarius*, *carcerarius*, *uirginarius*, etc., many of them ἅπαξ εἰρημένα, has been noticed by Lorenz, and Stuenkel has pointed out their abundance in the *R. R.* of Varr. and of Cato.[1] The latter is especially fertile in these forms, as is well exemplified in the 11th chapter: *operarios X, bubulcum I, asinarium I, salictarium I, . . . asinos plostrarios II, asinum molarium I: . . . frumentaria XX, . . . urceos mustarios X: . . . iugum plostrarium I, iugum uinarium I, iugum asinarium I, . . . urceos aquarios, . . . situlum aquarium I, . . . arcam uestiariam I, armarium promptarium I, . . . rotam aquariam I, labrum lupinarium I, sportas faecarias III, molas asinarias III, . . . falces . . . arborarias III, . . . crates stercorarias IIII, sirpeam stercorariam I, . . . faculas rustarias X*, etc. With this it is interesting to compare a line in the Cato Maior of Cic. where the archaic style of Cato seems to have been imitated: *semper enim boni assiduique domini referta cella uinaria, olearia, etiam penaria est, uillaque tota locuples est, abundat porco, haedo, agno, gallina, lacte, caseo, melle, C. M.* 18, 56. Of the 8 forms in **-arius** here occurring and all frequent in the Scriptt. R. R., *olearius* and *penarius* are found nowhere else in Cic., while a further proof of the archaic tone of the passage lies in the remarkable instance of asyndeton, which is a distinct characteristic of early Latin and of Cato in particular.[2]

[1] Lorenz, Pseud. 952; Stuenkel, p. 43; *conf.* Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI. p. 173.
[2] Holtze, Syntaxis, II, p. 212, "Maxime frequens est asyndeton in libro Catonis de re rustica"; *conf.* Nägelsbach, Stilist., p. 656.

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Further evidence of the prevalence of these forms in the *sermo rusticus* is afforded by the large number of names of plants formed from the feminine in **-aria**, with or without *herba; e.g., h. canaria*, Plin. 24, 176; *h. lactaria*, Id. 26, 62; *h. lanaria*, Id. 24, 168; *piuitaria*, Id. 23, 18; *sanguinaria*, Id. 27, 113; *h. uerrucaria*, Id. 22, 52; *uesicaria*, Id. 21, 177; *h. pedicularia*, Scrib. 166; *arboraria*, Apul. *Herb.* 98; *parietaria*, Id. 81; *satanaria*, Id. 94; *h. serpentaria*, Id. 5; *uitriaria*, Id. 81, (*h. perdicalem Latini . . . parietariam, alii uitriariam appellant*); *ulceraria*, Id. 45; *pulicaria*, Th. Prisc. 1, 10; *lucernaria*, Marc. Emp. 20; *h. balsamaria*, Plin. Val. 3, 15; *hortaria*, Ps.-Apic. 6, 224; *al.* Compare also the words in **-arium**, denoting locality, so abundant in the Scriptt. *R. R.*, *apiarium*, *columbarium*, and which have already been considered in the chapter on substantives.[1] That these forms are largely archaic or vulgar is apparent from Gell. 2, 20, who cites *roborarium* from an oration of Scipio, and *leporarium*, *mellarium*, from the *R. R.* of Varr., and expressly characterizes *apiarium*, *uiuarium*, as not in good usage: '*Viuaria*' *autem quae nunc uulgus dicit, . . . haut umquam memini apud uetustiores scriptum;* '*Apiaria*' *quoque uulgus dicit loca, in quibus siti sunt aluei apum, sed neminem ferme, qui incorrupte locuti sunt, aut scripsisse menini aut dixisse.* Compare Varr. *R. R.* 3, 3, *leporaria te accipere uolo non ea quae tritaui nostri dicebant . . .*; *Id.* 3, 12, *nomine antico a parte quadam, leporarium appellatum.* It is also worthy of note that while Col. employs *apiaria*, *auiaria*, *uiuaria*, he introduces them as translations of the Greek μελισσῶνες, κηνοτροφεῖα, λαγοτροφεῖα, with an apologetic *ut Latine potius loquamur*, *R. R.* 8, 1, 3.

Statistics also tend to confirm the rustic character of these adjectives. From Cato I have collected 22; Varr. adds 15; Col. 13; Plin., who was the last friend of these forms, 28. With Silver Latin their activity declined; African Latin is poorly represented; Fronto adds 2; Apul. 8; Gell. and Tert. 4 each. Their rarity in later literature is striking; aside from the jurists, with whom these forms, both adjective and substantive, were popular, the greatest number in any author subsequent to Apul. is in the rustic writer Veget., who adds 5, while Hier., in far more voluminous writings, gives only 1. The result of this tendency can be seen in the Romance languages, where the

[1] *Conf. supra*, § 19.

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substantives in **-arius** greatly outnumber the corresponding adjectives.

Like certain other adjective suffixes prevalent in plebeian Latin, **-arius** was sometimes used to form derivatives from other adjectives, without any change in meaning, but solely for the sake of the added syllables.[1] An example of such abuse of the suffix is already afforded in preclassic Latin, in the Plautine *manifestarius*, in place of the classical *manifestus*. Plin. has the ἅπαξ λεγ. *crudarius* = *crudus*, as a technical term used in mining silver (*argenti uena in summo reperta crudaria appellatur*, *N. H.* 33, 97). In the literature of the decadence they become more numerous; Goelzer cites *plenarius*, Ennod., Cassiod.; *mittendarius*, Cod. Theod.; *referendarius*, Cod. Iust. *Breuiarius*, which as an adjective is not found outside of Dig. 33, 8, 26, is frequent in Silver Latin as the *s. n. breuiarium*, of which Sen. says *nunc uulgo breuiarium dicitur, olim, cum Latine loqueremur, summarium uocabatur* (Sen. *Ep.* 39, 1). Such formations are still found in the Romance languages; Diez cites **Fr.** *léger, plénier*; **Ital.** *leggiero, plenario*, etc.

The following list comprises the more important adjective forms in **-arius**, grouped under the authors in whom they first occur as such, omitting for the sake of historical treatment all those which first occur in the language in the form of substantives.

PLAVTVS.

aurarius,[2] *Bacch.* 229
carcerarius,[3] *Capt.* 129
catapultarius, *Curc.* 689
cellarius,[4] *Mil.* 845
clitellarius,[5] *Most.* 780
consiliarius,[6] *Epid.* 159
crapularius, *Stich.* 230
corcotarius, *Aul.* 521
datarius, *Pseud.* 969; *al.*
escarius,[7] *Men.* 94
heptarius, *Curc.* 239
lamentarius, *Capt.* 96
lapidarius,[8] *Capt.* 723
manifestarius,[9] *Aul.* 479; *al.*
* manubiarius, *Truc.* 880
patellarius,[10] *Cist.* 522
patinarius,[11] *Asin.* 180
piscarius, *Cas.* 499
polentarius [12] *Curc.* 295
pollinarius,[13] *Poen.* 513
praesentarius,[14] *Most.* 361

[1] Goelzer, p. 147, "Quelquefois ils n'ajoutent aucune idée à l'adjectif dont ils derivent: la langue ne les choisit que parce qu'ils sont plus longs, et cela bien entendu, à l'époque de la décadence."

[2] Varr.; Plin.; ICt. [3] *s. m.* — Donat. ad Ter.; Inscrr. [4] Col.; *s. m.* — Plin. [5] Cato; Col. [6] Sen.; Gell. [7] Varr.; Plin.; Vlp. Dig.; *s. n.* — Plin.; Iuuen. [8] Petr.; Inscrr. [9] Gell. [10] Schol. Pers. [11] Suet.; P. Vict. de Reg. Vrb. [12] Apul. [13] Plin. [14] Gell.; Apul.

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promptuarius,[1] *Amph.* 156
ridicularius,[2] *Asin.* 330
sectarius, *Capt.* 820
sedentarius,[3] *Aul.* 513
singularius,[4] *Capt.* 112
usurarius,[5] *Amph.* 498; *al.*
uirginarius, *Pers.* 751

CATO.
amurcarius, *R. R.* 10, 4
arborarius,[6] *Id.* 10, 3
articularius,[7] *Id.* 157, 7
assarius, *Id.* 132, 2
calcarius,[8] *Id.* 38, 1
fabarius,[9] *Id.* 10, 5
faecarius, *Id.* 11, 4
faenarius,[10] *Id.* 10, 3
farinarius,[11] *Id.* 76, 3
farrarius,[12] *Id.* 10, 5
glandarius,[13] *Id.* 1, 7
lupinarius, *Id.* 10, 4
mustarius, *Id.* 11
pomarius,[14] *Id.* 48, 1
quadragenarius,[15] *Id.* 105, 1
quinquagenarius,[16] *Id.* 69, 2
remissarius, *Id.* 19; *fin.*
ruscarius,[17] *Id.* 11, 4
stercorarius,[18] *Id.* 10, 3
stramentarius, *Id. ib.*
subductarius, *Id.* 12; *al.*
uestiarius,[19] *Id.* 11, 3

TVRPILIVS.
uulgarius,[20] *Com.* 205

LVCILIVS.
gradarius,[21] *Sat.* 14, 23

VARRO.
acinarius, *R. R.* 1, 22, 4
auiarius,[22] *Id.* 3, 5, 13
dossuarius, *Id.* 2, 6 *fin.*; *al.*
fructuarius,[23] *Id.* 2, 4, 17
ganearius, *Id.* 3, 9, 18
glebarius, *L. L.* 7, 74
lactarius,[24] *R. R.* 2, 1, 17
lumarius, *L. L.* 5, 137
nouenarius,[25] *Id.* 9, 86
octingenarius,[26] *R. R.* 2, 10, 11
septingenarius, *Id. ib.*
surcularius,[27] *Id.* 1, 2, 17
torcularius,[28] *Id.* 1, 22, 4
trecenarius, *Id.* 1, 2, 7
uectarius, *Id.* 2, 7, 15

CICERO (EPISTT.).
fenicularius, *ad Att.* 12, 8
sumptuarius,[29] *Id.* 13, 47; *al.*

CATVLLVS.
semitarius, 37, 16

VITRVVIVS.
albarius,[30] 5, 2, 2; *al.*
antarius, (ἀντλαίρω), 10, 2, 3
arietarius, 10, 19, 6
arrectarius, 2, 8, 20
ductarius, 10, 2, 1
muscarius,[31] 7, 3, 11

[1] Cato; Apul.; Ambros.; Symm.; Auson. [2] Cato; *s. m.* — Gell. [3] Col.; Plin. Pan.; Apul. Met. [4] Turpil. Com.; Gell. [5] Vlp. Dig.; *s. m.* — ICt. [6] Varr.; Plin.; Solin. [7] Plin. [8] Plin. [9] Macr.; Inscrr. [10] Varr. [11] Plin. [12] Plin. [13] Varr. R. R. [14] *s. m.* — Lampr.; Inscrr.; *s. n.* — Scriptt. R. R.; Cic., etc. [15] Vitr.; Sen. Ep.; Vulg. [16] Varr. R. R.; Vitr. [17] Varr. R. R. [18] Varr.; Fest. [19] Scaeu. Dig.; *s. m.* — Vlp. Dig.; Inscrr.; Porphyr. ad Hor.; *s. n.* — Sen.; Col.; Plin.; Vopisc.; Augustin.; Cassiod.; Gloss. Labb. [20] Afran.; Non.; Gell.; Apul. [21] Sen. Ep. [22] *s. m.* — Col.; *s. n.* — Cic. Ep.; Verg. Ge.; Col.; Plin. [23] Cael. ap. Cic. Ep.; Col.; Plin.; Gai. Inst.; ICt. [24] Plin.; Paul. ex Fest.; Lampr.; Iul. Val.; Cassiod. [25] Plin.; Macr.; Auson. [26] Prisc. [27] Plin. [28] Col. [29] Suet.; Gell. [30] Tert.; *s. m.* — Cod. Theod.; *s. n.* — Vitr.; Plin. [31] Plin.; *s. n.* — Petr.; Mart.; Veget.; Inscrr.

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phalangarius,[1] (palangarius), 10, 3, 7
plumbarius,[2] 8, 7, 11
quintarius,[3] 3, 1, 6
tepidarius,[4] 5, 10, 1
tricenarius,[5] 8, 6, 4
uectiarius, 6, 6, 3

CELSVS.
auricularius,[6] 5, 28, 12; *al.*
ocularius,[7] 6, 6, 8

COLVMELLA.
defrutarius, 12, 19, 3; *al.*
dupondiarius,[8] 4, 30, 4
lanarius,[9] 11, 2, 35
loliarius, 8, 5, 16
oliuarius,[10] 12, 49, 11
pampinarius,[11] 5, 6, 29; *al.*
pulmonarius,[12] 7, 5, 14; *al.*
quaternarius,[13] 11, 2, 26
racemarius, 3, 18, 4
ternarius,[14] 11, 2, 28
ueterinarius, 7, 3, 16
uiciarius, 8, 5, 16
uinearius,[15] 5, 6, 36

PETRONIVS.
caligarius,[16] 74, 14
laserpicarius, 35, 6
micarius, 73, 6
sestertiarius, 45, 8 & 11
uenerarius,[17] 61, 7

PLINIVS.
anatarius, 10, 7
auenarius, 11, 94
camerarius, 19, 70
ceruarius,[18] 27, 101
condimentarius,[19] 19, 105
coquinarius,[20] 32, 140
coriarius, 24, 91
cribrarius,[21] 18, 115
crudarius, 33, 97
ducenarius,[22] 7, 83
frondarius,[23] 18, 314
glaesarius, 4, 97; *al.*
incendiarius,[24] 10, 36
laterarius[25] (*later*), 19, 156
lutarius, 32, 32; *al.*
medicamentarius,[26] 7, 196
miniarius, 33, 118; *al.*
naumachiarius, 16, 190; *al.*
nundinarius,[27] 12, 80; *al.*
odorarius,[28] 12, 70
ollarius,[29] 34, 98
ostrearius,[30] 18, 105
porcarius,[31] 11, 210
purpurarius,[32] 35, 46
riparius,[33] 30, 33
spartarius, 31, 94
stupparius, 19, 17
uulnerarius, 23, 81; *al.*

MARTIALIS.
dulciarius,[34] 14, 222 *Lemm.*

[1] Non.; Inscrr. [2] Plin.; *s. n.* — Not. Tir. [3] Gromat. Vet. [4] Inscrr. [5] Sen.; Frontin.; Paul. ex Fest.; Tert.; Arnob.; Augustin.; Inscrr. [6] Vlp. Dig.; Inscrr.; *s. m.* —Vulg. [7] Val. Max.; Scrib.; Hyg.; Solin.; Inscrr. [8] Petr.; Plin. [9] Plin.; Hier.; Inscrr.; *s. m.* — Arnob.; Firm. Math.; Hier.; Inscrr. [10] Pompon. Dig. [11] Plin. [12] Veget. [13] Plin.; Tert.; Lampr.; Mart. Cap.; Prob. [14] Auson. [15] Vlp. Dig.; *s. m.* — Rufin. [16] Plin.; Charis.; Inscrr.; *s. m.* — Lampr.; Firm. Math.; Inscrr. [17] Schol. Bern. ad Verg. Ecl. [18] Paul. ex Fest.; Edict. Diocl. [19] Tert. [20] Pa.-Apic. (title); *s. m.* — Thom. Thes. [21] *s. m.* — Gloss. Labb. [22] Suet.; Cypr.; Cod. Iust.; Inscrr.; *s. m.* — Veget.; *s. f.* — Apul. Met. [23] Gloss. Labb. [24] Lampr.; Veget.; Amm.; *s. m.* — Tac.; Suet. [25] *s. m.* — Non. [26] *s. m.* & *f.* — Cod. Theod. [27] Vlp. Dig. [28] Inscrr. [29] Inscrr. [30] *s. n.* — Plin.; Macr.; Inscrr.; *s. m.* — Thom. Thes. [31] *s. m.* — Firm. Math. [32] ICt.; Inscrr.; *s. f.* — Vulg.; Inscrr. [33] Suet. [34] Apul. Met.; Firm. Math.; *s. m.* — Lampr.; Valer. ap. Treb. Poll.; Veget.; Gloss. Labb.

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infantarius,[1] 4, 87, 3
niuarius, 14, 103 *Lemm.*

FRONTO.
fidicularius, *de Eloq.* 1, *p.* 146, 9 *N.*
usuarius,[2] *ad Amic.* 1, 14

GELLIVS.
coniectarius,[3] 13, 3, 1
crepidarius, 13, 21, 8
festucarius, 20, 10, 10
septemtrionarius, 2, 22, 15

APVLEIVS.
iumentarius,[4] *Met.* 9, 13
machinarius,[5] *Id.* 7, 15
magnarius,[6] *Id.* 1, 5
momentarius,[7] *Id.* 10, 25; *al.*
monumentarius, *Flor.* 4, *p.* 5, 4 *Kr.*
mutuarius, *Apol.* 17
parietarius,[8] *Herb.* 81
ruderarius, *Met.* 8, 23

TERTVLLIANVS.
collegiarius, *Spect.* 11
singillarius, *Anim.* 6; *al.*
supputarius, *Apol.* 19
uictuarius, *Monog.* 8

VLPIANVS.
caducarius,[9] *Lib. Reg.* 28
caseorius, *Dig.* 8, 5, 8, 5
formacarius, *Id.* 9, 2, 27, 9
peculiarius,[10] *Id.* 15, 1, 4, 5
sagarius,[11] *Id.* 14, 4, 5, 15
stationarius,[12] *Id.* 1, 12, 1; *al.*
thynnarius, *Id.* 8, 4, 13
uenaliciarius,[13] 32, 1, 73

SPARTIANVS.
uehicularius,[14] *Sever.* 14, 2

CAPITOLINVS.
coactiliarius,[15] *Pert.* 3, 3
trientarius,[16] *Anton. Pii*, 2, 8

TREBELLIVS POLLIO.
ludiarius,[17] *Gallien.* 3, 7

LAMPRIDIVS.
binarius,[18] *Alex. Seu.* 39
claustrarius, *Heliog.* 12, 2; *al.*
itinerarius,[19] *Alex. Seu.* 27, 4; *al.*

VOPISCVS.
tenebrarius, *Firm.* 2, 2

FIRMICVS MATERNVS.
spadicarius, *Math.* 3, 7, 1

PALLADIVS.
quartanarius,[20] 2, 11

AMMIANVS.
clabularius,[21] 20, 4, 11
planarius,[22] 19, 5, 2
scenarius,[23] 28, 2, 32

VEGETIVS.
arcuarius,[24] *Mil.* 2, 11
Dianarius, *Vet.* 3, 6, 7; *al.*
quingentarius, *Mil.* 2, 6
supernumerarius,[25] *Id.* 3, 18; *al.*
trepidiarius, *Vet.* 2, 28, 37

[1] Tert. [2] ICt. [3] Gloss. Labb. [4] Iuuol. Dig.; Inscrr.; Gloss. Labb. [5] Solin.; ICt.; Inscrr. [6] Inscrr. [7] Lampr.; ICt. [8] Aur. Vict.; Firm. Math.; Edict. Diocl.; Inscrr. [9] Augustin.; *s. m.* — Gloss. Labb.; Gl. Paris. [10] Pompon. Dig.; Marcian. Dig.; Inscrr. [11] Schol. Iuuen.; Inscrr. [12] Amm.; Augustin.; Cod. Theod.; Cod. Iust. [13] ICt. [14] Capit.; Amm.; Inscrr. [15] *s. m.* — Gloss. Labb. [16] Lampr. [17] Inscrr. [18] Augustin.; Prob.; Isid. [19] Amm.; Veget. [20] Sex. Placit.; Greg. Hist.; Schol. Iuuen. [21] Cod. Theod. [22] Cod. Iust. [23] Inscrr. [24] *s. m.* — Dig. [25] Augustin.; Cod. Theod.

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AMBROSIVS.
decimarius, *in Ps.* 128 *Serm.* 8, 4; *al.*

HIERONYMVS.
millenarius,[1] *in Am.* 2, *ad.* 5, 3

AVGVSTINVS.
conditarius, *Ciu. Dei*, 22, 8, 10
dominicarius, *Ep.* 36, 21
retrarius, *Serm.* 105, 5
undenarius, *Id.* 83, 7; *al.*

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
calycularius, *Chron.* 2, 13, 159
litorarius, *Chron.* 5, 11, 134; *al.*

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
colonarius,[2] *Ep.* 5, 19
prosarius, *Id.* 3, 14; *al.*

ISIDORVS.
ceroferarius, 7, 12, 29
trinarius, 3, 6, 4; *al.*
trigonarius, 18, 69, 2

§ 38. ADJECTIVES IN **-orius**: A survey of the prevailing plebeian adjectives would be incomplete without some discussion of those in **-orius**, if only because of their prevalence in Tert., who is generally a safe criterion for the usages of the later popular Latin. Like the kindred adjectives in **-iuus**, (*conf. calefactorius, calefactiuus; concertatorius, concertatiuus; hortatorius, hortatiuus*), the forms in **-orius** belong principally to the post-classical period. Paucker has devoted an interesting monograph to these words, containing a list of 554 forms, of which 420 are *recc.*, while of the *uett.* only 34 occur in Caes. or Cic.[3] He is able to cite only 6 from pre-classical literature, but notes particularly their abundance in Plin. and later writers, and especially in juridical Latin. The neuter substantives in **-orium** are notably rare in writers of the best period; out of a total of 120 forms, comprising almost one-fourth of Paucker's list, Cic. uses only 2, *deuersorium*, *tectorium*. They have accordingly been frequently classed among vulgar substantives,[4] while Schulze, after carefully recapitulating the statistics of Paucker, does not hesitate to assign the adjectives in **-orius** as a whole, to the *sermo plebeius*.[5] It is not surprising that they were in the main avoided by the classic writers, who show a marked aversion for compound suffixes (*conf.* **-bili-tas, -osi-tas, -ul-aster,** etc.), to which category these adjectives properly belong. They are regularly formed from verbal stems, through the medium of *nomina agentis* in **-tor, (-sor)**, the

[1] Augustin.; Prisc.; Cassiod. [2] Cod. Iust.
[3] Paucker, Materialien, II., p. 1 *sq.* [4] *Conf.* Rönsch, p. 33 sq.; Goelzer, p. 31.
[5] Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI., p. 178, "non dubito haec adjectiua sermoni uulgari imprimis posterioris aetatis adscribere."

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force of which suffix has been quite lost in the great majority of these derivatives. A comparatively small number however retain a denominative force, notably those derived from words denoting social or official rank, such as *senatorius*, *quaestorius*, etc., and some others in which the notion of the agent predominates over that of the action, either always, or in certain connections, as in the case of *prouocatorius*, cited by Paucker, which in the phrase *dona prouocatoria* is denominative, (= *prouocatori data*), but is verbal in *medicamentum prouocatorium uentris*, (= *quod uentrem prouocat*). The great majority, however, more than 86 %, are purely verbal. According to Paucker, the latter are neither confined to, nor proportionally more numerous in the later period, but his own statistics fail to sustain this assertion.[1] Of the 76 examples which he cites as wholly or in part denominative, 44, or more than four-sevenths, are *uett.*, a proportion which at first sight does not seem remarkable. They form however 32 % of all the *uett.*, while the remaining 32 denominatives are only 7 % of the *recc.* The ratio in classical Latin is still more significant. Silver Latin, including Vitr., has 69 forms in **-orius**, of which 10 are denominative; the 6 pre-classical forms include 2 denominatives; consequently, by making the requisite subtractions, we find that during the Ciceronian and Augustan period there was a proportion of 54 % in favor of the denominative forms. The usage of Cic. is in this respect especially instructive. Aside from the *Epistt.*, he uses as adjectives only the following 24 forms in **-orius**:

accusatorius,	*dictatorius*,	*praediatorius*,
aleatorius,	*gladiatorius*,	*praetorius*,
amatorius,	*imperatorius*,	*quaestorius*,
censorius,	*meritorius*,	*recuperatorius*,
concertatorius,	messorius,	saltatorius,
damnatorius,	*nugatorius*,	*senatorius*,
declamatorius,	*oratorius*,	*tonsorius*,
desultorius,	pacificatorius,	*ueteratorius*.

The forms italicized in the above list are given by Paucker as denominatives, and perhaps *messorius* might be included also. Of the remaining five, only *accusatorius* is of frequent occurrence; the others occur but once each, and *damnatorius*,

[1] *Conf.* Paucker, *l. l.*, p. 14, "die grosse Masse der auf -orius ausgehenden . . . verbale Bedeutung aufweist, und zwar nicht etwa erst oder mehr nur in späterer Zeit."

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a doubtful reading, (*in Verr.* 2, 3, 22), is not cited from Cic. by Paucker. Caes. is still more conservative: I have found but three instances of verbal adjectives; *naues piscatoriae, Bell. Ciu.* 2, 4; *nauigia speculatoria, Bell. Gall.* 4, 26; *nauigia uectoria, Id.* 5, 8, (thus only in connection with ships; *conf. nauis praedatoria*, Plaut.; *sulcatoria*, (*nauis*), Cassiod.). On the other hand in writers of inferior style the verbal force predominates; *e. g.* out of 4 cited below from Plaut., 3 are verbal; so also all the forms cited from Cato, the *Epistt.* of Cic.,[1] the Auct. Bell. Alex., and Vitr.; in Silver Latin the proportion of verbals is about 5 to 1. In view of these facts it would seem as though the classic writers regarded the forms in which the notion of the agent was retained as simple derivatives in **-ius**, the syllable **tor** being here felt to belong rather to the stem than to the suffix, as *senator-ius*, (*caliga*) *speculator-ia*, while in those in which the verbal notion predominated, **tor** having lost its special force became merged in the suffix; thus *salta-torius*, (*nauis*) *specula-toria*. If such a distinction existed in the minds of the Romans it would account for the prevalence of the latter class in popular Latin, according to its admitted preference for heavy terminations.

It is important in connection with the preceding, to notice the considerable number of forms in **-orius** for which corresponding substantives in **-tor**, (**-trix**), did not exist, or at least are not found in extant Latin. It is natural to infer that a large proportion of these were formed by analogy directly from verbal stems. Paucker has grouped together 100 such forms, of which all are *recc.*, excepting 18, which are plainly confined to the *sermo cotidianus*. Aside from the *Epistt.*, Cic. has the single example *meritorius*, (in the phrase *pueri meritorii*), which finds its excuse in the substantive *meretrix*, so closely connected in signification as well as form. Of the remaining 17, 2 are pre-classical, Plaut. *uorsoria*, Cato, *praeductorius;* Varr. has 1, *seclusorium*, Cic. *Ep.* 2, *candidatorius, legatorius;* Vitr., *tractorius*. The remainder belong to Silver Latin: Sen. Rh., *defunctorius;* Sen., *decretorius, opertorium;* Petr., *perfunctorie;* Plin., *astrictorius, concalfactorius, extractorius, gemitorius, suppu-*

[1] Among them 2 formed directly from the verbal stem, *legatorius, candidatorius*, which Paucker cites, (*l. l.*, p. 15), adding "wozu als drittes monstrum das spätlateinische praefectorius kommt."

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ratorius; Mart., *amictorium;* Plin. Ep., *bellatorius.* The popular character of this mode of formation is further indicated by the usage of the Romance languages, which freely form these adjectives from verbs, in absence of forms in **-tor.** Diez compares **Ital.,** *bravatorio, pensatojo;* **Span.,** *embaxatorio, mortuorio,* etc.[1] They are most frequent in Rumanian, which forms them from any verb at pleasure.[2]

In post-classical Latin the denominatives are proportionately so few that it is unnecessary to treat them separately. The suffix becomes far more frequent and is noticeably prevalent in the jurists, ranking next in popularity to the similar ending **-arius,** as is shown by the following list of new forms due to juridical Latin:

adjuratorius,	dilatorius,	procuratorius,
aestimatorius,	dimissorius,	protectorius,
appellatorius,	exclusorius,	redhibitorius,
aratorius,	exhibitorius,	refutatorius,
assertorius,	fideiussorius,	rescissorius,
assessorius,	fraudatorius,	restitutorius,
balneatorius,	frustratorius,	rosorius,
captatorius,	halucinatorius,	sectorius,
circitorius,	indutorius,	secutorius,
cognitorius,	institutorius,	successorius,
commissorius,	iuratorius,	tributorius,
compromissorius,	mandatorius,	
confessorius,	moratorius,	admonitorium,
constitutorius,	nominatorius,	armifactorium,
curatorius,	obligatorius,	citatorium,
delegatorius,	perlusorius,	coopertorium,
deportatorius,	petitorius,	directorium,
derisorius,	possessorius,	piperatorium,
derogatorius,	praefectorius,	repertorium.
digestorius,	praeparatorius,	

Aside from the jurists, the use of forms in **-orius** belongs largely to the African writers. Their prevalence in Tert. and Cass. Fel. has been noted by Paucker,[3] while Wölfflin and Kübler have both regarded the use of the subst. *adiutorium* for *adiumentum* as characteristic of the African medical writers.[4]

[1] Diez, p. 662, "Analoge Adj. entstehen fast schlechthin aus Verbis, ohne der Subst. auf *tor* zu bedürfen." [2] Diez, *l. l.* [3] Paucker, *l. l.* p. 14. [4] Wölfflin, Cass. Fel. p. 395; Kübler, ALL. VIII., p. 167, who also cites under his Lexicalische Be-

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It is true that in Fronto, Gell., and Apul. the suffix is comparatively rare, as it also is in early Latin, a coincidence which agrees with the recognized archaic tendency of these writers. Nevertheless they each add two forms to the language, and Fronto has a third, *olfactorius*, which occurs previously only as a neuter substantive. In most of the other African writers adjectives in **-orius** abound, although the substantives in **-orium** are less characteristic. Tert., the chief source of ecclesiastical vocabulary, introduces 34 new adjectives; his fellow-countryman, Augustin., adds 20, while Hier. on the contrary, who usually ranks next to Tert. in fertility, adds only 3; Cael. Aur. gives 6, Cass. Fel. 13. In substantives in **-orium** the proportions are quite different. Tert. gives only 4, Augustin. 3, Cael. Aur. 2, Cass. Fel. none at all, while Hier. has not less than 5, and Rönsch cites 21 found in the Vulgate.[1] The Gallic writers Greg. Tur. and Ven. Fort. give respectively 2 and 1 new substantives, but no adjectives, a fact interesting in relation to modern French, which is fertile in new substantives, but has few adjective forms.[2]

In the following list the substantives in **-orium** have been grouped separately.

a. *Adjectives.*

PLAVTVS.
deuersorius,[3] *Men.* 436; *al.*
praedatorius,[4] *Id.* 345
pugilatorius, *Rud.* 721
sudatorius,[5] *Stich.* 229

CATO.
praeductorius, *R. R.* 134

VARRO.
olitorius,[6] *L. L.* 5, 146
sutorius,[7] (*Atrium*), *Id.* 6, 14
uindemiatorius,[8] *R. R.* 3, 2, 8

CICERO (EPISTT.).
assentatorie, *ad Qu. Fr.* 2, 14, 3
candidatorius, *ad Att.* 1, 1, 2
consolatorius,[9] *Id.* 13, 20, 1
obiurgatorius,[10] *Id.* 13, 6, 3

AVCT. BELL. ALEX.
ambulatorius,[11] 2, 5

VITRVVIVS.
oppugnatorius, 10, 12, 2; *al.*
repugnatorius, 10, 16, 2
scansorius, 10, 1, 1

merkungen, p. 184 sq., from African Inscrr. accubitorium, exceptorium, repositrium, uiatoria.

[1] Rönsch, Itala, p. 33 sq. [2] Diez. p. 662, "übrigens ist der Nordwesten zur Schöpfung neuer Adj. wenig geneigt."

[3] Suet.; *s. n.* — Cic., *freq.*, *et Al.* [4] Sall.; Liu.; Tac.; Amm. [5] Cassiod.; *s. n.* — Sen. Ep. [6] Plin.; Vlp. Dig. [7] Cic. Ep., *bis;* Cels.; Plin.; Inscrr. [8] Vlp. Dig. [9] Suet.; Pelag. Vet.; Vulg.; Augustin.; Cassiod. [10] Gell.; Amm. [11] Vitr.; Plin.; Apul.; Tert.; Vlp. Dig.; Veg. Mil.; ICt.

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tractorius,[1] *Id. ib.; al.*
uiatorius,[2] 9, 9, 1

CELSVS.
excisorius, 8, 3
pistorius,[3] 2, 18
scriptorius,[4] 5, 28, 12; *al.*

COLVMELLA.
occatorius, 2, 13, 2
pabulatorius, 6, 3, 5; *al.*
pressorius,[5] 12, 18, 4
sarritorius, 2, 12, 2
satorius, 2, 9, 9; *al.*
uinitorius, 4, 25 *in.*

PETRONIVS.
comatorius, 21, 1
cubitorius, 30, 11
perfunctorie,[6] 11

PLINIVS.
astrictorius, 24, 115
aucupatorius,[7] 16, 169; *al.*
clamatorius, 10, 37
concalfactorius, 21, 141
depulsorius,[6] 28, 11
discussorius, 30, 75
dormitorius,[8] 30, 51
excussorius, 18, 108
extractorius, 24, 87
exulceratorius, 23, 126
gemitorius, 8, 145
mitigatorius, 28, 63
potorius,[10] 36, 59; *al.*
refrigeratorius,[11] 22, 145
salutatorius,[12] 15, 38
suppuratorius, 28, 51
tinctorius, 7, 44
uomitorius,[13] 21, 128; *al.*

MARTIALIS.
aduentorius,[14] 12, *Praef.*
ministratorius, 14, 105, *Lemm.*

FRONTO.
deletorius,[15] *de Fer. Als.*, p. 224, 20 *N.*
rixatorius, *ad M. Caes.* 4, 12, *p.* 74, 6 *N.*

GELLIVS.
oblectatorius, 18, 2, *Lemm.*
pronocatorius,[16] 2, 11, 3

APVLEIVS.
occursorius, *Met.* 9, 23
peremptorius,[17] *Id.* 10, 11

TERTVLLIANVS.
aedificatorius,[18] *Anim.* 47; *al.*
corruptorius, *adu. Marc.* 2, 16
*cruciatorius, *Praescr. Haeret.* 2
defensorius, *adu. Marc.* 2, 14; *al.*
dehortatorius, *Apol.* 22
examinatorius, *adu. Gnost.* 7
exercitatorius,[19] *de Poenit.* 12
expugnatorius, *Anim.* 57
exstructorius, *Carn. Chr.* 17
famulatorius,[20] *ad Nat.* 2, 14
generatorius,[21] *adu. Valent.* 27
incorruptorius, *adu. Marc.* 2, 16
insultatorius, *Id.* 5, 10 *extr.*
interpretatorius, *ad Nat.* 2, 4

[1] *s. f.* — Augustin.; Cod. Iust. [2] Plin.; Capit.; Veget.; Placid. Gloss.; Inscrr. [3] Plin.; Chalcid. Tim.; Vulg.; ICt.; Inscrr. [4] *s. n.* — Isid. [5] Amm.; Plin. Val. [6] *Adj.* — Ambros.; Nou. Val.; Cod. Theod. [7] Mart.; Gloss. Labb. [8] Amm. [9] Plin. Ep.; Eccl.; ICt. [10] Pelag. Vet.; Arnob.; ICt.; Inscrr. [11] Gargil. Mart.; Pelag. Vet. [12] Cassiod.; Anthol. Lat.; Prisc. [13] Macr. [14] Inscrr. [15] Vlp. Dig.; Cod. Theod. [16] Plin. Val. [17] Tert.; Chalcid. Tim.; Ambros.; Augustin.; Seru. ad Verg.; ICt.; *adu.* — Cl. Mam. [18] Hier.; Boeth. [19] African. Dig. [20] Ambros. [21] Ambros.

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interrogatorius,[1] *adu. Marc.* 2, 25
inuitatorius,[2] *Anim.* 57
motorium,[3] *Anim.* 14
mutatorius,[4] *Res. Carn.* 56
occisorius, *Anim.* 33 *in.*
pacatorius, *adu. Marc.* 4, 29 *extr.*
peccatorius, *Id.* 2, 24; *al.*
pictorius,[5] *Id.* 1, 3
placatorius, *de Patient.* 13
praemonitorius, *Anim.* 3
receptorius,[6] *Res. Carn.* 27
reuelatorius, *Anim.* 47
significatorius,[7] *adu. Hermog.* 32
structorius, *Apol.* 14
transfunctorius, *adu. Marc.* 1, 27; *al.*
transmeatorius, *adu. Valent.* 27
transpunctorius, *Id.* 6 *extr.*
triumphatorius, *adu. Marc.* 5, 10 *extr.*
ultorius, *Id.* 2, 24
uocatorius, *Anim.* 97

SOLINVS.
praecentorius, 5, 19
puellatorius, *Id. ib.*

CAPITOLINVS.
gratulatorius,[8] *Max. et Balb.* 17, 1

ARNOBIVS.
fistulatorius, 2, 42

LAMPRIDIVS.
exsuperatorius, *Comm.* 11, 8; *al.*
negotiatorius,[9] *Alex. Seu.* 32, 5

VOPISCVS.
suppositorius,[10] *Carin.* 17, 4

CHALCIDIVS.
fictoria, *Tim.* 329

PALLADIVS.
fusorium,[11] 1, 17, 1; *al.*
putatorius,[12] 1, 43, 1

PLINIVS VALERIANVS.
allectorius, 4, 29
calefactorius,[13] 1, 38
mundatorius,[14] 2, 25
potatorius,[15] 3, 53

AMMIANVS.
commonitorius,[16] 28, 1, 20
concursorius, 16, 9, 1; *al.*
iurgatorius, 27, 1, 5
repulsorius,[17] 24, 4, 7
serratorius, 23, 4, 4
uastatorius, 18, 6, 9; *al.*

VEGETIVS.
chalatorius, *Mil.* 4, 15
concisorius, 1, 56, 31

AMBROSIVS.
deriuatorius, *ap. Paucker.*
descensorius, *Spr. Scto.* 1, 10, 118
hortatorius,[18] *in Luc.* 8, 30
illusorius,[19] *Id.* 10, 23
interfectorius,[20] *de Elia et Ieiun.* 10, 37
operatorius, *Hexaem.* 1, 1, 1; *al.*
praelusorius, *de Elia*, 13, 47
purificatorius, *in Ps.* 118; *al.*
refectorius, *Ep.* 67, 14
seductorius,[21] *de Bon. Mort.* 9, 4
simulatorius,[22] *Hexaem.* 1, 2, 7
usurpatorie,[23] *Id.* 3, 15, 64; *al.*

[1] Calistr. Dig. [2] Hier. Ep.; Gennad. [3] *adj.* — Donat. ad Ter.; *s. f.* — Prisc. [4] Vulg.; Pelag. Vet.; Inscrr. [5] ICt.; *s. f.* — Chalcid. Tim. [6] *s. n.* — Sidon. Ep. [7] Ambros. [8] Iul. Val. [9] Vopisc. [10] Marc. Emp.; Greg. Ep.; Gloss. [11] Vulg. [12] Paul. Sent. [13] Th. Prisc.; Macrob. [14] Augustin. [15] Isid. [16] Sidon. Ep.; Cod. Iust. [17] Ambros.; Heges. [18] Augustin. [19] Augustin.; Iulian. ap. Augustin. [20] Isid.; *adu.* — Augustin. [21] Augustin. [22] Augustin.; Cassian. [23] *adi.* — Cod. Iust.

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HIERONYMVS.
dispensatorius,[1] *Ep.* 112, 4; *al.*
exhortatorius,[2] *Id.* 52, 1; *al.*
subsannatorius, *in Iob*, 15

AVGVSTINVS.
affectorius, *Gen. ad Litt.* 16
circumuentorius, *Conf.* 3, 8
deceptorius, *Doctr. Chr.* 2, 23; *al.*
disputatorius,[3] *Solil.* 2, 19
emendatorius, *Ep.* 211, 11; *al.*
excitatorius, *Id.* 26, 2
excusatorius,[4] *Id.* 83, 2
expiatorius, *Ciu. Dei*, 21, 13
exsecutorius, *c. Litt. Petil.* 3, 29 *extr.*
fabricatorius, *Ciu. Dei*, 12, 26 *extr.*; *al.*
imitatorius, *c. Iulian. Pelag.* 6, 77
inductorius,[5] *Contr. Acad.* 1, 4
interemptorius,[6] *Lib. Arbitr.* 3, 25
irrisorius,[7] *Don. Perseu.* 2
iudicatorius, *Ep.* 153, 10
ludificatorius, *Ciu. Dei*, 11, 26
mansorius, *Doctr. Chr.* 1, 35, *no.* 39
narratorius, *de Diuers. Quaest.* 80, 3
nutritorius,[8] *Serm.* 25, 1
proditorius, *Id.* 161, 3 *Mai.*

MARCELLVS EMPIRICVS.
delacrimatorius, 8, 200
infectorius,[9] 4, 24; *al.*

THEODORVS PRISCIANVS.
euocatorius,[10] 1, 9, 24; *al. ed. Rose.*
reuocatorius,[11] 2, 107 *ed. Rose.*

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
baiulatorius, *Acut.* 1, 11, 83; *al.*
contradictorius,[12] *Id.* 2, 33, 173
explanatorius, *Id.* 3, 1, 5
mictorius,[13] *Id.* 3, 8, 86; *al.*
raptorius, *Chron.* 3, 6, 88
resumptorius, *Acut.* 3, 8, 95

CASSIVS FELIX.
condigestorius, 42, *p.* 97
confortatorius, *Id. ib.*
decoriatorius, 13, *p.* 20
desiccatorius, 8, *p.* 16; *al.*
eiectorius, 52, *p.* 136
excallatorius, 20, *p.* 31
incensorius, 13, *p.* 20
iniectorius, 48, *p.* 127
putrificatorius, 13, *p.* 20
relaxatorius, 76, *p.* 184
respiratorius, 39, *p.* 85
suffumigatorius, 21, *p.* 36; *al.*
superinunctorius, 29, *p.* 59

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
commendatorius, *Ep.* 9, 10
fatigatorius, *Id.* 5, 17
gratulatorius, *Id.* 5, 16
increpatorius, *Id.* 9, 7
metatorius, *Id.* 8, 11
refusorius, *Id.* 9, 10

CASSIODORVS.
consumptorius, *in Ps.* 65, 10
introductorius, *Inst. Diu. Litt.* 24
retentorius, *Anim.* 6
sanatorius, *ap. Paucker.*

BOETHIVS.
cauillatorius, *ad Cic. Top.* 1, *p.* 761
priuatorius, *ap. Paucker.*

b. *Substantives.*

VARRO.
seclusorium, R. R. 3, 5, 5

HIRTIVS.
tentorium,[14] *Bell. Gall.* 8, 5

[1] Cassian.; Mar. Merc. [2] Augustin. [3] Schol. Bern. [4] Gloss. Labb. [5] *s. n.* — Plin. Val. [6] Isid. [7] Cassian.; Mart. Cap.; *adu.* — Seru. ad Verg. [8] Th. Prisc. de Diaet. [9] Gloss. Labb. [10] Cod. Theod.; Sidon Ep. [11] Cod. Iust. [12] Pa.-Cypr.; Cassiod.; Cod. Theod. [13] Isid. [14] Verg.; Ou.; Liu.; Tac.; Suet.; Rutil. Nam.; (*conf.* tentoriolum, Auct. Bell. Afr.).

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PETRONIVS.
conditorium,[1] 110, 2; *al.*
gustatorium,[2] 34, 1
sessorium,[3] 77, 4

PLINIVS.
diribitorium,[4] 16, 201
olfactorium,[5] 20, 92

MARTIALIS.
amictorium,[6] 11, 149, *Lemm.*
scalptorium, 14, 83, *Lemm.*

TERTVLLIANVS.
cogitatorium, *Anim.* 11; *al.*
consistorium,[7] *Res. Carn.* 26; *al.*
praemeditatorium, *Ieiun.* 6
sequestratorium, *Res. Carn.* 52 *extr.*

GARGILIVS MARTIALIS.
punctorium, *Arb. Pom.* 2, 5, *p.* 61 *ed. Rom.*

CAPITOLINVS.
deambulatorium, *Gord.* 32, 6

PALLADIVS.
calcatorium,[8] 1, 18, 1 & 2
factorium, 11, 10, 1

PLINIVS VALERIANVS.
frixorium,[9] 2, 7
traiectorium, 1, 37; *al.*

VEGETIVS.
circumcisorium, *Vet.* 1, 26, 2
cisorium, *Id.* 3, 22, 1

AMBROSIVS.
acclinatorium, *de Virg.* 3, 5, 21
commemoratorium, *de Off.* 25
deuoratorium, *Ep.* 4, 5 *extr.*
epulatorium, *Fug. Saec.* 8, 45
responsorium, *Hexaem.* 3, 5, 23
subiunctorium,[10] *Intpr. Iob et Dauid*, 2, 5, 20

HIERONYMVS.
infusorium,[11] *in Zach.* 1 *ad* 4, 2
locutorium, *in Ephes.* 1 *ad* 2, 19
meditatorium, *Ep.* 78; *al.*
sufflatorium, *in Ierem.* 2 *ad* 6, 27
suffusorium,[12] *in Iesai.* 2, 4, 1

AVGVSTINVS.
exoratorium, *Qu. in Leuit.* 53, 2
hauritorium, *Tract. in Ioann.* 15, 14; *al.*
praecinctorium, *adu. Iulian.* 2, 6; *al.*

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
discretorium, *Chron.* 2, 12, 143
liquatorium, *Acut.* 2, 39, 229

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
tractatorium, *Ep.* 1, 7

CASSIODORVS.
uisorium, *Var.* 5, 24

GREGORIVS TVRONENSIS.
missorium,[13] *Hist. Fr.* 6, 2, *p.* 245, 19; *al.*
regestorium, *Id.* 6, 11, *p.* 255, 27

VENANTIVS FORTVNATVS.
recubatorium, *Carm.* 5, *Proem.*

ISIDORVS.
reconditorium, 15, 5, 8

[1] Plin.; Plin. Ep.; Suet.; Tert.; Iul. Val.; Amm.; Inscrr. [2] Plin. Ep. [3] Cael. Aur. [4] Suet. [5] *Adj.* — Fronto. [6] Hier.; Cod. Theod.; Gloss. Labb. [7] Amm.; Auson.; Sidon. Ep.; Cod. Theod.; Inscrr. [8] Isid.; Gloss. Labb. [9] Augustin.; Macr.; Arnob. Iun.; Gloss. Labb. [10] Cod. Theod. [11] Vulg. [12] Vulg.; Gloss. Labb. [13] Venant. Fort.; Gloss. Isid.

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III.—DIMINUTIVES.

§ 39. DIMINUTIVES IN GENERAL: An excellent example of the loss of force sustained by many derivatives through their immoderate use in the *sermo plebeius* is afforded by the history of Latin diminutives. Their comparative rarity in classic Latin has been generally attributed to their having been regarded as inconsistent with an elevated style,[1] but the prevailing prejudice against neologisms was probably an equally potent factor. The utility of diminutives depends largely upon the ability to attach them to any substantive or adjective at pleasure, and in this respect the popular speech seems to have been unrestrained. Such license however was foreign to the spirit of classic Latin, which accordingly formed new diminutives sparingly, while it was conservative in its use even of the oldest and commonest forms. Consequently where they did occur they were doubly effective, and at the hands of such a master of style as Cic. were capable of expressing the most delicate shades of meaning, from the tenderest affection to subtle irony and contempt. Such fine distinctions are not to be expected in the speech of the people, whose profuse and often indiscriminate use of all classes of diminutives is well in keeping with their wonted love for lengthened forms and exaggerated modes of expression. The prevalence of diminutives in Petr., many of them quite devoid of any notion of smallness, was already observed in the seventeenth century by Burmann,[2] while Nipperdey, in the introduction to his edition of Caes., commenting on their frequent use by the Auct. Bell. Afr., was among the first to characterize the

[1] *Conf.* e.g., Bonnet, p. 459, "On sait que la gravité de la langue classique, dans le style soutenu, évitait ces mots, de même que notre langue classique du XVIIe siècle s'en est privée et nous en a privés." [2] Burmann ad Petr., c. 52, "permaxime solens Petronio uti deminutiuis quae deminutiue tamen non significant," cited by Barta, I. p. 16.

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usage as "*familiaris et uulgaris sermonis proprium.*"[1] The whole question has since received detailed consideration by Wölfflin,[2] and by Lorenz[3] in his valuable introduction to the *Pseudolus* of Plaut., both of whom emphasize the loss of diminutive force in forms of everyday use, resulting from constant employment, as is shown, first, by the tendency to reinforce such forms by secondary derivation, as *liber, libellus, libellulus*,—or by the addition of some adjective possessing diminutive force; secondly, by the frequent retention in the Romance languages of diminutives in place of the primary forms. This position has been well sustained by subsequent authorities, who have generally recognized that the inordinate use of diminutives is a marked characteristic of the *sermo plebeius.*[4] This view has recently been criticized by Bonnet,[5] who main-

[1] Nipperdey, Caes., p. 18. [2] Wölfflin, Philol. 34, p. 153. [3] Lorenz. Pseud., Einleit., § 16, p. 57 *sq.* [4] *Conf.* Schmilinsky, p. 34, "Sermonem Romanorum uulgarem multo aptiorem . . . ad deminutiua formanda quam linguam cultam;" Stuenkel, p. 52, "in uulgari potissimum et familiari sermone," citing *inter alia* Schwabe, de Demin. Gr. et Lat. p. 13; Ludwig, Petr., p. 28; Guericke, p. 29, "Vocabulis deminutiuis . . . sermonem rusticorum abundare notissimum est," citing G. Mueller, de Ling. Lat. Demin.; Rönsch, p. 93; Stinner, p. 9, "Nomina tum deminutiua maxime esse quotidiani sermonis inter omnes constat;" Barta, I., p. 15; Wölfflin, Cass. Fel., p. 406; Köhler, p. 6; Vogel, Gell., p. 11; Dietze, Cato, p. 14, "nominum deminutiuorum frequentissimum usum uulgari sermoni addicimus;" Thielmann, Cornif. Rhet., p. 96; Hellmuth, Prior. Cic. Oratt. Serm., p. 23; Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI., p. 163, "deminutiua maxime in sermone cotidiano qui omnino formas pleniores adamat, plane pro nominibus primitiuis usurpantur;" Hauschild, Diss. Hal. VI., p. 244; Kühner, Gramm. Lat., I., p. 667, "Die Bildung der Dimunitive scheint vorzugsweise in der Volkssprache ihren Ursprung zu haben;" Stolz, Lat. Stil., p. 574, "(Diminutiva) sind sehr zahlreich in der Sprache des Volkes und haben sich in derselben zu allen Zeiten und so auch ins Romanische herein erhalten;" W. Meyer, Geschichte d. Lat. Volkssprache, in Gröbers Grundriss, I., p. 372, "Vor allem sind die kosenden Verkleinerungswörter beliebt, in vielen Fällen verdrängen sie das Primitiv ganz," citing Prob. App., *catulus, non catellus;* Keller, Volksetymologie, p. 170, "Die besprochene unleugbare Vorliebe der lateinischen Volksetymologie für Deminutivbildungen hängt zusammen mit der grossen Freiheit welche sich die Volksetymologie überhaupt hinsichtlich der Endungen bei den Lehnwörtern gestattet;" A. Weinhold, ALL. IV., p. 169, "Die Bildung und Verwendung der Deminutiva gehört vorzugsweise dem gewöhnlichen Leben an; daher . . . die Unregelmässigkeit in den Bildungen;" Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 333, "Diminutives were a feature of Vulgar Latin, as we see from the forms censured in the Probi Appendix," citing "neptis non 'nepticla,' anus non 'anucla,'" etc. Slaughter, p. 16; Knapp, Gell., p. 156, "This use of diminutives without any special meaning is a peculiarity of the sermo plebeius:" Goelzer, p. 129, "On sent là l'influence de la langue populaire:" Regnier, Augustin., p. 5, "la langue populaire de la décadence en effet en faisait un grand usage;" in view of the above authorities it is rather startling to find in Bonnet, p. 459 (regarding the rarity of diminutives in classic prose), "C'est ce qui a fait prétendre que le latin vulgaire en possédait davantage;" it is however quite consistent with that writer's usual attitude towards the *sermo plebeius.* [5] Bonnet, *l. l.*

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tains that diminutives, "aside from public discourses and didactic works, continued to circulate freely, though in less abundance than in ancient times." It is undoubtedly true that diminutives are more numerous in all the lighter forms of literature, as is well exemplified in the poems of Catull., and the letters of Cic. They were naturally prevalent in the *sermo cotidianus* throughout all grades of society, in the familiar conversation of friends and relatives, and above all in the language of love, and praise of beauty.[1] It was reserved however for the *sermo plebeius* to first rob them of their proper signification. Bonnet here objects that even in the writings of so late an author as Greg. Tur. the diminutive force remained undiminished in such words as did not usually take a diminutive suffix.[2] This fact however, far from forming a valid objection, is quite in accordance with the established view. It must be borne in mind that the weakening observed in certain classes of derivatives in plebeian Latin did not take place uniformly; it was the result, and not the cause of their inordinate use, and consequently began with those words most habitually employed. That the diminutive suffixes themselves never entirely lost their force is shown by the Romance languages, in which many of the new formations have a diminutive signification, as **Ital.**, *bestiuola, sassuolo, asinello, campanella, letticello;* **Span.**, *aceruelo, asnillo, frutilla, hombrecillo;* **Fr.**, *chevreau, renardeau, larronneau*, etc., while others are quite devoid of such force, as **Ital.**, *bracciuolo, camiciuola, anello, cappello, uccello;* **Span.**, *panuelo, capelo, ciudadela, martillo;* **Fr.**, *reseuil, tilleul, anneau, bateau, flambeau*, etc.[3] On the other hand, the process of weakening began in archaic times, as is evidenced by certain words whose diminutive force was practically forgotten before they were received into the classic speech, as *auonculus, puella, ancilla, capella*, etc., while in the popular language the gradual progress of the phenomenon continued uninterruptedly throughout the whole extent of Latinity. But it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the ever increasing number of diminutives is chiefly recruited from the words denoting objects of every-day

[1] Lorenz, Pseud., Einleit. p. 61, "Die Sprache der Liebe, die Schilderung weiblicher Jugend und Schönheit tritt hier selbstverständlich in die erste Reihe." [2] Bonnet, p. 459, "Il serait plus juste de dire que, en dehors du discourse public et des livres didactiques, les diminutifs continuèrent à circuler librement, bien qu'en moindre abondance que dans l'ancien temps." [3] *Conf.* Diez, p. 673, sq.

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life and of common interest. This has been admirably shown by Lorenz,[1] who gives an extensive list of such diminutives, drawn chiefly from Plaut. and Apul., grouping them under four general heads: 1st, The Family, as *matercula, sororcula, filiolus, puellula, nepotulus, infantulus, nutricula, seruolus, ancillula;* 2d, Parts of the Body, *corpusculum, capitulum, auricula, labellum, ocellus, digitulus, unguiculus, mammicula;* 3d, Natural Objects, Animals, Plants,[2] etc., *colliculus, fonticulus, grumulus, monticulus, riuulus,—asellus, catellus, equola, porculus,—arbusculum, flosculus, herbula, ramulus;* 4th, House and Home, Articles of daily use, Clothing, etc., *aedicula, aedificatiuncula, casula, cenaculum, cubiculum, *posticulum, tegula, uillula,—ampulla, arcula, armariolum, cistula, lectulus, mensula, speculum, uasculum,—*cincticulus, flabellum, pallula, tunicula,* etc.

This tendency of the plebeian class to add diminutive suffixes to all objects with which they came in daily contact extended naturally to the familiar details of their various means of livelihood; accordingly the technical vocabulary of farmer and artisan alike exhibits the same abundance of superfluous diminutives.[3] Such for instance are the numerous architectural terms used by Vitr., as *apicula, buccula, canaliculus, denticulus, modiolus,* etc., and the names of various agricultural implements, such as *arcula, corbula, rastellus, tribulus,* cited by Stuenkel from Varr.[4] The same tendency appears to some extent in the higher professions; Wölfflin,[5] in his treatise on the Latinity of Cass. Fel., has an interesting discussion on the fluctuation between certain primary and diminutive forms in the medical writers, citing among others *auricula, cucurbitula, febricula, tussicula,* (*ingens tussicula,* Cass. Fel. 40, p. 89,

[1] Lorenz, Pseud. Einleit., p. 57. [2] Diminutives as names of plants are especially frequent in the *sermo rusticus;* e.g., Cato, fabulus, filicula; Col., cicercula, digitellum, irtiola, lactucula, sticula; Plin., coroniola, spineola, uinaciola; Plin. Val., gladiola, etc. [3] Wölfflin, ALL. I., p. 127, (reviewing Ulrich, Vitr., Pt. I.), "Unbestreitbar ist auch dass viele termini technici des Bauhandwerkes Deminutiva waren, auch wo an Kleinheit gar nicht gedacht wird, . . . Darin liegt allerdings die Tendenz des gemeinen Mannes alles was bei ihm durch tägliche Beschäftigung vertraut geworden ist deminutiv zu bezeichnen;" *conf.* Kühner, Gramm. Lat. I., p. 667, Anm. 6, "sehr häufig sind Deminutive als technische Ausdrücke in einer Bedeutung die von der des Stammwortes wesentlich verschieden ist." [4] Stuenkel, p. 53, "eodem modo nomina instrumentorum rusticorum forman deminutiuam habent, in quibus notio deminuendi non inest." [5] Wölfflin, Cass. Fel., p. 408, sq.; *conf.* Rose, Cass. Fel., Index II. Latinus, *s. u.* tussicula, "— tussis, *ut* febricula."

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9). But wherever such weakening of the suffix is noticed it is in words which either in a general or a technical capacity must have been in constant employ. A majority of the diminutives which the *sermo plebeius* seems to have coined so freely, undoubtedly retained to a greater or less degree the original force of the suffix. An absence of diminutive signification from all the forms in Greg. Tur. would have been indeed a curious anomaly, but a uniformly correct use of them would have been stranger still. Thus he fluctuates between *corpus, corpusculum; genu, geniculum; hospitium, hospitiolum,* while the weakening of the suffixes is apparent in his use of reduplicated diminutives, as *ampullula, arcellula, fenestellula.*[1]

The existence of such reduplicated forms, together with numerous irregularities of structure, is clearly due to plebeian influence, and renders a brief survey of the methods of forming Latin diminutives desirable. While lacking the fertility of the Romance languages, Latin was far from deficient in the variety of its diminutive suffixes, as was already recognized by the Roman grammarians: Thus Prisc., p. 102, 5 sq., cites the somewhat incongruous array of examples, "*culus, ulus, olus, ellus, xillus, ullus, cio, aster, leus, tulus.*"[2] The language retained two Ind.-Germ. diminutive suffixes, -LA-, appearing in the simple form **-lus, a, um**, used mainly with stems of the 1st and 2nd decls., and -CA-, found in the isolated *homun-cio*,[3] and in the double suffix **-cu-lus, a, um**, the compound character of which was forgotten in the early Italic period,[4] and which formed simple diminutives from stems of the 3rd, 4th, and 5th decls. Similar compound suffixes are observed in other Ind.-Germ. branches: Brugmann compares **Gk.** *-κ-ιο-*; **Lat.** *-c-ulo-, -l-ulo-;* **Germ.** *-l-ina-;* **Lit.** *-le-la-*.[5] Latin however did not stop here, but continued to combine and reduplicate its suffixes still further, in order to add new force to the constantly weakening

[1] Bonnet, p. 460 sq. [2] *Conf.* Jeep, Gesch. d. Lehre v. d. Redetheilen bei d. Lat. Grammatt., p. 158. [3] The suffix -c-io appears also to have been a double diminutive, combining with -ca- the suffix -ien-, which elsewhere has an occasional diminutive force in Latin: e. g. pumil-io, pus-io, seneo-io; *conf.* Brugmann, II., p. 436. [4] Brugmann, II., p. 193, "Ein anderes, ursprünglich doppelt deminuierendes, in der historischen Zeit des Lateins aber nur als einfach deminuierend empfundenes Suffix entstand in der urital. Periode durch antritt von -lo- an das Deminutiv Suffix -ko-," comparing diecula, Osc. zicolois — diebus; *conf.* A. Weinhold, ALL. IV., p. 173; Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 333. [5] Brugmann, II., p. 436.

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diminutives. The addition of a second *-lus*, with the necessary phonetic changes, gave **-ellus, -illus, -cellus, -cillus**; a third *-lus* gave **-ellulus, -illulus**, etc.[1] These different degrees were recognized by the Roman grammarians: thus Diomed., 325, 25, cites, "*arca, arcula, arcella, arcellula*," while Prisc. 102, 3, attempts a still more extensive series in the example "*homo, homuncio, homunculus, homullus, homullulus*."[2] This usage however is most prominent in the *sermo plebeius*, which here as elsewhere gives preference to the longer forms. Especially rare in the classic writers are the forms of the third degree, **-ellulus**, etc., while numerous examples can be cited from the usual plebeian sources and from late writers in general: compare Plaut. *bellulus, cistellula, pauxillulus;* Tert., *flabellulum, puellula;* Laeu. *tenellulus;* Petr., *lamellula;* Apul. *tantillulus;* Solin. *cultellulus, lapillulus;* Arnob. *asellulus;* Lampr. *porcellulus;* Marc. Emp. *pastillulus;* Mart. Cap. *libellus*, etc.; *ancillula*, (Cic.), is defensible on the ground that in the time of Plaut. *ancilla* had already ceased to be regarded as a diminutive. Further instances of plebeian fondness for lengthened diminutive forms are found: I. in irregular formations in **-unculus** from stems other than those in **-on-**; II. in the substitution of **-culus** in place of the usual **-lus**, with stems of the 1st and 2nd decl.; III. in forms in **-usculus** from the comparative degree of adjectives; IV. in the endings **-ul-aster, -ast-ellus.** All of these will receive separate treatment, *infra* §§ 43, 44, 46, 47.

As to the general prevalence of diminutive forms in the *sermo plebeius*, the Romance languages form a valuable criterion, being not only prolific in all classes of diminutives, but rich in their variety of formative suffixes. The Latin suffixes, as previously noticed, have in the main survived, and have retained at least an occasional diminutive value.[3] Their impaired force however, coupled with the growing demand for diminutives, rendered them inadequate to the needs of the Romance languages, which largely increased their number. The new suffixes were acquired either by adoption from other languages, *e.g.*, in **Ruman.** -iţă from the Slavonic, -aş, -iş, from the Hungarian, in **Span.** *-arro* from the Iberian;[4] or by extension of

[1] *Conf.* in general A. Weinhold, ALL. IV., p. 174. [2] Jeep, *l. l.* [3] -ulus however, with diminutive value, is rare outside of Ital. and Ruman.; *conf.* Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr., II., p. 566. [4] Meyer-Lübke, *l. l.*

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the meaning of other Latin suffixes, notably of adjectives originally denoting resemblance, which by a simple and natural transition, acquired the idea of incompleteness, and hence of smallness: compare **-inus**, (**Ital.** *-ino*, **Span.** *-in*, **Port.** *-inho*), and to some extent **-icius**, **-uceus**, (**Ruman.** *-eţ*, *-uţ*, **Ital.** *-uccio*).[1] The same development may be ultimately traced in most diminutives: thus **Ind.-Germ.** -CA-, (dimin. = **O. Ind.** *-ka-*, **Gr.** *-ακ-ιο-*. **Lat.** *-cu-lo-*, **Balt.-Slav.** *-uqo-*), originally denoted simply resemblance;[2] so also **Gk.** *-ιο-ν*, (*ασπίδιον*, etc.), **Germ.** *-īna-*, (**Got.** *gáitein*, etc.).[3] In Latin the tendency to use such adjective suffixes as **-aceus**, **-aster**, **-inus**, **-leus**, in a diminutive sense is clearly shown by the grammarians, although instances of such usage do not occur in literature. Thus Charis. 37, 16, cites among diminutives the forms *beta betaceus*, *malua maluaceus*, with the comment "*ut Varro dixit*," and Prisc. 102, 3, gives *parasitaster* as an example of diminutives in **-aster**; while for **-inus** we have the example already cited from the Nott. Tiron.[4] "*geminus, gemellus, gemininus.*" In like manner **-leus**, of which Prisc. *l. l.*, cites the examples *aculeus*, *eculeus*, is now regarded as an adjective suffix denoting resemblance.[5]

The Romance languages also show the same fondness as the *sermo plebeius* for compound diminutives. Not only have the simple forms in **-ulus**, **-culus** been largely replaced by those in **-ellus**, **-cellus**, etc.,[6] but the separate languages show many new combinations, as **Ruman** *-iş-or*, *-uş-or*, (*cănişor*, *friguşor*), **Ital.** *-att-olo*, *-ett-uolo*, *-icci-uolo*, (*scojattolo*, *civettuola*, *guerricciuola*); **Span.** *-iqu-illo*, (*hombreciquillo*), etc.[7]

§ 40. GENDER OF DIMINUTIVES: Before proceeding to a consideration of the separate classes of diminutives a few words must be said about irregularities of gender. The whole question has been so exhaustively treated by A. Weinhold, in the article "Genuswechsel der Diminutiva, (Archiv f. Lat. Lex.

[1] Meyer-Lübke *l. l.* [2] Brugmann, II., p. 247, "nur etwas Aehnliches wie das Grundwort." [3] *Conf.* Brugmann, II., pp. 121, 149. [4] *Conf. supra* § 35, p. 141. [5] A. Weinhold, ALL. V., p. 175 citing Schwabe, Demin. Gk. et Lat., Pancker, Lat. Demin., Mitau, 1876. [6] Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr., II., pp. 543–5; Diez, p. 670, "Dieses suffix (ellus, illus) gewann als Verkleinerungsform . . . in den jüngern Sprachen grosse Verbreitung und verdrängte *ulus* aus den meisten Wörtern," comparing *martulus*, *ramulus*, etc., O. Fr. *martel*, *ramel*, etc. [7] Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr., II., p. 566; Diez, p. 619.

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IV., pp. 169–88), that it may here be considered only briefly. Latin diminutives, unlike the Greek in -ιον, regularly retained the gender of the simple noun. Numerous exceptions to this rule are cited, from Plaut., the Scriptt. R. R., Cic. Ep., Vitr., and especially from the later writers. A large proportion, however, are only apparent exceptions: a number of those cited as such are not properly diminutives at all, but *instrumentalia*, as *cenaculum*, *sediculum*. Of the genuine diminutives many can be explained as having preserved the original gender of the primary word, and for this reason may be regarded as a species of archaism: compare *gladiolum*, for the use of which Messala is censured by Quint., 1, 6, 42, but which is to be referred, not to *gladius*, but to the older form *gladium*,[1] (Lucil. *Fr. Inc.* 85; Varr. *L. L.* 9. 81; *al.*); *lintriculus*, Cic. *ad Att.* 10, 10, 5, (*linter*, *s. m.*, *conf.* Prisc. 5, 8, 42).[2] In other cases the irregularity is due to the uncertainty and fluctuation of gender of the simple noun in the classical and post-classical periods: as for instance *diecula*, Plaut. *Pseud.* 710, Ter., (*dies*, *s. f.*, *passim*); *deliciolum*, Sen. *Ep.* 12, 3, (*delicium*, Phaedr., 4, 1, 8, *et Al.*); *lauriculus*, Marc. Emp. 30, 72, (*laurus decoctus*, Id. 8, 36; *substrato lauro*, Pall. 12, 22, 4). In all such cases however the more careful writers make the diminutive conform in gender to what is considered the best usage for the simple word; the unusual forms should be attributed to the laxity of the popular speech.

Besides these apparent exceptions there are certain classes of forms which are evident infringements of the rule, and which plainly show the influence of the *sermo plebeius*. Most important among these are the words in which change of gender is due to change in signification. Such words are largely technical terms, in which we have already seen that the diminutive force had become blunted, so that they may not have been thought of as diminutives at all. From architectural language we have *geniculus*, (*genu*), Vitr. 8, 6, 6; *scamillus*, (*scamnum*), Id. 3, 4, 5; al.; from the rustic speech certain, names of plants, as *digitellum* (*digitus*), Col. 12, 7, 1; Plin.;

[1] A. Weinhold, *l. l.*, p. 180, "diese Form (*gladium*) von Altertümlern bewahrt wurde, die demgemäss auch *gladiolum* brauchten." [2] A. Weinhold, *l. l.*, "Kein andrer Grund als dass man wohl in der Sprache des gewöhnlichen Lebens linter noch als Maskulinum brauchte, bestimmte Cicero . . . zur Bildung *lintriculus*."

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gladiola, Plin. Val. 1, 13; and the technical word *campicellum*, (*campus*), from the Gromat. Vet. 312, 9; al.; lastly, numerous examples from medical terminology: *fasciolum*, (*fascia*), Veg. *Vet.* 3, 57, 1; *hordeolus*, (*hordeum*), Plin. Val. 1, 18, Marc. Emp. et Al.; *saccellum*, (*saccus*), Plin. Val. 2, 18; *urciola*, (*urceus*), Pelag. *Vet.* 12, 205; *fellicula*, (*fel*), Isid. 4, 5, 4. Closely connected with this class are the various diminutives used as *nomina personalia* and formed to some extent at least from names of animals: these certainly originate in the *sermo cotidianus*. Such are *simiolus*, (*simia*), Cic. *ad Fam.* 7, 2, 3; *turturilla*, (*turtur*, *s. m.*, but *s. f. semel*, Plin. 30, 68), Sen. *Ep.* 96, 5; *passercula*, (*passer*, *s. m.*), M. Aurel. *ap. Front. ad M. Caes.* 4, 6. Still more irregular are the forms which assumed by attraction the gender of some synonomous substantive, as *tergilla* (*tergum*), Ps.-Apic. 4, 174, through the influence of *cutis*; *uitellum*, (*uitulus*), in sense of 'yolk,' Varr. *ap. Prob. ad Verg. Ecl.* 6, 31, due similarly to *ouum*.[1]

Lastly the late writers furnish a supply of miscellaneous examples, for which no definite explanation can be given: such are *circulum*, Iordan. 55, 3; *furfuriculae*, Marc. Emp. 5, 45; *herediolus*, Apul. *Flor.* 11; *pernunculus*, Not. Tir. 167, and numerous others cited by Weinhold. These are in some cases accompanied by a corresponding change, in late Latin, in the gender of the simple word: compare *cerebellus*, Oribas. 20, 17; Al.; *cereber*, Caper *de Orth.* 7, 103, 6 K.

This growing laxity in the gender of diminutives has continued in the Romance languages, where masc. diminutives frequently come from fem. stems and conversely; compare **Ital.** *casa, casone; perla, perlino; bestia, bestiuolo;* **Span.** *aguila, aguilucho; espada, espadin;* etc.[2]

§ 41. DIMINUTIVE SUBSTANTIVES: The following is a general list of the rarer diminutive substantives, exclusive of such as will receive separate treatment in subsequent sections. It is far from complete, except perhaps for the authors of the silver Latin period, but will serve to show the enormous fertil-

[1] Weinhold cites also *statunculum* (*statua*), Petr. 50, 6, as due to the influence of *signum*; it seems, however, more likely that it was one of the numerous Greciams in the speech of the semi-Greek *libertus* Trimalchio, to whom the Latin *signum* would be less apt to occur than the Greek ἡ εἰκών — *statua*, with its corresponding diminutive τὸ εἰκόνιον — *statunculum*. [2] Diez, p. 617; Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr. II., p. 430.

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ity of these formations, in all authors who exhibit any laxity of style.[1]

Plavtvs.

aerumnula, *Fab. Inc. Fr.* XI
agnellus,[2] *Asin.* 667
amatorculus, *Poen.* 236
anaticula,[3] *Asin.* 693
anellus,[4] *Epid.* 640
anguilla,[5] *Pseud.* 747
animulus, *Men.* 361; *al.*
apicula,[6] *Curc.* 10
auricula,[7] *Asin.* 668; *al.*
blandicella, orum, *Fab. Inc. Fr.* XIII.
buccula,[8] *Truc.* 290
caltula, *Epid.* 231
canilla,[9] *Aul.* 638
celocula, *Mil.* 1006
cincticulus, *Bacch.* 432
cistella,[10] *Cist.* 637; *al.*
cistellula, *Rud.* 391
cistula,[11] *Amph.* 420; *al.*
corculum,[12] *Most.* 986; *al.*
corolla,[13] *Bacch.* 70
crepidula,[14] *Pers.* 464
*crocotillus, *ap. Paul. ex Fest.* 52, 20
crocotula,[15] *Epid.* 231
crumilla, *Pers.* 687
crusculum,[16] *Cist.* 408
culcitula,[17] *Most.* 894
curculiunculus, *Rud.* 1325
diecula,[18] *Pseud.* 503
ensiculus,[19] *Rud.* 1156
fabula, (*faba*), *Stich.* 690
guttula,[20] *Epid.* 554
haedillus, *Asin.* 667
hamulus,[21] *Stich.* 289
horiola,[22] *Trin.* 942
inducula, *Epid.* 223
lenunculus,[23] (*leno*), *Poen.* 1286
lenullus, *Id.* 471
linteolum,[24] *Epid.* 230
lolliguncula, *Cas.* 493
lupillus, *Stich.* 691
lusciniola,[25] *Bacch.* 38
manicula,[26] *Rud.* 1169
matula,[27] *Most.* 386
mammicula, *Pseud.* 1261
mamilla,[28] *Pseud.* 180
mellilla, *Cas.* 135
mensula,[29] *Most.* 308
murmurillum, *Rud.* 1404
nepotulus, *Mil.* 1413; *al.*

[1] I have received much help from the articles by Paucker, Deminutive mit doppeltem l, Ztschr. f. vergl. Spr. 23, p. 169 sq.: Deminutive mit d. Suffix -c-ulus, a, um, Ztschr. f. Oest. Gymn. 27, p. 595 sq.; but have not had access to that on the Deminutive auf einfaches -ulus, -ula, -ulum, Mitau, 1876.

[2] Prisc.; Pompei. Gramm.; Cassiod. [3] Cic., *semel*, (Fin. 5, 15, 42). [4] *Lucr.; Hor. Sat. [5] Varr.; Plin.; Iuuen.; Isid. [6] Plin.; Fronto; Ambros.; Augustin.; Thom. Thes. [7] Lucr.; Cornif. Rhet.; Cic. Ep.; Hor. Ep.; Pers.; Plin.; Suet.; Vulg. [8] Liu.; Vitr.; Iuuen.; Suet.; Apul. Met.; Capit.; Arnob.; Anthim.; ICt. [9] Mart. Cap.; *form cauillus* —Apul. Met.; *cauillum* —Paul. ex Fest.; Apul. Met.; *abl.*, *cauillo* — Aur. Vict.; Iulian. ap. Augustin. [10] Ter.; Cornif. Rhet. [11] Varr.; Mart.; Apul. Met.; Arnob. [12] Apul.; Solin.; *conf.* (Scipio Nasica) Corculum. [13] Enn.; Catull.; Petr.; Plin.; *form coronula* — Vulg. [14] *Conf.* Gell. 13, 21, 5. [15] Verg. Catal. [16] *Conf.* Paul. ex Fest. 53, 1. [17] Lucil.; Diom. [18] Ter.; Cic. Ep.; Apul. Met.; Seru. ad Aen.; Ps.-Ascon. [19] *Conf.* Charis. 155, 17. [20] Lampr.; Fulg. Myth.; Paul. Nol. [21] Cels. [22] Gell. [23] *Conf.* Prisc. 3, 34. [24] Col.; Plin.; Scribon.; Tert.; Vulg.; Prud.; Cael. Aur. [25] Varr. [26] Laeu.; Varr.; Vitr. [27] Varr. Sat. Men.; Vlp. Dig.; Hier. [28] Varr. R.R.; Vell.; Iuuen.; Vulg.; Augustin. [29] Petr.; Apul. Met.; Pacat. Pan.; Mart. Cap.; Gromat. Vet.

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numella,[1] *Asin.* 550
ocellus,[2] *Rud.* 422
palliolum,[3] *Epid.* 194
pallula, *Truc.* 52
peniculus,[4] *Men.* 391
persolla, *Curc.* 192
pistillum,[5] *Aul.* 95
porcella,[6] *Mil.* 1060
porculus,[7] *Rud.* 1170
posticulum, *Trin.* 194; *al.*
*recula,[8] *ap. Prisc.* 3, 33
schoenicula, *Cist.* 407
scrutillus, *Fab. Inc. Fr.* XXXIX.
securicula,[9] *Rud.* 1158
sororcula, *ap. Prisc.* 3, 30
staticulus,[10] (*status*), *Pers.* 824
tegillum, *Rud.* 576
tigillum,[11] *Aul.* 301
torulus,[12] *Amph.* 144
tusculum, (*tus*), *Aul.* 385
*uatillum, *Trin.* 492
uerculum, *Cas.* 837
ungulus,[13] *Epid.* 623
uolsella,[14] *Curc.* 577
uxorcula,[15] *Cas.* 844

Ennivs.
apriculus,[16] *Hedyph.* 5, *p.* 166 *ed. Vahl.*

Cato,
asserculum,[17] *R. R.* 12; *al.*
catella,[18] (*catena*), *Id.* 135, 1
cauliculus,[19] (coliculus), *Id.* 158, 1
craticula,[20] *Id.* 13, 1
cupula, (2. *cupa*), *Id.* 21, 3
fabulus,[21] (*fabus*), *Id.* 70, 1
filicula,[22] (*filix*), *Id.* 158, 1
fiscella,[23] *Id.* 88, 1
fossula,[24] *Id.* 161, 4
iusculum, *Id.* 156, 7
matella,[25] *Id.* 10, 2; *al.*
mateola, *Id.* 45
moscilli, orum, *Inc. Libr. Fr.* 33
orbiculus,[26] *R. R.* 22, 2; *al.*
pocillum,[27] *Id.* 156, 3
pugillus,[28] *Id.* 158, 1
punctariola, *Oratt.* 28
rudicula,[29] *R. R.* 95, 1
sauillum, *Id.* 84
trabecula,[30] *Id.* 18, 5

Pacvvivs.
tonsilla,[31] *Tr.* 218

Terentivs.
cellula,[32] *Eun.* 310
flabellulum, *Id.* 598
flabellum,[33] *Id.* 595
pistrilla, *Adelph.* 584
puellula,[34] *Phorm.* 81

Titinivs.
cerebellum,[35] *Com.* 90

[1] Col.; Placid. Gloss.; *conf.* Fest. 175, 18. [2] Cic. Ep.; Catull.; Ou.; Plin.; Iuuen.; Aug. ap. Gell. [3] Caecil.; Ou.; Sen.; Mart.; Iuuen.; Quint.; Apul. Met. [4] Ter.; Fest.; Marcian. Dig. [5] Nou. Com.; Col.; Plin. [6] Th. Prisc. [7] Plin.; Gell.; *alio sensu* — Cato. [8] Donat. Vit. Verg.; *form rescula* — Apul. Met.; Saluian. [9] Vitr.; Plin.; Mart.; Not. Tir. [10] Cato Oratt. [11] Catull.; Tibull.; Liu.; Phaedr.; Iuuen.; Apul. Met.; Aur. Vict. [12] Varr. L. L.; Vitr.; Apul. Met.; Amm. [13] Pacuu.; Auct. Atellan. ap. Fest. [14] Varr. L. L.; Mart.; Cels. [15] Varr. Sat. Men.; Apul. Met.; Hier. Ep. [16] Apul. [17] *form -culus* — Col.; Gloss. Labb. [18] Caecil. Com.; Hor. Ep.; Liu.; Plin. [19] Varr.; Vitr.; Cels.; Col.; Plin.; Scrib.; Suet.; Gargil. Mart.; *form coliclus* — Ps.-Apic. [20] Mart.; Petr.; Vulg.; Augustin.; Ps.-Apic. [21] Varr. R. R.; Gell. [22] Cels.; Col. [23] Verg. Ecl.; Ou.; Tibull.; Col.; Plin.; Pall. [24] Col.; Gromat. Vet. [25] Varr. Sat. Men.; Sen.; Petr.; Mart. [26] Vitr.; Col.; Inscrr. [27] Liu.; Suet. [28] Plin.; Prud.; Vulg. [29] Col.; Plin. [30] *form -icula* — Vitr.; Auct. Itin. Alex.; Inscrr. [31] Att. [32] Sen.; Col.; Petr.; Apul. Met.; Min. Fel.; Arnob.; Hier. ap. Augustin. [33] Cic., *semel*, (Flacc. 54); Prop.; Mart.; Augustin. [34] Pompon. Com.; Catull.; Arnob.; Hier. [35] Cels.; Petr.; Th. Prisc.

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farticulum, *Id.* 90
heluella,[1] *Id.* 162
pinnulus,[2] *Id.* 140
rapula,[3] *Id.* 164

Tvrpilivs.
remulus (*remus*), *Com.* 97
ricula,[4] *Id.* 74

Lvcilivs.
austellus, *Sat.* 16, 8
canalicula,[5] *Id. Fr. Inc.* XLIX.
*ficella,[6] *Id.* 29, 87
rutellum, *Id.* 9, 68
tesserula,[7] *Inc. Fr.* 33

Laevivs.
*manciola, *ap. Gell.* 19, 7, 10

Pomponivs.
uepreeula,[8] *Com.* 130

Varro.
anicilla, *L. L.* 9, 74
anicula,[9] *Id.* 8, 79
catinulus,[10] *ap Charis.* 80, 3
*cincennulus, *Sat. Men.* 184 *ed. Riese.*
clauula, *R. R.* 1, 40, 4
cultellus,[11] *R. R.* 1, 69, 2; *al.*
equulus, *Id.* 2, 7, 13
foricula, *Id.* 1, 59, 1
fundula, *L. L.* 5, 145
fundulus,[12] *Id.* 5, 111
furcilla,[13] *R. R.* 1, 49, 1
geniculum,[14] *L. L.* 9, 11
homullus,[15] *Sat. Men.* 92; *al.*
langula,[16] *L. L.* 5, 120
mammula,[17] *R. R.* 2, 3, 2
motacilla,[18] *L. L.* 5, 76
nuptula, *Sat. Men.* 10
offula,[19] *L. L.* 5, 110
ollula,[20] *R. R.* 1, 54, 2
*opicillum, *ap. Non.* 83, 25
pastillum,[21] *ap. Charis.* 24, *P.*
paxillus,[22] *ap. Non.* 153, 9
pectunculus,[23] *Sat. Men.* 403
plostellum,[24] *R. R.* 1, 52, 1
porcellus,[25] *Id.* 2, 4, 14
rastellus,[26] *Id.* 1, 22, 1; *al.*
scrobiculus,[27] *ap. Non.* 225, 9
silicula, *R. R.* 1, 23, 3
tegeticula,[28] *Id.* 3, 8, 2; *al.*
tubulus,[29] *Id.* 1, 8, 4

Lvcretivs.
angellus,[30] 2, 428
crepitacillum,[31] 5, 229
latusculum,[32] 4, 305
opella,[33] 1, 1106
uermiculus,[34] 2, 899

Cicero (Epistt.).
actuariola, *ad Att.* 10, 11, 4; & 16, 3, 6
cerula,[35] *Id.* 15, 14, 4 & 16, 11, 1
chartula,[36] *ad Fam.* 7, 18, 2
classicula, *ad Att.* 16, 2, 4
deliciolae,[37] *arum, Id.* 1, 8, *fin.*

[1] Cic. Ep. [2] Maecin. ap. Suet.; Plin.; Vulg.; Gloss. Labb. [3] *form rapulum* — Hor. Sat. [4] Fest.; Isid. [5] Varr. R. R.; Gell. [6] *Iuuen. [7] Varr. R.R.; Pers.; Gell. [8] Cic., *semel*, (Sest. 72); Prisc. [9] Suet.; Fronto; Gell.; Apul.; Salu.; Amm.; Cael. Aur. [10] *Conf.* Diom. 326, 7. [11] Hor. Ep.; Vitr.; Val. Max.; Plin.; Vell.; Ps.-Apic.; ICt. [12] Vitr. [13] Cic. Ep.; Catull. [14] Plin.; Tert.; Veget.; Vulg.; Mart. Cap.; Greg. Tur.; *form -culus* — Vitr. [15] Lucr.; Cic., *semel*, (Pis. 59). [16] *form lancula* — Vitr. 10, 3, 4. [17] Cels.; Inscrr. [18] Plin.; Arnob. [19] Col.; Petr.; Claud. ap. Suet.; Apul. Met.; Veget.; Pall.; *conf.* Suet. Claud. 40. [20] Apul. Met.; Arnob.; Gargil. Mart. [21] Paul. ex Fest.; *form -lus*, — Hor. Sat.; Cels.; Plin.; Mart. [22] Col.; Plin.; Vulg. [23] Col.; Plin. [24] Hor. Sat.; Augustin. [25] Varr.; Phaedr.; Plin.; Suet. [26] Col.; Suet. [27] Col.; Plin. [28] Col.; Mart. [29] Vitr.; Plin. [30] Arnob. [31] Tert. [32] Catull. [33] Hor. Ep. [34] Plin.; Grat. Cyn.; Lampr.; Vulg.; Inscrr. [35] Inscrr. [36] Gai. Inst.; Fronto; Prud.; Arnob. [37] *Form deliciolum* — Sen. Ep. 12, 3.

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dextella, *Id.* 14, 20, 5
laureola, *ad Fam.* 2, 10, 2; *al.*
lintriculus, *ad Att.* 10, 10, 5
litterulae,[1] *Id.* 7, 2, 8; *al.*
memoriola,[2] *Id.* 12, 1, 2
nauseola, *Id.* 14, 8, 2
olusculum,[3] *Id.* 6, 1, 13
oppidulum,[4] *ad Q. Fr.* 2, 10, 2
pagella,[5] *ad Fam.* 11, 25, 2
plebecula,[6] *ad Att.* 1, 16, 11
ripula, *Id.* 15, 16 *b.*
rutula, *ad Fam.* 9, 22, 3
sedicula,[7] *ad Att.* 4, 10, 1
seruula, *Id.* 1, 12, 3
simiolus, *ad Fam.* 7, 2, 3
uindemiola, *ad Att.* 1, 10, 4
uulticulus, *Id.* 14, 20, 5

Laberius.
camella,[8] *ap. Gell.* 16, 7, 9
foriolus, *Com.* 66

Auct. Bell. Afric.
nauigiolum,[9] 63, 2
tentoriolum, 47, 5

Catvllvs.
auricilla, 25, 2
femella, 55, 7
medullula, 25, 2
pupulus,[10] 56, 5
salillum,[11] 23, 19
sarcinula,[12] 28, 2
sauiolum,[13] 99, 2; *al.*
scortillum, 10, 3
sicula, 67, 21
zonula,[14] 61, 53

Horatius.
cornicula,[15] *Ep.* 1, 3, 19
fonticulus,[16] *Sat.* 1, 1, 56
pileolus,[17] *Ep.* 1, 13, 15
popellus,[18] *Id.* 1, 7, 65

Vitrvvius.
axiculus (l. *axis*), 10, 2, 1; *al.*
buccula,[19] 10, 15, 3
canaliculus,[20] 10, 9
denticulus,[21] 1, 2, 6; *al.*
fornacula,[22] 7, 10, 2
glebula,[23] 8, 3, 13
lamella,[24] 7, 3, 9
scamillus,[25] 3, 4, 5; *al.*
transtillum, 5, 12, 3
turricula,[26] 10, 13, 6

Celsvs.
bullula,[27] 2, 5, *extr.*
cerebellum,[28] 2, 22
cicatricula, 2, 10, *extr.*
cucurbitula,[29] 4, 27, 1; *al.*
glandula,[30] 4, 1
habenula, 7, 4, 4
lanula, 7, 27 *in.; al.*
lenticula,[31] 2, 33
micula,[32] 2, 5 *extr.*

[1] *Sexies in Epp., et semel*, (in Verr., 4, 43, 93). [2] Inscrr. [3] Hor. Sat.; Iuuen.; Fronto; Gell. [4] Hor. Sat.; Hier. ap. Augustin. [5] Vulg. [6] Hor. Ep.; Hier. Ep.; *form plebicula* — Iul. Val. [7] *Form sediculum* cited ap. Varr. L. L. 8, 54. [8] Ou. Fast.; Petr. [9] Lentul. ap. Cic. Ep. [10] Sen. Ep.; Arnob. [11] Plaut. Trin. 492 ed. Ritschel — *uatillum.* [12] Petr.; Iuuen.; Plin. Ep.; Gell.; Apul.; Vulg.; Augustin. [13] Apul. Met. [14] Seren. ap. Non.; Alex. Seu. ap. Lampr. [15] Vulg.; Hier. [16] Vitr.; Col.; Plin. [17] Col.; *form -olum* — Hier. Ep. [18] Pers. [19] Liu.; Suet.; Iuuen.; Apul. Met.; Arnob.; Capitol. [20] Cels.; Col.; Pall. [21] Apul.; Pall. [22] Iuuen.; Fronto; Apul. [23] Val. Max.; Col.; Petr.; Scrib.; Iuuen.; Plin. Ep.; Apul.; Arnob. [24] Sen.; Pelag. Vet. [25] *Form scamellum* — Apul.; Not. Tir. [26] Mart.; Pall. [27] Hier. [28] Petr.; Th. Prisc. [29] Scrib. [30] Mart.; Charis.; Prisc.; Pa.-Apic. [31] Scrib.; Plin.; Pall.; Veget.; Vulg.; Isid. [32] Fronto; Arnob.

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panniculus,[1] 7, 29
pediculus,[2] (*pedis*), 6, 6, 15
pulticula,[3] 2, 30; *al.*
pusula,[4] 5, 28, 15; *al.*
pyxidicula, 6, 6, 5
saccellus,[5] 4, 4 *med.*
sertula,[6] 5, 11
squamula, 5, 28, 17; *al.*
trunculus, 2, 20; *al.*
tuberculum,[7] 5, 18, 16; *al.*
tussicula,[8] 4, 5
uenula,[9] 2, 6 *in.*
uerrucula,[10] 5, 28, 14
ulcusculum,[11] 5, 28, 15
utriculus,[12] (*uter*) 3, 27, 2; *al.*

Phaedrvs.
auritulus, 1, 11, 6

Colvmella.
alecula, 6, 8, 2; *al.*
anserculus, 8, 14, 7
areola,[13] *Poet.* 10, 362
cantheriolus, 11, 3, 58
cicercula,[14] 2, 10, 19; *al.*
clinulus,[15] 6, 37, 10
corticulus, 12, 49, 10; *al.*
cristula, 8, 2, 8
digitellum,[16] 12, 7, 1
dolabella,[17] 2, 24, 4
fiscellus, 12, 38, 6
gladiolus,[18] 9, 44
hamula,[19] *Poet.* 10, 387
heluolus, 3, 2, 23; *al.*
herediolum,[20] 1, *Praef.* 13
irtiola,[21] 3, 2, 28
lactucula,[22] *Poet.* 10, 111
lacusculus, 12, 52, 3
massula,[23] 12, 38, 2; *al.*
ostiolum,[24] 8, 14, 1
plumula,[25] 8, 5, 19
ponducculum,[26] 12, 51, 1
pullulus, (3. *pullus*), 2, 2, 19
puluinulus, *Arb.* 10, 4
radiolus,[27] 12, 19, 2
rostellum,[28] 8, 5, 14
scirpula,[29] 3, 2, 27
siluula,[30] 8, 15, 4
spongiola,[31] 11, 3, 44
sticula, 3, 2, 27
taeniola, 11, 3, 23
taleola, 3, 17, 1; *al.*
ualuola,[32] 2, 17, 7
uisulla,[33] 3, 2, 21

Persivs.
cuticula,[34] 4, 18
seriola,[35] 4, 29

Petronivs.
alicula,[36] (ἁλλιξ) 40, 5
amasiuncula, 75
amasiunculus, 45, 7
*arietillus, 39
basiolum,[37] 85, 6
capsella,[38] 67, 9
casula,[39] 44; *al.*
catella,[40] (*catula*), 64, 6

[1] Iuuen.; Intpr. Iren.; *nom. propr.* Panniculus — Mart. 2, 72, 4. [2] Col.; Plin.; *form peduculus* — Plin.; Pelag. Vet.; Gloss. Philox; Not. Tir. [3] Arnob. [4] Sen.; Col.; Plin.; Paul. ex Fest. [5] Petr.; Veget.; Coripp.; Augustin. [6] Plin. [7] Plin.; Scrib. [8] Plin. Ep.; Cael. Aur. [9] Quint.; Cl. Mam. [10] Arnob. [11] Sen.; Plin. [12] Apul. Met. [13] Plin. Ep.; Vulg.; Lampr.; Inscrr. [14] Plin.; Pall.; Pelag. Vet.; Gloss. Labb. [15] Apul. Met. [16] Plin. [17] *Nom. Propr. Dolabella, passim.* [18] Plin.; Gell.; Apul.; Pall.; Plin. Val. *form-um* — Messala ap. Quint. [19] Vulg. [20] Gell.; Apul.; Auson.; Placid. Gloss. [21] Plin. [22] Suet.; Pall. [23] Marc. Emp. [24] Petr.; Plin.; Vulg. [25] Apul. Met.; Pelag. Vet. [26] Plin.; Solin. [27] Plin.; Apul.; Amm. [28] Plin. [29] Plin. [30] Sidon. [31] Plin. [32] Fest. [33] Plin. [34] Iuuen. [35] Pall. [36] Mart.; Vlp. Dig. [37] Apul.; Not. Bern. [38] Vlp. Dig.; Vulg. [39] Plin.; Apul.; Ven. Fort. [40] Mart.; Iuuen.; Hier. Ep.

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clostellum, 140, 11
comula,[1] 58
corcillum, 75, 8
cucumula, 136, 2
lamellula, 57, 6
lodicula,[2] 20, 2
*machilla, 64
ossiculum,[3] 65
sterilicula, 35, 3
taurulus, 39, 6

PLINIVS.
*ardeola, 10, 164; *al.*
arenula,[4] 30, 24
bacula,[5] 25, 96
cauernula, 27, 98
coroniola, 21, 19
coticula,[6] 33, 126
dracunculus,[7] 32, 148
forficula,[8] 25, 58
gerricula, 32, 148
grumulus,[9] 19, 112
hirculus,[10] 12, 46
iuniculus, 17, 182
lumbulus,[11] 28, 169
nodulus,[12] 21, 36
perniunculus, 26, 106
pullulus,[13] (1. *pullus*), 17, 65
sanguiculus, 28, 209
serratula, 25, 84
spineola, 21, 16
strophiolum,[14] 21, 3
surcula, 14, 34
uaginula,[15] 18, 61
uericulum,[16] 33, 107
uerticillus,[17] 37, 37
uinaciola, 14, 38
uiriola,[18] 33, 40
utriculus,[19] (*uterus*) 11, 31

MARTIALIS.
botellus,[20] 5, 78, 9; *al.*
bucella,[21] 6, 75, 3
galericulum,[22] 14, 50, *Lemm.*
lecticariola, 12, 58, 2
mannulus,[23] 12, 24, 8
ofella,[24] 10, 48, 15
sestertiolus, 1, 58, 5
thermula, 6, 42, 1
umbella,[25] 11, 73, 6

IVVENALIS.
bracteola,[26] 13, 152
foruli, orum,[27] (*forus*), 3, 219
haedulus, 11, 65
petasunculus, (*petaso*), 7, 119
unciola,[28] 1, 40

FRONTO.
anulla,[29] *ad Amic.* 1, 15, *p.* 185, 2 *N.*
formicula,[30] *ad Ver. Imp.* 2, 8, *p.* 137, 3 *N.*
naeuulus,[31] *ad Anton. Imp.* 1, 2, *p.* 98, 18 *N.*
prunulum, *de Oratt. p.* 155, 20 *N.*

GELLIVS.
argutiola, 2, 7, 9; *al.*
barbasculus, 15, 5, 3
lineola, 10, 1, 9
rusculum, 19, 9, 1
saltatricula, 1, 5, 3

[1] Commodian. [2] Suet. [3] Plin.; Gell.; Veget.; Ps.-Apic.; Inscrr. [4] Diom. [5] Arnob.; Cael. Aur. [6] Isid. [7] Lampr.; Iul. Val.; Inscrr. [8] Apul. Met. [9] Apul. Met. [10] Auct. Priap. [11] Ps.-Apic. [12] Apul. Met. [13] Apul. Met. [14] Tert. [15] Not. Tir. [16] Veget. [17] Apul. Herb. [18] Vlp. Dig.; Scaeuol. Dig.; Isid.; Gloss. Labb. [19] Ps.-Apic. [20] Sidon. Ep.; Ps.-Apic. [21] Vulg.; Ps.-Cypr.; Ps.-Apic.; Cod. Theod.; Anthim.; Gloss. Labb.; Not. Tir. [22] Suet.; Frontin.; Charis.; Gloss. Labb. [23] Plin. Ep. [24] Iuuen.; Ser. Samm.; Prud. [25] Iuuen. [26] Lampr.; Arnob.; Prud. [27] Suet.; Paul. ex Fest. [28] Hier. Ep. [29] Prud. [30] Apul.; Arnob.; Augustin. [31] Gell.; Apul.

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Apvleivs.

aquariolus,[1] *Apol.* 78
astulus, *Met.* 9, 1
*aucella,[2] *Id.* 9, 33
aulula, (*olla*), *Id.* 5, 20
colliculus, *Flor.* 1
dammula,[3] *Met.* 8, 4
domuscula, *Id.* 4, 26
fenestrula, *Id.* 9, 42
floscellus,[4] *Herb.* 50
flucticulus, *Apol.* 35
foliolum,[5] *Herb.* 61
frustulum, *Met.* 1, 19
fusticulus,[6] *Id.* 6, 18
gallinula,[7] *Id.* 2, 11
gingiuula,[8] *Apol.* 6
grabatulus, *Met.* 1, 11; *al.*
gustulum, *Id.* 9, 33; *al.*
infantula,[9] *Id.* 10, 28
infantulus,[10] *Id.* 8, 15
mercuriolus, *Apol.* 61 & 63
operula,[11] *Met.* 1, 7
palumbulus, *Id.* 10, 22; *al.*
pannulus,[12] *Id.* 7, 5; *al.*
papauerculum, *Herb.* 7
posticula, *Met.* 2, 23
puerculus,[13] *Herb.* 25, 3
ranula,[14] *Met.* 9, 34
retiolum,[15] *Id.* 8, 4
rotundula, *Herb.* 13
saepicula, (*saepes*), *Met.* 8, 20
sagittula, *Met.* 10, 32
scurrula,[16] *Id.* 10, 16
seniculus, *Id.* 1, 25
spicula, *Herb.* 26
spinula,[17] *Met.* 10, 32
strigilecula, *Flor.* 9, *p.* 11, 11 *Kr.*
thyrsiculus, *Herb.* 98
tuguriolum,[18] *Met.* 4, 12
turbula, *Id.* 10, 35; *al.*
ueretilla, *Apol.* 34
uiricula,[19] *Met.* 11, 28

Tertvllianvs.

aurula,[20] *Anim.* 28
caccabulus,[21] *Apol.* 13
flocculus,[22] *ad Nat.* 1, 5
fumariolum, *Poenit.* 12
gesticulus, *Apol.* 19
histriculus,[23] *Pall.* 4
iuuencula,[24] *adu. Iud.* 9; *al.*
materiola, *Bapt.* 17
ouicula,[25] *Pall.* 5
papiliunculus, *Anim.* 32
scortulum, *ad Nat.* 2, 10
seruiculus, *Idol.* 10
sparteolus,[26] *Apol.* 39
strophulus, *Virg. Vel.* 10

Vlpianvs.

cupula,[27] (1. *cupa*), *Dig.* 33, 6, 3, 1
hospitiolum,[28] *Id.* 9, 3, 5
uulnusculus,[29] *Id.* 21, 1, 1, 8

Solinvs.

cultellulus, 35, 6
lapillulus, 10, 12
pulmunculus,[30] 49, 9
punctillum, 15 *fin.*
unguilla, 27, 56

Trebellivs Pollio.

*costula, *Maxim. Duor.* 27, 8

[1] Tert.; *conf.* Paul. ex Fest. 22, 12. [2] Ps.-Apic.; Anthim.; Gloss. Labb. [3] Vulg.; Not. Tir. [4] Not. Bern. [5] *Arnob. [6] Pall. [7] Arnob. [8] Veget. [9] Sidon. Ep. [10] Nazar. Pan.; Hier.; Augustin. [11] Vlp. Dig.; Arnob.; Augustin. [12] Amm. [13] Arnob. [14] Veget. [15] Augustin. Ep.; Seru. ad Aen. [16] Arnob. [17] Arnob. [18] Arnob.; Hier. [19] Ps.-Cypr. [20] Hier. [21] Arnob.; Ps.-Apic; Pelag. Vet. [22] Auct. Inc. de Magistr. et Sacerd. P.R., p. 4 Huschke. [23] Gloss. Labb [24] Vulg. [25] Aur. Vict.; Hier. Ep.; Augustin. [26] Schol. Iuuen. [27] Inscrr. [28] Hier. Ep. [29] Veget.; Hier. Ep.; Augustin.; Sulp. Seu. [30] Pelag. Vet.; Veg. Vet.

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Arnobius.
asellulus, 3, 16
cantharulus,[1] 6, 26
cubula, 7, 24
falcicula,[2] 6, 26
frustellum, 2, 58; *al.*
gratilla, 7, 24
ingeniolum,[3] 5, 4
lacernula, 2, 19
lancicula, 2, 23
mimulus, 2, 38
resinula, 7, 27
scientiola,[4] 2, 18
sigilliolum, 6, 11; *al.*
spatiolum,[5] 4, 37
spirula,[6] 2, 42
textricula, 5, 14
tympaniolum, 6, 26

Lampridius.
pabillus, *Heliog.* 29, 2
porcellulus, *Alex. Seu*, 41, 5

Firmicus Maternus.
cantulus, *Math.* 3, 12

Palladius.
*basella, 1, 18, 2
cepula,[7] 3, 24, 2; *al.*
corbicula, 3, 10, 6
cribellum,[8] 3, 24, 6
cupella,[9] 3, 25, 12
farriculum, 11, 21 *in.*
festucula, 5, 8, 2

Plinius Valerianus.
cucurbitella, 2, 30 *ed. Rom.*
*mediolum, 1, 24 *ed. Rose*
nucleolus, 1, 48 *ed. Rom.*
uascellum, 3, 17 *ed. Rose*

Pelagonius.
duritiola, *Vet.* 252
fistella, *Id.* 305

Ammianus.
posterula,[10] 30, 1, 13

Vegetius.
scaphula,[11] *Mil.* 3, 7

Hieronymus.
caricula, *in Amos.* 3, *ad* 7, 14
cellariolum, *adu. Iouin.* 2, 29
ciliciolum, *Ep.* 71, 7; *al.*
cochleola, *Id.* 64, 19; *al.*
commonitoriolum, *Id.* 120 *in.*
controuersiola,[12] *in Rufin.* 1, 30
cuculla, *Vit. Hilar.* 44
facultatula, *Ep.* 117, 1
familiola, *Id.* 108, 2
fuscinula,[13] *Nom. Hebr. col.* 68
gallicula,[14] *in Reg. S. Pachom.* 101; *al.*
humerulus,[15] *in Ezech.* 12, *ad* 41, 23
leunculus,[16] *Id.* 6, *ad* 19, 1, *al.*
litteratulus, *adu. Rufin.* 1, 31
lucernula, *Ep.* 107, 9; *al.*
mappula, *Id.* 128, 27
monasteriolum,[17] *Id.* 105, 4
mortariolum,[18] *Id.* 52, 10; *al.*
murenula,[19] *Id.* 24, 3; *al.*
olfactoriolum,[20] *in Iesai.* 2, 3, 18
patrimoniolum, *Ep.* 54, 15
paupertatula, *Id.* 127, 14
pectusculum,[21] *Id.* 22, 30

[1] Paul. Nol. [2] Pall.; Augustin. [3] Hier. [4] Augustin. [5] Pall. [6] Seru. ad Aen. [7] *form -pulla* = Plin. Val.; Ps.-Apic. [8] Th. Prisc.; Marc. Emp. [9] Testam. Porcell. ed. Buech.; Chronogr. ed. Mommsen.; Not. Tir.; Gloss. Labb.; Inscrr. [10] Cassian. [11] Paul. Nol.; Cael. Aur. [12] Diom. [13] Vulg. [14] Gloss. [15] Vulg. [16] Vulg. [17] Not. Tir.; Not. Bern. [18] Vulg. [19] Vulg.; Iulian. ap. Augustin. [20] Vulg. [21] Fulg. Myth.

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pittaciolum,[1] *in Matth.* 33, 6
schedula,[2] *in Rufin.* 3, 2, 5
scriniolum, *in Abd. pr.; al.*
stellula, *Ep.* 112, 19
substantiola, *Id.* 108, 26; *al.*
tectulum, *Id.* 117, 9

AVGVSTINVS.
gregiculus, *Ep.* 93, 49
muscula, (*musca*), *Trin.* 7, 3
rotella,[3] *in Ps.* 76, 20
scabiola, *Op. Imperf. c. Iulian.* 4, 13

MARCELLVS EMPIRICVS.
burdunculus,[4] 5, 17
clauellus, 34, 48; *al.*
furfuricula, 5, 17
lapisculus, 8, 45
lauriculus, 30, 72
pastillulus, 16, 60
reniculus, 26, 36; *al.*
sordicula, 8, 170; *al.*
strumella, 15, 11
uarulus, 8, 190; *al.*

MARTIANVS CAPELLA.
herbuscula, 2, 100

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
plagella, *Chron.* 3, 2, 22

CASSIODORVS.
agnulus, *de Or. p.* 562
fabricula, *Var.* 8, 28
tonsicula, *Id.* 12, 4

VENATIVS FORTVNATVS.
graphiolum, *Carm.* 5, 15; *Lemm.*

ISIDORVS.
amphorula, 19, 31, 12
fellicula, 4, 5, 4
imbriculus, 19, 10, 14
nuciola, 17, 7, 23
socellus, 19, 34, 12
uiticella, 17, 9, 92

§ 42. DIMINUTIVES IN **-uncula** FROM VERBAL SUBSTANTIVES IN **-tio**: As this class of diminutives presents certain distinguishing features it has seemed best to discuss them separately. The prevalence of substantives in **-tio** in the popular speech, together with the cumbersome nature of the ending **-uncula**, would seem to justify the presumption that these forms were favorites in the *sermo plebeius*. Statistics however fail to sustain this view. Of the 99 examples collected by Paucker,[5] 58, barely three-fifths, are *recc.*, a ratio nearly proportional to that of the primary forms in **-tio**. Of the 41 *uett.*, Cic. has no less than 18, 6 in the *Epistt.* alone, the following 12 in his more finished writings:

cantiuncula,	interrogatiuncula,	ratiuncula,
conclusiuncula,	offensiuncula,	rogatiuncula,
contiuncula,	oratiuncula,	sessiuncula,
contradictiuncula,	quaestiuncula,	stipulatiuncula.

[1] Adelh. [2] Rufin. [3] *conf.* Isid. 14, 2, 1. [4] Not. Bern.
[5] Paucker, Ztschr. f. Oesterr. Gymn., 27, p. 597, sq.

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On the other hand, they are rare in all the usual sources of plebeian vocabulary. Early comedy is poorly represented: I have found but 6 examples, (all from Plaut.), which do not recur in the classic period. They are also wanting in Vitr., Plin., and the Script. R. R., while Petr. furnishes only 2 new forms. Their avoidance by the satirists would also be significant, if it were not readily attributable to the exigencies of the metre. They seem to have belonged chiefly to the *sermo cotidianus* of the more cultured class, and especially to the epistolary style: Cic. has 6 new forms in the *Epistt.*, Sen. Ep. 5, Plin. Ep. 3. Of the 6 forms from Plaut., 2 occur in the letter of Phoenicium, *Pseud.* 67ᵃ–68, and a third seems to have been lost[1] from the mutilated line 67ᵇ. Many of the examples above cited from Cic. are used with a slightly colloquial tinge, as *Tusc.* 2, 42, *contortulae quidem et minutulae conclusiunculae.*[2] In the later language only Gell., Salu., and Hier., show fondness for these forms, and neither of these authors is especially plebeian.

PLAVTVS.
aratiuncula,[3] *Truc.* 148
assentatiuncula,[4] *Stich.* 226
morsiuncula,[5] *Pseud*, 67ᵃ
occasiuncula,[6] *Trin.* 974
oppressiuncula, *Pseud.* 68ᵃ
*peieratiuncula, *Stich.* 227

CICERO (EPISTT.).
aedificatiuncula, *ad Qu. Fr.* 3, 1, 2, 5
ambulatiuncula, *ad Att.* 13, 29, 2; *al.*
captiuncula,[7] *Id.* 15, 7
commotiuncula, *Id.* 12, 11 *extr.*
lectiuncula,[8] *ad Fam.* 7, 1, 1
possessiuncula,[9] *Id.* 13, 23, 3

COLVMELLA.
pensiuncula, 10, *Praef.* 1

SENECA (EPISTT.).
disputatiuncula,[10] *Ep.* 117, 25
exceptiuncula, *Id.* 20, 5
motiuncula,[11] *Id.* 53, 6
procuratiuncula, *Id.* 31, 9
punctiuncula, *Id.* 58, 6; *al.*

PETRONIVS.
potiuncula,[12] 47, 7
sponsiuncula, 58, 8

PLINIVS MAIOR.
portiuncula,[13] 28, 83

[1] Variously amended as **conduplicatiunculae*, **osculatiunculae*, etc. *Conf.* Goetz ad loc. [2] *Conf.* infra, § 45, p. 186.
[3] Vulg. [4] Cic. Ep.; Ambros. [5] Apul. Met. [6] Hier.; Schol. Bob. ad Cic. [7] Gell. [8] Paul. Nol. ap. Augustin.; Thom. Thea. [9] Hier.; Vulg.; Salu.; Not. Tir.; Placid. Gloss. [10] Gell.; Hier. ap. Augustin. [11] Suet. [12] Suet.; Tert. [13] Vlp. Dig.; Iul. Ep. Nou.; Oros.

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PLINIVS MINOR (EPISTT.).
actiuncula, *Ep.* 9, 15, 2
cenatiuncula,[1] *Id.* 4, 3, 20
indignatiuncula, *Id.* 6, 17, 1

FRONTO.
perfrictiuncula, *ad M. Caes.* 4, 6

GELLIVS.
annotatiuncula, 17, 21, 50; *al.*
auditiuncula, 13, 20, 5
declamatiuncula,[2] 6, 8, 4
delectatiuncula, *Praef.* 23
inauditiuncula, 5, 21, 4
inuitatiuncula, 15, 2, *Lemm.*

VOPISCVS.
saltatiuncula, *Aurel.* 6, 7

HIERONYMVS.
dictatiuncula, *adu. Vigil.* 3
expositiuncula,[3] *adu. Iouin.* 1, 37
habitatiuncula, *in Abd. ad* 1, 4
interpretatiuncula, *Ep.* 112, 19
mansiuncula,[4] *adu. Iouin.* 2, 29; *al.*
praefatiuncula,[5] *Ep.* 64, 8; *al.*
sorbitiuncula,[6] *Vit. Hilar.* 6; *al.*

AVGVSTINVS.
contradictiuncula,[7] *Cons. Euang.* 1, 8, 13; *al.*
*conuentiuncula, *Ep.* 56 *fin.*

SALVIANVS.
conuersiuncula, *Ep.* 4, 6
deprecatiuncula, *ad Eccl.* 3, 8
excusatiuncula, *Id. ib.*

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
contestatiuncula, *Ep.* 7, 3

§ 43. IRREGULAR DIMINUTIVES IN **-unculus**: The irregular formations in **-unculus** are undoubtedly of plebeian origin:[8] Cic. has only two examples, *ranunculus*, (*Diu.* 1, 15: *ad Fam.* 7, 18, 3), which is sometimes explained as coming from an early form **rano*,[9] (*conf. auonculus*, from **auo?*); and the ἅπαξ λεγ. *mendaciunculum*, (*de Or.* 2, 241), which is undoubtedly a malformation.[10] Caes. has *lenunculus*, (*lembus*), probably due to the *sermo castrensis* and presumably an instance of popular etymology, through association with *leno*.[11] The remainder of the twenty-four examples given by Paucker[12] are post-Cicero-

[1] Sidon. Ep. [2] Sidon. Ep. [3] Auct. Comment. in Boeth. [4] Vulg. [5] Cassian.; Consent. ap. Augustin. [6] Vulg.; Marc. Emp.; Not. Tir. [7] Vigil. Taps.

[8] Corssen, Aussprache, II, p. 188, "ähnliche Diminutivformen finden sich noch mehr in der spätlateinischen Volkssprache." [9] Paucker, Ztschr. f. Oest. Gymn., 27, p. 600; so *furunculus* is to be referred back to *furo*, (Isid. 12, 2, 39), Paucker, *l. l.*, p. 598; *contra*, A. Weinhold, ALL. IV., p. 185. [10] Paucker, *l. l.*, p. 601, "unzweifelhaft eine Missbildung." [11] It is not unnatural that the ship's cock-boat should have been thought of as the "go-between" which brought the sailor to his ship: the same association of ideas is seen in Plaut. Men. 442, *ducit lembum dierectum nauis praedatoria*, where the *n. praedatoria* — *meretrix;* in Gk. the constant attendance of the λέμβος upon the larger vessel has similarly given rise to its secondary meaning of παράσιτος, (*conf.* Anaxandr. Οἶνοσ. 2, 7); for other instances of popular etymology in nautical terms *conf.* O. Keller, Volksetymologie, p. 105, sq. [12] Paucker, *l. l.*, p. 599.

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nian, and largely from the Nott. Tiron. and Glossaries. The following occur in literature:

VITRVVIVS.
domuncula,[1] 6, 7, 4

COLVMELLA.
laguncula,[2] 12, 38, 8
tinnunculus,[3] 8, 8, 7

PETRONIVS.
sauiunculum, 66, 2
statunculum,[4] 50, 6

ARNOBIVS.
petasunculus, (*petasus*), 6, 12

HIERONYMVS.
tuguriunculum, *Vit. Hilar.* 9, *p.* 33 *Migne.*

VVLGATA.
renunculus, *Leuit.* 3, 4

ACTT. S. POLYCARPI.
gladiunculus, *ap. Paucker.*

The Nott. Tiron. give further *aprunculus, nucunculus, pannunculus, pernunculus;* the Gloss., *fiduncula, rapunculus,* while one example is found only in Inscrr.: *porticunculus,* Inscrr. Orell. 4821.[5]

§ 44. IRREGULAR FORMATIONS IN **-culus, -cellus**: Formations in **-culus, -cellus,** from stems of the 1st and 2nd decls., are rare and belong to post-classical Latin. Paucker[6] gives a list of 30 forms, of which 12 are *uett.* Many of these however are probably not diminutives, but *nomina uerbalia,* as *seruiculus* from *seruire, cuniculus* from *cunire; saepicule* (Plaut.), is hardly an irregular form, being derived from an adverb, and *schoenicule,* (also Plaut.), may be from **schoenicus.* Of the forms unquestioned by Paucker, only 3 are *uett.: mammicula,* Plaut.; *apriculus,* Enn., (perhaps from **apro; conf. aprunculus*); *galericulum,* Frontin.; while Wölfflin[7] asserts broadly that this form of derivation from the 2nd decl. belongs neither to archaic, classic, nor Silver Latin. In later literature there are a number of unquestioned instances; thus:

APVL., thyrsiculus, *Herb.* 98, *R.*
PS.-APIC., codicula, *ap. Paucker.*
ARNOB., agniculus,[8] 7, 12
TH. PRISC., ollicula, 4, 1

[1] Val. Max.; Apul. Met.; Vulg.; Symm.; ICt. [2] Plin. Ep.; Vulg.; Augustin. [3] Plin. [4] Tert.; Cypr.; Ps.-Cypr.; Donat.

[5] Two other forms, *sarcinuncula, sorbuncula,* are cited by Paucker *l. l.,* on authority of Schwabe, Demin. Gr. et Lat., a work to which I have not had access. [6] Paucker, *l. l.,* p. 605 *sq.* [7] Anmerk. zu A. Weinhold, Genuswechsel d. Deminutiua, ALL. IV, p. 172.

[8] Ambros.; Augustin.; Cassiod.; *form -cula* = Ambros.

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CHARIS., montaniculus, 155, 12
CASSIOD., tonsicula, *Var.* 12, 4
GROMAT. VET., campicellus, 312, 9
POMPEI. GRAMM., agnicellus,[1] -cellulus, 143, 29, K.

The formation may have arisen through false analogy with 2nd decl. stems in **-oo-**: thus Charis, (*l. l.*), compares *montanus, montaniculus; scholasticus, scholasticulus.* That the usage belonged to the *sermo plebeius* is indicated by the greater freedom of the Romance languages in this respect; compare the use in **Ital.** of the suffix *-cello; acquicella,* (*aqua*), *orticello,* (*hortus*), *venticello,* (*uentus*), etc.

§ 45. DIMINUTIVE ADJECTIVES: a. FROM THE POSITIVE: With the Ind.-Germ. suffixes in -CA- and -LA-, Latin inherited the power of attaching them to substantive and adjective alike. The diminutive adjectives however are far less numerous than those formed from substantives, and seem early to have lost their popularity. They were in the main avoided by classic writers,[2] were revived to some extent in Silver Latin, notably by the archaistic emperor Hadrian, and are abundant in the later archaists, Fronto, Gell., and Apul. They were however chiefly prevalent in the early language: of the 203 collected by Paucker, exclusive of forms from comparatives, only 87 are *recc.*, and of the *uett.* only 27 are due to Silver Latin.[3] A large majority of the remainder belong to the preclassical period, and especially to early comedy, which here again shows the influence of the *sermo plebeius;* Plaut. alone has nearly one-half of the *uett.* forms. Still more marked is the preference of early Latin for the forms from comparatives, *plusculus,* etc., (treated separately below), which are distinctly an archaism of the popular speech. Diminutive adjectives are not numerous in the later language, but have nevertheless survived to some extent in the Romance languages, with occasional loss of diminutive force: compare **Ital.** *parecchio, rubecchio, cativello, grandicello, forticello;* **Span.**, *grasuelo, agrillo, ciguecillo,* etc.; as with substantives, the suffixes are sometimes doubled, e.g., **Ital.** *gravicciuolo, magricciuolo,* etc.

Like the diminutive substantives, these adjectives began

[1] Cassiod.

[2] Schmilinsky, p. 39; *conf.* in general authorities cited for dimin. substt., *supra,* § 39, p. 155, *not.* 4. [3] Paucker, Add. Lex. Lat., p. 46, *not.* 40.

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early to lose their special significance and finally came to be used side by side with the simple forms with no apparent distinction:[1] compare *lapides candidi et nigelli*, Ampel. 8, 21; *myrtae nigellae, ellebori nigri, chamaeleonis nigri*, Cass. Fel. 17, 11; *nouellas et inauditas sectas ueteribus religionibus opponere*, Mos. et Rom. Leg. *Coll.* 15, 3, 3. In the *sermo plebeius* and late Latin they were illogically strengthened by adverbs, thus neutralizing the diminutive force, as *tam feroculus*, Auct. Bell. Afr. 16, 1; *oppido quam paruuli*, Vitr., 8, 3, 11; *ualde audaculus*, Petr., 63; *satis ad loquendum promptulus*, Hier. *in Dan. pr.* etc., or they were modified like the simple adjectives, with **per-** and **sub-**, as for instance, *per-pauxillo*, Plaut., *per-astutulus*, Apul.; *sub-paetulus*. Varr. *Sat. Men.; sub-argutulus*, Gell.; *suf-fusculus*, Apul.; *sub-crassulus*, Capit. Still more interesting is the addition of diminutive suffixes to both noun and adjective, e. g. *frigiduli ocelli*, where the force of the adjective is not that of *sub-frigidus*, but merely serves to strengthen the diminutive idea in the substantive.[2] In Cic. the construction is very rare: aside from the *Epistt.*, I have found only *aureolus, bis*, used in a secondary sense, *a. libellus, Acad.* 2, 135; *a. oratiuncula, Nat. Deor.* 3, 43, *parvulus, semel*, in *pisciculi p., Nat. Deor.* 2, 123, and the ἅπαξ λεγ. *eberneolus*, in *e. fistula, de Or.* 3, 225, which however is quoted by Gell. 1, 11, 16, as *eburnea fistula*. The usage is distinctly colloquial, and to a certain extent an archaism, as is shown by its prevalence in early comedy and in the archaists Gell., Apul., and Arnob. Compare further the following instances:

Naevius: uiridulus adulescentulus, *Com.* 126

Plautus: pupilla bellula, *Cas.* 848; paruola puella, *Cist.* 123; muliercula exornatula, *Id.* 306; inducula mendicula, *Epid.* 223; lunulam atque anellum aureolum in digitulum, *Id.* 640; seruoli sordiduli, *Poen.* 270; papillarum horridularum oppressiunculae, *Pseud.* 68; scitula aetatula, *Rud.* 894; ensiculus aureolus, *Id.* 1156; silicula argenteola, *Id.* 1169; crocotilla cruscula, *Fr. ap. Fest.* 52, 20.

Caecilius: tuguriolum pauperculum, *Com.* 82

Titinius: togula obunctula, *Com.* 138

[1] *Conf.* Wölfflin, Cass. Fel., p. 407, citing further *nigellus . . . albus*, Cael. Aur. Chron. 2, 33. [2] Schmalz, Stilist., p. 575, "Spielerei mit Dim. trieben heisst es, wenn zum Subst. dim. noch ein solches Adj. tritt.;" *conf.* Kühner, Gramm. Lat., I., p. 667; Koehler, Bell. Afr., p. 7.

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Lvcilivs: scutula ligneola, *Sat.* 5, 25
Afranivs: bacillum corneolum, *Com.* 224; inscitula ancillula, *Id.* 385
Varro: nigellum amiculum, *de Vit. P. R.* 3, *Fr.* 20; nigellae pupulae, *Sat. Men.* 375
Cicero (Epistt.): cerula miniatula, *ad Att.* 16, 11, 1
Catvllvs: turgiduli ocelli, 3, 18; molliculi uersiculi, 16, 4; imula auricilla, 25, 2; aridula labella, 64, 318.
Avct. Bell. Afr.: paruula causula, 54, 1; paruulum nauigiolum, 63, 1
Vergil. Cir.: frigiduli ocelli, 347
Vitrvvivs: fonticulus oppido quam paruulus, 8, 3, 11
Valerivs Maximvs: filioli paruuli, 8, 8, 1
Martialis: uernulas libellos, 3, 18, 4; rusticulus libellus, 10, 19, 2
Plinivs Minor: lagunculae paruulae, *Ep.* 2, 6, 2
Hadrianvs Imp.: animula uagula blandula, *ap. Spart. Hadr.* 25, 9
Svetonivs: cultellos paruulos, *Claud.* 34
Gellivs: trepiduli pulli, 2, 29, 8; porculi minusculi, 4, 11, 6; surculi oblonguli, 17, 9, 7
Apvleivs: breuiculus gratabulus, *Met.* 1, 11; formula scitula, *Id.* 3, 15; paruuli infantuli, *Id.* 8, 15; casula paruula, *Id.* 9, 35
Arnobivs: paruula frustilla, 2, 58; paruula formicula, 4, 26; (paruuli pusiones, 7, 8; *al.*)
Capitolinvs: russulae fasciolae, *Albin.* 5 *fin.*
Marcellvs Empiricvs: catulus nouellus, 29, 52

Diminutives from adjectives in **-ax, -ox, -osus, -cundus,** are distinctly plebeian. Guericke[1] included among his list of vulgar forms *dicaculus*, Plaut.; *feroculus*, Turp.; *audaculus*, Petr., "quae hac forma in sermone urbano non reperimus," and Koehler[2] adds the *s. f. celocula*, Plaut., and maintains that **feliculus* must have been frequent in the *sermo cotidianus*, "quoniam saepe hoc cognomen muliebre in inscriptionibus obuiam fit Felicula . . . Felicla," citing Inscrr. Pomp., C. I. L. 4, 2199; *al.*: to these may be added *loquaculus*, Lucr. Compare from adjectives in **-osus**, *rabiosulus*, Cic. Ep.; *religiosulus*, *spinosulus*, *torosulus*, Hier.; in **-cundus**, *rubicundulus*, Iuuen.

[1] Guericke, p. 30; he is criticized by Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI., p. 164, "Putat enim distinguendum esse inter deminutiua 'sermonis urbani et cotidiani' et 'sermonis plebeii.' Quod mihi non probatur;" Schulze however failed to observe that the list given by Guericke is mainly composed of double diminutives, *lamellula*, etc., irregular formations, such as *sauiunculum* from *sauium*, and forms from adja. in -ax, -ox, all of which are at least rare outside of the *sermo plebeius*. [2] Koehler, Bell. Afr., p. 8; *conf.* Lorenz, Einleit. z. Pseud., p. 62, *not.* 51.

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The following is a list of the diminutive adjectives:

NAEVIVS.
pauxillulum,[1] *s. n.*, *Com.* 49

PLAVTVS.
aeneolus,[2] *Fab. Inc. Fr.* 8
aliquantillulum, *Capt.* 137
aliquantulum,[3] *Merc.* 640
argenteolus,[4] *Rud.* 1169
aureolus,[5] *Id.* 1156; *al.*
belliatulus, *Cas.* 854
bellulus,[6] *Mil.* 989; *al.*
blandiloquentulus, *Trin.* 239
breuiculus,[7] *Merc.* 639
clanculum,[8] *adu.*, *Amph.* 523; *al.*
commodulum,[9] *adu.*, *Mil.* 750
dicaculus,[10] *Asin.* 517
dulciculus,[11] *Poen.* 390
ebriolus, *Curc.* 192; *al.*
exornatulus, *Cist.* 306
grandiculus,[12] *Poen.* 481
limulus, *Bacch.* 1130
mendiculus, *Epid.* 223
minutulus,[13] *Poen.* 28
misellus,[14] *Rud.* 550
molliculus,[15] *Cas.* 492
mundulus,[16] *Truc.* 658
pauperculus,[17] *Pers.* 345
pauxillus,[18] *Capt.* 176
perpauxillo, *adu.*, *Id.* 177
placidule,[19] *Rud.* 426
primulus,[20] *Amph.* 737; *al.*
putillus,[21] *Asin.* 694
quadrimulus, *Capt.* 981; *al.*
quantillus, *Id.* 193; *al.*
regillus,[22] *Epid.* 223
rufulus,[23] *Asin.* 400
*saepicule,[24] *Cas.* 703 *Codd.*
scitulus,[25] *Rud.* 565; *al.*
sordidulus,[26] *Poen.* 270
tantillus,[27] *Rud.* 1150
tenellus,[28] *Cas.* 108
ualentulus, *Id.* 852
uenustulus,[29] *Asin.* 223
uesculus,[30] *Trin.* 888
uinnulus, *Asin.* 223

CATO.
heluеolus,[31] *R. R.* 6, 4
miscellus,[32] *Id.* 23

TITINIVS.
obunctulus, *Com.* 138

TVRPILIVS.
feroculus,[33] *Com.* 107
miserulus,[34] *Id.* 211

LVCILIVS.
eminulus,[35] *Sat.* 3, 7; *al.*

[1] Ter.; Solin.; Sidon. Ep.; *adj.* — Plaut. [2] Petr.; *conf.* Paul. ex Fest. p. 23 M. [3] Ter.; Gell.; *adj.* — Ter.; *Auct. B. Afr.; Vulg.; Aur. Vict.; Auson.; *adu.* *-lo* — Vopisc. [4] Fronto; Schol. Iuuen. [5] Lucil.; Varr.; Catull.; Cic., *bis*, (*a. libellus*, Acad. 2, 135; *a. oratiuncula*, Nat. Deor. 3, 43); Col.; Mart.; Prud. [6] Inscrr.; *adu.* — Plaut.; Apul. Met. [7] Fronto; Apul. Met. [8] Enn.; Atta Com.; Afran.; Ter.; Lucil.; Auct. Bell. Hisp.; Gell.; *form -culo* — Apul.; Tert.; Amm.; Augustin.; Macr. [9] *Form -le* — Plaut.; Arnob. [10] Apul. Met.; Spartian. [11] Cic., *semel*, (Tusc. 3, 46). [12] Ter. [13] Vopisc.; Macr.; ICt. [14] Lucr.; Catull.; Cic. Ep., *bis*; Petr.; Tert. [15] Catull.; Ambros.; Charis. [16] *adu.* — Acc. Tr.; Apul. Met. [17] Ter.; Varr.; *form -clus* — Commodian.; *s. f.* — Hier. Ep. [18] Afran.; Lucr.; Cels.; Solin.; Vulg. [19] *Adj.* — Auson. [20] *Adu.* — Plaut.; Ter. [21] Varr. Sat. Men. [22] Varr. Sat. Men.; Fest. [23] Plin.; *Rufuli*, (*tribuni militum*), = Liu.; Ps.-Ascon. [24] Apul. Met. [25] Apul.; Arnob. [26] Iuuen. [27] Ter.; Catull.; Cels. [28] Varr.; Apul.; Vulg.; Domit. Mars. [29] Auson. [30] Paul. ex Fest. [31] Varr.; *form heluolus* = Col. [32] Varr.; Col.; Suet.; Sicul. Fl. de Condit. Agror.; *form miscillus* = Mart. Cap. [33] Auct. B. Afr. [34] Laeu.; Catull. [35] Varr.; Apul.; Prud.; Non.

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ligneolus,[1] *Id.* 5, 25
macellus,[2] *Id.* 6, 11

Lanvivs.
bicodulus, *Erotop. Fr.* 10
lasciuiolus, *Id. Fr.* 4
tenellulus,[3] *Id. ib.*

Afranivs.
inscitulus, *Com.* 386

Varro.
albulus,[4] *R. R.* 3, 14, 4
macriculus, *L. L.* 8, 79
nigellus,[5] *Sat. Men.* 375; *al.*
pullus, (*purus*), *Id.* 462
(Romanulus, (*porta*), *ap. Varr. L. L.* 5, 164)
rusticellus, *ap. Plin.* 7, 83
satullus, *R. R.* 2, 2, 15
subpaetulus, *Sat. Men.* 375
tacitulus, *Id.* 187 & 318
turpiculus,[6] *L. L.* 7, 97
unctulus,[7] *Catus* 20, *p.* 250 *ed Riese.*

Lvcretivs.
loquaculus, 4, 1157
simulus,[8] 4, 1161

Cicero (Epistt.).
argutulus,[9] *ad Att.* 13, 18
integellus,[10] *ad Fam.* 9, 10, 3
miniatulus, *ad Att.* 16, 11, 1
pulchellus,[11] *ad Fam.* 7, 23, 2; *al.*
rabiosulus, *Id.* 7, 16, 1

Laberivs.
ebriatulus, *Com.* 52

Catvllvs.
frigidulus,[12] 64, 131
imulus, 25, 2
mollicellus, 25, 10
pallidulus,[13] 65, 6
turgidulus,[14] 3, 18

Colvmella.
cereolus,[15] *Poet.* 10, 404
flammeolus, *Id.* 10, 307
inerticulus,[16] 3, 2, 24

Persivs.
beatulus, 3, 103
rancidulus,[17] 1, 33
rubellus,[18] 5, 147

Petronivs.
aeneolus, 73, 5
audaculus,[19] 63, 5

Plinivs.
acidulus, 15, 56; *al.*
rabusculus, 14, 42

Martialis.
putidulus,[20] 4, 20, 4
sellariolus, 5, 70, 3

Ivvenalis.
improbulus, 5, 73
liuidulus, 11, 110
rubicundulus, 6, 424

Hadrianvs Imp.
blandulus, *ap. Spart. Hadr.* 25, 9
nudulus, *Id. ib.*
uagulus, *Id. ib.*

[1] Cic. Ep.; Apul.; Augustin. [2] Varr. [3] Catull. [4] Catull.; Mart.; *Albula* = *Tiber fluu.*, *passim.* [5] Pall.; Ampel.; Augustin.; Ven. Fort. [6] Cic., *semel*, (de Or. 2, 248); Catull. [7] *a. n.* = Apul. Met. [8] Verg. Moret. [9] Apul. Met. [10] Catull. [11] Crassus ap. Cic. Ep. [12] Verg. Cir. [13] Hadrian. ap. Spartian. [14] Paul. Petr. [15] *Subst.* — Hier.; Ps.-Augustin.; Isid. [16] Plin. [17] Mart.; Iuuen.; *adu.* — Palaemon. [18] Plin.; Mart. [19] Gell.; Firm. Math. [20] Capit.

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Fronto.
pinguiculus, *ad M. Caes.* 4, 12
uetusculus, *de Eloq.* 3, *p.* 151, 8 *N.*

Gellius.
diutule,[1] 5, 10, 7; *al.*
oblongulus, 17, 9, 7
subargutulus, 15, 30, 1
trepidulus, 2, 29, 8

Apuleius.
astutulus, *Met.* 6, 26
austerulus, *Flor.* 20
blandicule, *Met.* 10, 27
glabellus,[2] *Id.* 2, 17; *al.*
perastutulus, *Id.* 9, 5
pressulus, *Flor.* 9, *p.* 11, 10; *Kr.*
succinctulus, *Met.* 2, 7
suffusculus,[3] *Id.* 2, 13
tantillulus, *Id.* 2, 25
tempestillus, *Id.* 8, 2
uastulus, *Id.* 2, 32

Tertullianus.
hystriculus,[4] *Pall.* 4
ignitulus, *ad Nat.* 1, 10
iuuenculus,[5] *Monog.* 13
linguatulus, *ad Nat.* 1, 8
mulleolus, *Pall.* 4, *extr.*
nouiciolus, *Apol.* 47; *al.*

Solinus.
prominulus,[6] 27 *fin.*

Capitolinus.
russulus,[7] *Albin.* 5, 9
subcrassulus, *Gord.* 6, 1

Arnobius.
callidulus, 2, 68.
lippulus, 7, 34

Palladius.
albidulus, 3, 25, 12

Ammianus.
grauidulus, 23, 6, 85
putredulus, 22, 16, 16

Ambrosius.
pusillulus, *Cant. Cantic.* 2, 62

Hieronymus.
cincinnatulus, *Ep.* 130, 19
comatulus, *Id.* 54, 13; *al.*
comptulus, *Id.* 128, 3
histriculus,[8] *adu. Rufin.* 1, 30
literatulus, *Id.* 1, 31
promptulus, *in Daniel, Praef. extr.*
raucidulus, *Ep.* 40, 2
religiosulus, *adu. Rufin.* 3, 7
sanctulus, *Id. ib.*
spinosulus, *Ep.* 69, 4
torosulus, *in Iouin.* 2, 14; *al.*

Prudentius.
linteolus, περὶ στεφ. 3, 180
russeolus, *Id.* 11, 130
turbidulus, *Apoth.* 208

Paulinus Nolanus.
egenulus, 29, 12

Augustinus.
diuscule, *Trin.* 11, 2
iactanticulus,[9] *adu. Acad.* 3, 8; *al.*

Marcellus Empiricus.
ripariolus, 15, 34

Martianus Capella.
cerritulus, 8, 806
lepidulus, 7, 726; *al.*
marcidulus, 7, 727

[1] Apul. Flor.; Macr. [2] Mart. Cap. [3] Amm. [4] Arnob.; Hier. [5] Ambros.; Vulg.; Augustin. [6] Capit.; Mart. Cap. [7] Vopisc. [8] Gloss. Labb. [9] Schol. Iuuen.

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rapidulus, 8, 804
rubellulus, 5, 566

Sidonivs Apollinaris.
rauulus, *Ep.* 9, 13

Isidorvs.
*subalbulus, 12, 1, 50, *ed. Otto.*

§ 46. Diminutive Adjectives: b. from the Comparative: This class of diminutives deserves to be treated separately, as belonging peculiarly to colloquial and early Latin. Their archaic character has been discussed by Knapp,[1] who cites from Gell. *plusculus, complusculus, minusculus,* while Priebe[2] includes *meliuscule, tardiuscule,* among the archaisms of Fronto. But as was already observed by Thielmann, these forms belong chiefly to the *sermo plebeius;*[3] Cic. admits only two in his more finished writings, *plusculus,* (*bis, Or.* 2, 24, 9; *Rep.* 2, 33, 57), *longiusculus,* (*semel, pro Arch.* 10, 25), while in the *Epistt.* we find *meliusculus, minusculus, maiusculus, putidiusculus.* Recently Ulrich has maintained the same view, citing *minusculus* among the adjectives used by Vitr., "quae ad sermonem cotidianum spectent," and comparing the corresponding forms in the modern Romance languages, **Ital.**, *minuscola, majuscola;* **Fr.**, *minuscule, majuscule;* **Span.**, *minuscula, mayuscula.*[4]

The following list amply demonstrates the colloquial character of this class:

Plavtvs.
complusculus,[5] *Rud.* 131
liquidiusculus, *Mil.* 665
meliusculus,[6] *Curc.* 489; *al.*
minusculus,[7] *Trin.* 888
nitidiusculus, *Pseud.* 220
plusculus,[8] *Amph.* 283
tardiusculus,[9] *Fr. ap. Non.* 198, 26
unctiusculus, *Pseud.* 221

Terentivs.
*grandiusculus,[10] *And.* 814
maiusculus,[11] *Eun.* 527

[1] Knapp, Gell., p. 156. [2] Priebe, de M. Cornelio Frontone Imitationem prisci Sermonis Latini adfectante, Stettin, 1885, cited by Knapp, *l. l.* [3] Thielmann, Cornif. Rhet., p. 98, "paene omnes uulgaris sunt sermonis;" *conf.* Goelzer, p. 128, "Ces formes se rencontrent surtout chez les comiques et dans le langage de la conversation;" E. Hauler, ALL. V., p. 294, "solche verkleinernde Komparativbildungen, welche den volkstümlichen Anstrich nicht verleugnen können . . . ;" Landgraf, Cic. Epp., p. 319; Stinner, p. 11; Lorenz, Pseud. 207-9; Brix ad Mil. 665; and list given by Paucker, Ztschr. f. Oest. Gymn. 27, p. 601. [4] Ulrich, Vitr., Pt. II., p. 1, "comparatiua huius uocabuli (minusculus) notio ut apud Vitruuium ita in linguis recentioribus amissa est."

[5] Turpil.; Ter.; Iul. Val.; *adu.* — Gell. [6] Ter.; Varr.; Col.; Sen.; Petr.; *adu.* — Cic. Ep.; Fronto. [7] Cato; Varr.; Cic. Ep.; Vitr. [8] Ter.; Cic. Ep., *et bis,* (Or. 2, 24, 99; de Rep. 2, 33, 57); Apul. [9] Ter.; Augustin.; *adu.* — M. Aurel. ap. Fronto. [10] Augustin. [11] Cic. Ep.; Sen. Ep.; Plin.

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SVETRIVS.
fortiusculus, *ap. Fulg. Myth.* 3, 8

CORNIFICIVS RHETOR.
celeriuscule,[1] 3, 24

CICERO (EPISTT.).
*putidiusculus, *ad Fam.* 7, 5, 3

PLINIVS.
duriusculus,[2] *Praef.* § 1

SVETONIVS.
altiusculus,[3] *Aug.* 73

GELLIVS.
doctiuscule, 6, 16, 2
frigidiusculus, 3, 10, 16
grauiusculus, 1, 11, 13

APVLEIVS.
ampliusculus,[4] *Apol.* 75
lautiusculus, *Met.* 7, 9

SOLINVS.
largiusculus,[5] 7, 4

IVLIVS VALERIVS.
auctiusculus, 2, 15

AVGVSTINVS.
salsiusculus, *Conf.* 8, 3

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
mitiusculus, *Acut. Praef.* 18

§ 47. DIMINUTIVES, ETC., IN **-aster, -astra, -astrum**: Formations from this suffix are usually classed under the head of diminutives, and that they sometimes had a simple diminutive force we know from Priscian, 3, 26, who cites *Antoniaster*, *Catulaster*, used *adulationis causa, et maxime puerorum.*[6] Generally, however, the suffix has a contemptuous or derogative force, which is especially important as being the prevailing one in the modern languages.

This suffix belongs distinctly to the *sermo plebeius.* Its occurrence in classic literature is limited to sporadic instances in early comedy, the *Epistt.* of Cic., and in Vitr., and to a few names of plants, due probably to the influence of the *sermo rusticus.* In the speech of the people it must have been in current use at all periods, for the scanty material which can be collected is distributed throughout the whole extent of Latinity, from Plaut. to Aldhelm., while Du Cange cites numerous forms from the medieval writers. Its kinship to the *sermo plebeius* was first observed by Lorenz, in his note on *peditastellus*, Plaut. *Mil.* 54 and Brix, commenting on the same passage, points out its connection with the Romance Lan-

[1] *adj.* — Prisc. [2] Plin. Ep. [3] Augustin.; *adv.* — Apul. Met. [4] *adv.* — Cl. Mam.; Sidon. Ep. [5] *adv.* — Gramm. Vat. 7, 531.
[6] *Conf.* Seck., ALL. I., p. 390.

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guages, citing **Ital.** *poetastro, criticastro.*[1] A special study of these words has been made by Studemund in the Hermes, I., 283 *sq.*, and more recently by Seck and Schnorr, in the Archiv f. Lat. Lex., I., p. 390 *sq.* In the latter article the plebeian nature of the suffix is convincingly maintained,[2] and its prevailing derogative force clearly indicated, as *e.g.*, in the relationships of step-son, -daughter, etc., *filiaster, -astra, patraster, matrastra*, and in the unmistakably vulgar *catlaster, catulastra*, used *in malam partem* by Vitr. and Dracont.,[3] and in numerous derivatives from the names of plants, denoting the inferiority of the wild species,[4] as *olea, oleaster; apium, apiastrum.* With these may be compared **Fr.**, *marâtre, parâtre* (**O. Fr.**, *fillastre, frerastre*), *gentillâtre, mulâtre;* **Span.**, *padrastro, madrastra, hijastro, hermanastro, olivastro;* **Ital.**, *figliastro, medicastro, poetastro, olivastro*, etc. Instances of these forms with diminutive meaning do occur, although rarely; **Ital.**, *polastro, porcastro;* **Span.**, *cochastro, camastro.*[5]

Examples of Adjectives in **-aster** are especially rare. The few which can be cited chiefly denote resemblance, as *caluaster, crudaster, canaster, fuluaster, nigellaster.* With the last three may be compared the numerous similar adjectives denoting colors, found in modern **Fr.**, as *blanchâtre, bleuâtre, verdâtre;* **Ital.**, *biancastro, rossastro, verdastro.*[6]

The plebeian fondness for double suffixes is well exemplified in this class of words by the forms in **-ell-aster, -ul-aster**, as *nigellaster, nouellaster, Catulaster, pullastra;* or in reverse order, **-ast-ellus**, as *peditastellus, oliuastellus, pinastellus*, which Seck designates as diminutive-deteriorative substantives, and which have a close parallel in meaning in the **Ital.** forms in *-ucci-accio*, already referred to.[7] Conversely, the suffix **-aster** is sometimes strengthened in **Ital.**, by addition of the augmentative ending *-one*, as *gallastrone.*

[1] *Conf.* Stinner, p. 9, citing *Fulutaster:* Etienne, de Deminutiuis, p. 8, "immerito . . . aliquis credat ea non ab pura dicendi ratione abesse: sunt enim ea aetate quae media fit inter postremos rei romanae annos et barbarorum incursus in imperii molem ruentium." [2] Seck, *l. l.* p. 396, "Noch mehr aber muss man betonen, dass . . . die bildungen auf aster der Volkssprache angehörten und daher in der allein uns erhaltenen Litteratur nur spärlich auftauchen;" Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 330, "especially in vulgar or colloquial Latin." [3] Contrasted respectively with *puella matura* and *puer tener.* [4] *Conf.* Seck, *l. l.*, p. 392. [5] Diez, p. 687; Meyer-Lübke, Ital. Gramm., § 566; Mätzner, Fr. Gramm., p. 269. [6] Diez, p. 638; Mätzner, p. 282. [7] *Conf. supra*, § 30, p. 116.

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A complete collection of forms in **-aster, -astra, -astrum,** including those found in the glossaries, inscriptions, and in the lexicon of Du Cange, has been given by Seck, in the article already cited. The following list contains only the principal forms found in the Roman literature, arranged historically, for ready reference.

PLAVTVS.
grauastellus, *Epid.* 620
peditastellus, *Mil.* 54

TERENTIVS.
parasitaster,[1] *Ad.* 779

TITINIVS.
formaster,[2] *Com.* 166

CATO.
mediast(r)inus,[3] *ap. Non.* 143
*ungula(s)ter,[4] *ap. Fest. p.* 379, 8

VARRO.
apiastrum,[5] *R. R.* 3, 16, 10
seliquastrum,[6] *L. L.* 5, 128
serperastra,[7] *Id.* 9, 11
*pullastra, *R. R.* 3, 9, 9, *ed. Schneid.*

CICERO.
Antoniaster,[8] *Fr. Orat. pro Vareno* 2, 10, *p.* 232 *ed. Müll.*
Fuluiaster, *ad Att.* 12, 44, 3
surdaster,[9] *Tusc.* 5, 116

VITRVVIVS.
cat (u) laster,[10] 8, 3, 25

CELSVS.
mentastrum,[11] 5, 27, 7

COLVMELLA.
alicastrum,[12] 2, 6, 3
oleastellus, 12, 51, 3

PLINIVS.
pinaster, 14, 127; *al.*
salicastrum, 23, 20
siliquastrum, 20, 174; *al.*

APVLEIVS.
apiastellum, *Herb.* 8, 66
fuluiaster, *Id.* 110
palliastrum, *Met.* 1, 6; *al.*
pinastellus, *Herb.* 94
porcastrum, *Id.* 103

PRISCIANVS.
apiaster,[13] 2, 444, 11 *H.*
Catulaster, 3, 26

SERVIVS.
apiastra, *ad Georg.* 4, 14

AVGVSTINVS.
philosophaster *de Ciu. Dei* 2, 27 *in.*; *al.*

[1] Prisc. [2] Gloss. Placid. [3] Lucil.; Hor. Ep.; Col.; Plin.; Vlp. Dig.; Prisc.; Grut. Inscrr.; Gloss. Labb. [4] *Conf.* Studemund, ALL. I. p. 146; Seck., ib. p. 404. [5] Sall.; Col.; Plin.; Lampr.; Isid. [6] Fest.; Hyg.; Arnob.; Paul. Dig. [7] Cic. ad Att. [8] Quint.; Prisc. [9] Augustin.; Prisc.; Sext. Placit. [10] Charis.; Prisc.; Gloss. Labb.; Thes. Nou. Lat.; Cl. Nomin. Amplon. [11] Col.; Plin.; Ser. Samm.; Ps.-Plin. [12] Isid. [13] Gloss. Gall.-Lat.; Thom. Thes.

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MACROBIVS.
asinastra, *Sat.* 3, 20

MARCELLVS EMPIRICVS.
nouellaster, 8, 94

DRACONTIVS.
catulastra, *Lib.* 2, *fin.*

ANTHIMVS.
crudaster, 21

ALDHELMVS.
porcaster, 14, *p.* 234

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IV. ADVERBS.

§ 48. ADVERBS IN **-im**: In these adverbs we have another archaism of the *sermo plebeius*. Their prevalence in early Latin is apparent from a glance at the accompanying list, while in the classic period they are chiefly conspicuous for their rarity. Out of a total of 428, *uett.* 175, Paucker[1] has been able to cite only 44 occurring in Caes. or Cic. (including Cornif. Rhet.), and aside from a certain number in general use, *confestim*, *cursim*, *furtim*, *interim*, *nominatim*, *olim*, *paulatim*, *praesertim*, *priuatim*, *saltim*, *separatim*, *statim*, *uicissim*, I have found in Cic. only the following 22, the majority of which occur in earlier writers:

aceruatim, (*Lucr.*)	gregatim,	raptim, (*Nou. Com.*)
affatim, (*Liu. Andr.*)	incisim,	sensim, (*Plaut.*)
articulatim, (*Plaut.*)	membratim, (*Lucr.*)	singillatim, (*Ter.*)
centuriatim, (*Pompon. Com.*)	minutatim, (*Lucr.*)	strictim, (*Plaut.*)
certatim,	ostiatim,	syllabatim,
curiatim,	pedetentim, (*Cato*)	uicatim, (*Sisenn.*)
generatim,	permixtim,	uiritim.
gradatim, (*Varr. R. R.*)		

Silver Latin added only 27 new forms, so that the majority of the *uett.* belong in a greater or less degree to the early period. Their occurrence as archaisms in later writers has often been noticed: among others by Schultze,[2] in connection with the vocabulary of Sall.; by Lorenz[3] ad Plaut. *Pseud.* 1261, who notes the recurrence of *palliolatim* in Fronto, and the prevalence of like forms in Apul.; by Knapp,[4] who cites among the archaisms of Gell. *uniuersim*, and the adverbial phrase *ad amussim*, comparing the Plautine *examussim*; and by Stange,[5] who includes

[1] Paucker, Materialien, VII., p. 135. [2] Schultze, p. 57, "aduerbia in -im desinentia praecipue in antiquiore sermone et apud huius imitatores . . . frequentissimum est." [3] *Conf.* Muell. ad Lucil. 2, 8, "fartim aduerbium Appuleium qui eo post Lucilium primus utitur, ut innumera ex priscorum scriptorum monumentis repetisse apparet." As an instance of Apuleian fondness for these adverbs, *conf.* Flor. 9, non singillatim et discretim sed cunctim et coaceruatim. [4] Knapp. Gell., p. 167; *conf.* Vogel, Gell., p. 30. [5] Stange, Arnob. p. 7.

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guttatim (Plaut.; Enn.) among the words used by Arnob. "*quae ex prisca Latinitate deprompta sunt.*" But that their prevalence in later literature was not due solely to an affectation of archaic style, is shown by their extraordinary fertility (more than 60 % of the whole are *recc.*),[1] and by the evident predilection shown for them at all periods by writers of inferior style. Their use in place of customary forms in **-e** has been classed by Rönsch [2] among the vulgarisms of the Itala, while Guericke [3] regards them as characteristic of the *sermo plebeius* in general. Landgraf,[4] quoting Rönsch, cites from Varr. *dispersim, exquisitim, cumulatim*, used in place of the Ciceronian *disperse, exquisite, cumulate;* while conversely, Cic. uses no form in **-im**, for which the classical language had a corresponding form in **-e**, and very few for which such corresponding forms occur in the later writers: Paucker is able to cite only *strictim*, Cic.; *stricte*, Gell.; Dig. Recently these adverbs have been classed among the plebeian characteristics of Symm., by Schulze, who cites many authorities.[5]

It may be noted in conclusion that among the few forms found in Caes., five are regularly used in connection with military matters, and are perhaps to be attributed to the *sermo castrensis: centuriatim, Bell. Ciu.* 1, 76, *c. producti milites idem iurant; cuneatim, Bell. Gall., hostes . . . c. constiterunt; generatim, Bell. Ciu.*, 3, 32, 1, *hostes suas copias. . . . g. constituerunt; ordinatim, Id.* 2, 10, 5, *(musculo) o. structo; turmatim, Id.* 3, 93, *equites se t. explicare coeperunt.*

LIVIVS ANDRONICVS.
disertim,[6] *Tr.* 35
iuxtim,[7] *Id.* 11

NAEVIVS.
datatim,[8] *Com.* 75
efflictim,[9] *Id.* 37
uicissatim,[10] *Bell. Pun.* 4, *Fr.* 2 *Vahl.*
*uniuersim,[11] *Id.* 3, 7, *ed. Spangenb.*

PLAVTVS.
assulatim,[12] *Capt.* 832; *al.*

[1] Paucker, *l. l.; conf.* Goelzer, p. 202. [2] Rönsch, p. 473. [3] Guericke, p. 33. [4] Landgr. Cic. Epp., p. 320, citing Rönsch, *l. l.*, Stuenkel, p. 59. [5] Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI., p. 184, citing Köhler, p. 14, Landgr. *l. l.*, Neue, II., p. 662, Rönsch, *l. l. Conf.* A. Funck, ALL. VIII. pp. 77–110.

[6] Plaut.; Titin.; Acc. [7] Lucr.; Sisenn.; Suet.; Apul.; Iul. Val. [8] Plaut.; Afran.; Pompon.; Non. [9] Plaut.; Pompon.; Laber.; Apul. [10] Plaut. [11] Gell. [12] Sucius, *ed. Müll.*

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ductim,[1] *Curc.* 109
examussim,[2] *Most.* 102; *al.*
follitim, *Epid.* 351
frustillatim,[3] *Curc.* 576
guttatim,[4] *Merc.* 205
*istim,[5] *Capt.* 658
manip(u)latim,[6] *Pseud.* 181
offatim,[7] *Truc.* 613
palliolatim,[8] *Pseud.* 1275
pauxillatim, *Rud.* 929; *al.*
peratim, *Epid.* 351
perplexim,[9] *Stich.* 76
recessim,[10] *Cas.* 443; *al.*
tolutim,[11] *Asin.* 706
tractim,[12] *Amph.* 313
tuatim,[13] *Id.* 554

CAECILIVS.
incursim,[14] *Com.* 46
ossiculatim, *Id.* 50
populatim,[15] *Id.* 125
properatim,[16] *Id.* 167

ENNIVS.
fortunatim, *Ann.* 112
uisceratim, *Tr.* 106 *R.*

TERENTIVS.
cautim,[17] *Haut.* 870
unciatim,[18] *Phorm.*

TITINIVS.
semitatim, *Com.* 14

IVVENTIVS.
testatim,[19] *Com.* 7

CATO.
minutim,[20] *R. R.* 123

CAELIVS ANTIPATER.
dubitatim,[21] *Ann. Lib.* 3, *Fr.* 30

LVCILIVS.
*fartim,[22] *Sat.* 2, 14
zonatim, *Id.* 6, 28

AFRANIVS.
fluctuatim, *Com.* 237
perditim, *Id.* 354
restrictim, *Id.* 333

POMPONIVS.
cossim,[23] *Com.* 129
festinatim,[24] *Id.* 13
frustatim,[25] *Id.* 177
rusticatim, *Id.* 7
taxim,[26] *Id.* 23
urbanatim, *Id.* 7

CLAVDIVS QVADRIGARIVS.
alternatim,[27] *Ann.* 1, *Fr.* 50

SISENNA.
celatim,[28] *Hist.* 6, *Fr.* 126
enixim, *Id.* 4, *Fr.* 110
nostratim, *ap. Charis.* 221, 6
praefestinatim, *Hist.* 5, *Fr.* 117
saltuatim,[29] *Id.* 6, *Fr.* 127
uellicatim, *Id. ib.*
uicatim,[30] *Id.* 3, *Fr.* 47

NIGIDIVS.
bouatim, *ap. Non.* 40, 26

[1] Col. [2] Apul. [3] Pompon. [4] Enn.; Suet.; Apul.; Prud.; Arnob.; Cael. Aur.; Poet. Acu. Car. [5] * Cic. ad Att.; Gell. [6] Sisenn.; Liu.; Plin.; Tac. [7] Isid. [8] Fronto. [9] Cass. Hemin. [10] Chalcid. Tim. [11] Nou.; Varr.; Lucil.; Pompon.; Plin.; Fronto. [12] Lucr.; Verg.; Sen.; Gell. [13] Charis.; Donat., *et al. Grammatt.* [14] Fronto. [15] Pompon.; Arnob. [16] Pompon.; Sisenn.; Inscrr. [17] Acc. [18] Plin.; Diom.; Donat. [19] Pompon. [20] Plin.; Gell.; Pa.-Apic.; Veg. Vet. [21] Sisenn. [22] Apul. Met.; Auson.; *conf.* Funck, ALL. VIII, 102. [23] Apul. Met. [24] Sisenn. [25] Plin.; Apul.; Prud.; Pa.-Apic. [26] Varr. Sat. Men. [27] Amm.; Augustin.; Charis.; Boeth. [28] Apul. Met.; *conf.* Sisenn. ap. Non. p. 87 — *celeratim.* [29] Amm.; Sidon. [30] Cic., *semel*, (de Dom. 129); Hor. Epod.; Liu.; Plin.; Suet.; Tac.

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canatim, *Id. ib.*
expulsim,[1] *Id.* 104, 32
suatim,[2] (*sus*), *Id.* 40, 26

VARRO.
confusim, *L. L.* 9, 4
cumulatim,[3] *R. R.* 3, 15, 2
discriminatim, *Id.* 1, 7, 7
dispersim,[4] *Id.* 1, 1, 8; *al.*
exquisitim, *Sat. Men.* 18
indiscriminatim,[5] *Fr. Willm.* 33
particulatim,[6] *Sat. Men.* 17
stillatim,[7] *L. L.* 5, 38

LVCRETIVS.
adumbratim, 4, 363
cateruatim,[8] 6, 1144
filatim, 2, 831
grauatim,[9] 3, 387
mixtim,[10] 3, 564
moderatim, 1, 323
propritim, 2, 975

CICERO (EPISTT).
citatim,[11] *ad Att.* 14, 20, 5

LABERIVS.
mauricatim, *Com.* 16

HORATIVS.
singultim, *Sat.* 1, 6, 56

VITRVVIVS.
decussatim,[12] 1, 6, 7; *al.*
pectinatim,[13] 1, 5, 7
serratim,[14] 6, 8, 7

COLVMELLA.
iugeratim, 3, 3, 3
liratim, 11, 3, 20

PLINIVS.
arcuatim,[15] 29, 136
assultim, 8, 90; *al.*
*canaliculatim, 9, 103 *D. & M.*
cancellatim,[16] 7, 81; *al.*
contexim,[17] 10, 147
cuspidatim, 17, 102
domesticatim,[18]
fornicatim, 16, 223
geniculatim, 21, 68
imbricatim, 9, 103
muricatim, 9, 102
orbiculatim,[19] 11, 177
pedatim, 11, 253
scripulatim, 22, 118
squamatim, 16, 49
undatim,[20] 13, 96; *al.*

PETRONIVS.
circulatim,[21] 67, 8
urceatim, 44, 18

GELLIVS.
sparsim,[22] 11, 2, 5

APVLEIVS.
aggeratim, *Met.* 4, 8
agminatim,[23] *Id. ib.*
angulatim,[24] *Id.* 3, 2; *al.*
bacchatim, *Id.* 1, 13
capreolatim, *Id.* 11, 22
coaceruatim,[25] *Flor.* 9
congestim, *Apol.* 35
cunctim,[26] *Flor.* 9
directim,[27] *Deo Socr. Prol.*

[1] Varr. Sat. Men. [2] Seru. in Donat. [3] Prud. [4] Suet.; Intpr. Iren.; Mythogr. Lat. [5] Varr. ap. Non. [6] Cornif. Rhet.; Sen. Ep.; Plin.; Lact.; Augustin.; Marc. Emp.; Cod. Theod.; Paul. Diac. [7] Diom. [8] Sall.; Verg. Ge.; Plin.; Tert.; Augustin.; Greg. Tur.; Poet. Aeu. Carl. [9] Liu. [10] Donat. [11] Auct. Bell. Afr. [12] Col.; Plin.; Mart. Cap.; Pa.-Apic. [13] Plin. [14] Apul. Herb.; Augustin. [15] Fest. [16] Sidon. [17] Augustin. Ep. [18] Suet. [19] Macrob. [20] Prud.; Amm.; Oros.; Freculf. [21] Suet.; Cael. Aur. [22] Apul.; Amm.; Lact.; Poet. Aeu. Carl. [23] Solin.; Amm. [24] Diom.; Sidon. [25] Augustin.; Cael. Aur. [26] Sidon. Ep. [27] Augustin.; Macrob.; Vict. Vit.; Isid.

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discretim,[1] *Met.* 6, 1; *al.*
efflictim,[2] *Id.* 5, 28
fistulatim, *Id.* 4, 3
granatim, *Id.* 6, 10
laciniatim, *Met.* 8, 15
pressim,[3] *Id.* 2, 16; *al.*
reflexim,[4] *Deo Plat.* 3
rotatim, *Met.* 10, 253

TERTVLLIANVS.
graecatim, *Pall.* 4
praestructim. *Id.* 3
solutim, *Id.* 5
templatim, *Apol.* 42
temporatim, *Pall.* 2; *al.*
transuersim,[5] *Bapt.* 8

ARNOBIVS.
propriatim, 3, 43

PALLADIVS.
tabulatim, 3, 9, 11

AMMIANVS.
consociatim, 15, 11, 3
globatim, 27, 9, 6
inordinatim, 19, 7, 3
secretim, 29, 1, 6

HIERONYMVS.
commixtim,[6] *in Naum.* 2, 3
diuisim,[7] *Ep.* 100, 14
*sacratim, *in Ezech.* 1, 879

AVGVSTINVS.
conglobatim, *Conf.* 7, 7 *extr.*
continuatim,[8] *Doctr. Chr.* 4, 7, 20; *al.*
perstrictim,[9] *in Ps.* 41, 10; *al.*

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
caesuratim, *Ep.* 4, 3, 3
cauernatim,[10] *Id.* 5, 14
coactim, *Id.* 9, 6, 2
cochleatim, *Id.* 4, 15, 3
emicatim, *Id.* 2, 13, 8
indefessim,[11] *Id.* 3, 2, 4
nuncipatim,[12] *Id.* 7, 9, 13
salebratim, *Id.* 2, 2, 17
trochleatim, *Id.* 5, 17, 8
tumultuatim, *Id.* 1, 5, 4
uniuersatim, *Id.* 8, 2, 2

§ 49. ADVERBS IN **-ter** FROM ADJECTIVES IN **-us**: Like the preceding class, these adverbs are both archaic and vulgar. Their prevalence in the early literature has often been noticed,[13] and their recurrence in Gell. and Apul. has been reckoned among the conscious archaisms of those writers.[14] The vulgar nature of these forms seems beyond question. Their use was censured by the grammarian Dosith. (*Art. Gramm.* ed Keil, p. 40), *illud est uitiosum, quod multi dicunt largiter, duriter, cum et illi*

[1] Ps.-Tert.; Ps.-Cypr.; Auien.; Amm. [2] Ennod. [3] Rhet. Min. (Albinus). [4] Mart. Cap.; Isid. [5] Cl. Mam. [6] Vulg. [7] Dig. [8] Charis.; Serv. in Donat. [9] Eccl. [10] Isid. [11] Cl. Mam. [12] Cl. Mam.

[13] Paucker, Add. Lex. Lat. p. 86, *not.* 70, "usurpatione priscorum potissimum, quam recolunt recentiores;" Brix ad Plaut. Trin. 1060; Lorenz ad Mil. 260; Munro ad Lucr. 1, 525; Ellis ad Catull. 39, 14; Neue-Wagener, 2, 725. [14] *Conf.* Kretschmann, Apul. p. 62, citing 13 examples; Knapp, Gell., p. 167; Draeger, Hist. Synt., § 69, giving list, "Hierunter mögen die fünf von Gellius gebildeten wörter der alterthümelnden Richtung desselben zuzuschreiben sein."

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auctores qui semel largiter et duriter dixerunt, saepius large et dure dixerint,[1] and by Non. Marc., who cites a number of these forms in his chapter De Indiscretis Aduerbiis. Modern authorities are quite unanimous in assigning them to the *sermo plebeius,*[2] and statistics certainly tend to confirm this view. Interesting collections have been made by Draeger, Paucker, and Neue, and from them I have prepared the accompanying list, which is sufficiently complete to form a basis for comparison. Out of a total of 79, 54 are *uett.*, 42 occurring earlier than Cic.; of these Plaut. has the largest number, 11, Enn. coming next with 7, while the comparatively scanty fragments of Nou. Com. furnish 5. Ter., as usual, shows his more careful style, having only *duriter* (Enn.), and the new form *uiolenter*, which hardly belongs in this list, as it is usually regarded as coming from *uiolens*, and not from *uiolentus*. Of the *recc.*, Gell. stands at the head with 6, while Apul. and Tert. add but 2 each, and subsequent writers only 15 altogether, some of which, as *blasphemeter*, cited by Charis., belong properly among the *uett.* The classic writers, with but few exceptions, avoided these forms. Cic., aside from the *Epist.*, has only *nauiter* in the early work *Oeconom.* (*ap.* Col. 11, 1, 16) *firmiter, bis, de Rep.* 1, 69; 6, 2; (in which he is thought to affect an archaic style),[3] *inhumaniter*, II. *Verr.*, 1, 138; *luculenter, Fin.* 2, 15; * *de Off.* 3, 14, 60. Caes. has *largiter, semel,* (*Bell. Gall.* 1, 18, 6), in the evidently colloquial expression *l. posse;*[4] Sall. has the single example, *opulenter, Iug.* 85, 34, which, considering his numerous archaisms, is not surprising. Aside from these few instances, such malformations remained distinctly outside of classic literature, as the following list abundantly proves.

LIVIVS ANDRONICVS.	NAEVIVS.
rarenter,[5] *Tr.* 24	superbiter,[6] *Bell. Pun.* 6, *Fr.* 49

[1] Cited by Paucker, Add. Lex. Lat. p. 86. [2] Rebling, p. 24, "besonders in der volkssprache erhielten sich Adverbialbildungen auf *ter* von Adjektiven auf *us* aus der alten Latinität;" *conf.* Ludwig, p. 30; Guericke, p. 33; Köhler, p. 12; Landgraf, Cic. Epp., p. 320; Barta, Hor., I., p. 25; Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI., p. 183; Ulrich, Vitr., II., p. 6; Rönsch, p. 473. [3] *Conf.* Landgraf, Cic. Epp., p. 320, "firmiter zweimal in der Schrift de Repub. . . . in welcher er überhaupt seiner Sprache einen archaischen Anstrich zu geben sucht," citing Köhler, p. 379 Anm. [4] Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI., p. 184, "(largiter) Cic. semel in uulgari dicendi usu."

[5] Enn.; Cato; Cacil.; Nou.; Pompon.; Fab. Pict. ap. Gell.; Varr.; Gell.; Apul. Flor. [6] Afran.

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PLAVTVS.
amiciter,[1] *Pers.* 255
ampliter,[2] *Bacch.* 677; *al.*
asperiter,[3] *ap. Prisc.* 15, 13
auariter,[4] *Curc.* 126; *al.*
blanditer,[5] *Asin.* 222; *al.*
firmiter,[6] *Epid.* 83; *al.*
largiter,[7] *Truc.* 903; *al.*
maestiter, *Rud.* 265.
munditer,[8] *Poen.* 235
prognariter,[9] *Pers.* 588
saeuiter,[10] *Pseud.* 1290; *al.*

ENNIVS.
duriter,[11] *Tr.* 348 *ed. Vahl.*
inimiciter,[12] *ap. Prisc.* 15, 13
iracunditer,[13] *ap. Id.* 15, 35
proteruiter, *Com.* 8
reuerecunditer,[14] *Inc. Libr. Fr.* 40
temeriter,[15] *Id. ib.*
toruiter,[16] *Ann.* 79

CATO.
fraudulenter,[17] *Oratt.* 70, *Fr.* 3
puriter,[18] *R. R.* 112

PACVVIVS.
properiter,[19] *Tr.* 332

TERENTIVS.
uiolenter,[20] *Phorm.* 731

TITINIVS.
benigniter, *Com.* 49
seueriter,[21] *Id.* 67

LVCILIVS.
ignauiter,[22] *Sat.* 16, 2

AFRANIVS.
saniter, *Com.* 220.

LAEVIVS.
lasciuiter, *Fr.* 5 *M.*

NOVIVS.
festiuiter,[23] *Com.* 40
insaniter, *Id.* 17
parciter,[24] *Id.* 179
primiter, *Id.* 70
*uerecunditer,[25] *Id.* 75

CLAVDIVS QVADRIGARIVS.
praeclariter,[26] *Ann.* 3, *Fr.* 48

VALERIVS ANTIAS.
auiditer,[27] *Fr. ap. Arnob.* 5, 1

SISENNA.
nauiter,[28] *ap. Charis. p.* 185 *P.*

VARRO.
caduciter, *Sat. Men.* 576
mutuiter, *Id.* 346
probiter, *Id.* 342

LVCRETIVS.
longiter, 3, 674; *al.*
uniter,[29] 3, 844; *al.*

[1] Pacuu. [2] Pompon.; Acc.; Lucil.; Gell.; Apul. [3] Caecil.; Sueius. [4] Cato; Cl. Quadr. [5] Titin.; Cl. Mamert. [6] Lucil.; Caes., *semel*, (B. G. 4, 26, 1); Cic., *bis*, (Rep. 1, 45; Id. fr. ap. Non. 512, 28); Gell. [7] Lucr.; Caes., *semel*, (B. G. 1 18, — *sermo castrensis; conf.* Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI., p. 184); Cl. Quadr.; Auct. B. Afr.; Munat. ap. Ascon.; Hor.; Auct. Bell. Afr.; Hor. Sat.; Munat. ap. Ascon. ad Cic. [8] Apul. [9] Enn. [10] Afran. [11] Caecil.; Ter.; Lucr.; Cornif. Rhet.; Vitr. [12] Acc.; Cl. Quadr.; Tubero Hist. Fr. [13] Caecil. [14] *Pompon. Com. 75, *ed. Ribb.* [15] Acc. [16] Pompon. [17] Iustin.; Col.; Plin.; Ambros. [18] Catull. [19] Acc.; Seren. ap. Diom.; Apul.; Auson. [20] Sall., *semel*, (Iug. 40, 5); Hor.; Liu.; Cels.; Col.; Plin. Ep.; Tac.; Iustin.; Suet. [21] Apul. Met. [22] Cl. Quadr.; Hirt. ap. Cic. ad Att.; Gell.; Apul.; Amm. [23] Gell. [24] Cl. Mamert. [25] *Conf. reuerecunditer, Enn., supra.* [26] *Conf.* Prisc. 15, 13. [27] Apul. Met.; Gloss. Placid. [28] Lucr.; Cic., *bis* (Ep. 5, 12, 3); Liu.; Gell. [29] Schol. Iuuen.

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CICERO (EPISTT.).
humaniter, *ad Att.* 1, 2, 1; *ad Fam.* 7, 1
inhumaniter,[1] *Qu. Fr.* 3, 1, 6, 21
luculenter,[2] *Id.* 3, 5, 1
perhumaniter, *ad Fam.* 7, 8 *in.*
turbulenter, *Id.* 2, 16, 7

SALLVSTIVS.
opulenter, *Iug.* 85, 34

LABERIVS.
miseriter,[3] *Com.* 149

VITRVVIVS
crebriter,[4] 2, 8, 2; *al.*
magnificenter, 1, 6, 1; *al.*

COLVMELLA.
temulenter,[5] 8, 8, 10

PETRONIVS.
improbiter, 66, 7
ualgiter, *Fr.* 10 *ed. Buech.*

GELLIVS.
amoeniter, 20, 8, 1
concinniter, 18, 2, 7
intempestiuiter, 4, 20, *Lemm.*
inconcinniter, 10, 17, 2
infestiuiter, 9, 9, 9
sinceriter,[6] 13, 16, 1

APVLEIVS.
cruenter, *Met.* 3, 3
decoriter,[7] *Id.* 5, 22; *al.*

TERTVLLIANVS.
aequanimiter,[8] *de Patient.* 8, 9
unanimiter,[9] *Id.* 1 *fin.*

INTPR. IREN.
masculiniter, 1, 5, 3

ARNOBIVS.
*numerositer, 2, 42
infirmiter,[10] 7, 45

CLAVDIANVS MAMERTVS.
parciter, *Stat. Anim. Praef.*, *p.* 19, 17 *ed. Engelbr.*

MARIVS VICTORINVS.
blasphemiter, *adu. Arium* 1, 46; *al.*

CHARISIVS.
teneriter, 182, 22

HIERONYMVS.
amariter,[11] *Ep.* 23, 1
somnolenter,[12] *In Ps.* 118

AVGVSTINVS.
inurbaniter, *c. Faust. Manich.* 12, 1 *extr.*
securiter, *in Ioann. Ep. ad Parth. tr.* 10, 8

SCHOL. IVVEN.
rariter, 11, 208

[1] Cic., *semel*, (II. Verr. 1, 138); Spart. [2] Cic., *bis*, (Fin. 2, 15; * de Off. 3, 14, 60). [3] Catull.; Apul.; Iul. Val.; Prisc. [4] Apul. Met. [5] Donat. ad Ter.; Cassiod. [6] Augustin.; Cod. Iust. [7] Iul. Val. [8] Symm.; Amm.; Ambros.; Macr. [9] Cypr.; Arnob.; Vopisc.; Vulg.; Oros.; Greg. Tur.; "sed et adi. *unanimis* recc., ut Claudian. sch. Iuu.," Pauck. Add. Lex. Lat., p. 86, *not.* 70. [10] Vulg.; Augustin. [11] Augustin. [12] Cited by Pauck., Spicil. p. 219, among forms "in -ter irregulariter pro -e;" compare Goelzer, p. 200, "nous ne trouvons pas d'adverbes en -ter formés irrégulièrement d'adjectifs de la première classe; . . . formes qui se rencontrent dans les contemporains de saint Jérôme."

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MARCELLVS EMPIRICVS.
summiter, 21, 11; *al.*

ALCIMVS AVITVS.
immensiter, *Homil. de Rogat., ant. med.*

FVLGENTIVS.
notiter,[1] *Myth.* 3, 1, *p.* 103

INSCRR.
indigniter, *C. I. L.* 1, 1066, 4

[1] INSCRIT.

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V.—VERBS.

§ 50. FREQUENTATIVE VERBS:[1] One of the most striking features of the *sermo plebeius* is the prevalence of its verbal derivatives. This tendency has already been seen in considering the verbal abstracts in **-tio, -tus, -tura,** etc., but is still more noticeable in the case of derivative verbs. Not only are the frequentative, inchoative and desiderative verbs more numerous than in classic Latin, but, like diminutive substantives, are frequently not to be distinguished from the simple forms.

The prevalence of frequentative verbs is especially interesting, being further proof of the archaic character of the *sermo plebeius:* that the formation belongs largely to early Latin is conclusively shown by the statistics of Paucker,[2] who, out of a total of 550, (including prepositional compounds), *uett.* 394, assigns 135 exclusively to the ante-Ciceronian period, while of the remainder barely 148 occur in the best classic writers. On the other hand such archaistic writers as Gell., Apul., Arnob., abound with them: according to Knapp,[3] Gell. alone uses not less than 60 frequentative verbs, of which 7 are undoubted archaisms, and 4 others ἅπαξ λεγ.; among the archaisms cited by Stange[4] from Arnob. these verbs hold a conspicuous place: a glance at the list at the end of this section will show how many of the early forms first reappear in post-Hadrian literature, such as

abnutare, *Plaut.; Enn.; Arnob.*
annutare, *Naeu.; Plaut.; Apul.*
apertare, *Plaut.; Arnob.*
esitare *Cato.; Varr.; Gell.; Apul.*
inceptare, *Plaut.; Ter.; Gell.; Lampr.*

[1] As has been well shown by Wölfflin, ALL. IV., pp. 209–12, the old distinction between *uerba frequentatiua* and *intensiua* is without foundation. Accordingly they are all included, in the present chapter, under the single appellation Frequentative Verbs: *Conf.* Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 482, "The distinction of (1) 'Iteratives' in -tito, (2) 'Intensives' in -to, -so, is untenable." [2] Paucker, Ztschr. f. Vergl. Sprachf., 26, p. 243 *sq.;* 421 *sq.; conf.* Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI., p. 185; Wölfff., ALL. IV., p. 204, "Wie Paucker ausgerechnet hat, fällt nahezu ein Drittel ausschliesslich der archaischen Sprache zu." [3] Knapp, Gell., p. 161. [4] Stange, Arnob., p. 7.

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loquitari, *Plaut.; Apul.*
lusitare, *Naeu.; Plaut.; Gell.; Tert.*
subigitare, *Plaut.; Ter.; Fronto; Apul.*
tortare, *Pompon.; Lucil.; Arnob.*
uictitare, *Plaut.; Ter.; Gell.; Amm.*

Like so many archaisms, the frequentative verbs were gradually relegated to the *sermo plebeius*, and approximated more and more in meaning to the simple verb.[1] Their prevalence in early Latin was so great that many of them survived in the best period, yet the classic writers avoided using them and did little toward increasing their number. Sall. alone shows a predilection for them, which is generally included among the archaisms due to his imitation of Cato.[2] Caes. and Cic. both use them sparingly, and in general only where justified by the sense of the passage. Cic. shows special care in his orations, with the exception of his earlier ones, from which Hellmuth cites: *Rosc. Am.*, *fugitare*, *reclamitare*, *munitare*, (the last probably quoted from some comic poet); *in Verr.*, *meritare*, all used where the simple verb would have sufficed.[3] Cic. used altogether an odd 120 forms, but the great majority are from the earlier language. Thus he retained from Plaut. no less than 74, i. e.:

[1] Ludwig, p. 31; Rebling, p. 28; Wölfflin, Philol. 34, p. 157; Lorenz ad Mil. 312, "Frequentativa für Simplicia sind nicht bloss in der stets auf Nachdruck zielenden Umgangssprache sehr allgemein, . . . sondern treten auch sonst in der älteren Latinität, z. B. bei Cato, stark hervor;" Id. ad Most., 116; Id. Einleit. ad Pseud., p. 58, Anm. 48; Dietze, Cato, p. 14, "uerba iteratiua et frequentatiua, quorum aeque ac nominum deminutiuorum frequentissimum usum uulgari sermoni addicimus;" Kraut, Sall., p. 5; Stuenkel, p. 62; Rönsch, p. 474; Schmilinsky, p. 44; Koehler, Bell. Afr., p. 8; Stinner, p. 16; Thielman, Cornif. Rhet., p. 101, "uerba frequentatiua . . . in serm. Cotid. saepissime usurpata;" Hellmuth, Prior. Cic. Oratt., p. 23; Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI. p. 185, "haec uerba . . . in sermone cotidiano usitatissima fuisse, inter omnes qui hanc rem tractauerunt constat," citing *inter alios* Jonas, De Verbis Frequent. et Intens. ap. Comoed. Lat. Scriptorr., 1871-2; Ulrich, Vitr., II., p. 6; Wölfflin, ALL. IV., p. 205, "die Volkssprache sie mehr verwendete als der feinere sermo urbanus;" Goelzer, p. 176, "(concerning prevalence of these verbs in Hier.) Il faut voir dans ce fait l'influence de la langue vulgaire dans laquelle les fréquentatifs remplacent très souvent les verbes simple;" Kühner, Gramm. Lat., I., p. 644, "die Volkssprache welche überhaupt die stärkeren und volleren Formen liebt, eine neigung hat die Intensiva und Frequentativa statt der Stammverben zu gebrauchen;" Lindsay, p. 482, "they seem to have been regarded as a part of the uncultured speech." [2] Kraut, Sall., p. 5; Schultze, Sall., p. 68, "multum crebrumque horum uerborum (uerb. freq.) usum auctori archaismo tribuere non dubito;" Wölfflin, ALL. IV., p. 206, "Unter den klassischen Prosaikern hat nur Sallust als Nachahmer Catos die Vorliebe für die Fr. beibehalten." [3] Hellmuth, Prior. Cic. Oratt., p. 24.

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adiutare,
aduentare,
afflictare,
agitare,
amplexari,
aspectare,
attrectare,
auersari,
cantare,
captare,
cessare,
citare,
clamitare,
cogitare,
consectari,
consultare,
contractare,
cubitare,
dehortari,
delectare,
deuotare,
dictitare,
dispensare,
diuexare,
dormitare,
excitare,
exspectare,
factitare,
flagitare,
fugitare,
gestare,
habitare,
hortari,
iactare,
imitari,
incursare,
insectari,
inspectare,
labefactare,
latitare,
meditari,
minitari,
natare,
negitare,
nutare,
obiectare,
oblectare,
obtrectare,
occultare,
ostentare,
pertractare,
potare,
praemeditari,
prolectare,
prospectare,
quassare,
raptare,
respectare,
retentare,
ructare,
saltare,
sciscitari,
sectari,
spectare,
sustentare,
tentare,
territare,
tractare,
tutari,
uenditare,
uisitare,
uocitare,
uoluntare,
usitatus.

To other early writers Cic. owes the following forms:

Ennivs.
adsectari,
certare,
uolitare.

Pacvvivs.
adtentare.

Cato.
cohortari,
compensare,
conquassare,
meritare.

Terentivs.
cantitare,
coeptare,
conflictare,
cursare,
cursitare,
insultare,
propulsare.

Lvcretivs.
concitare,
exsultare,
flu(i)tare,
perpotare,
prolatare,
refutare,
uexare.

Altogether Cic. has barely 30 which are not found earlier, and there is no reason to suppose that any of these were added by him to the language.

The Augustan poets are equally unproductive of new forms; Verg. adds *circumuectare, conuectare, domitare, exhortari,*

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insertare, lapsare, motare, praenatare, resultare, scitari, strepitare, subuectare, and uses quite a number of the older verbs, probably through the influence of Enn. and other earlier poets. Ou. adds *collabefactare, inhabitare, praecontractare, practentare*, and Hor. in the Odes has only two new forms, *denatare, inuolitare*.

In post-classical Latin we find these formations once more numerous: not only did the influence of the Archaists bring again into use many obsolete forms, but the plebeian fondness for fulness of expression tended continually to increase the number.[1] Here as usual African Latin takes the lead, Apul. and Tert. contributing the largest share, with additions by later African writers, as Arnob., Fulgent. and Coripp.[2]

With the increased prevalence of these derivatives the weakening of the suffix becomes more pronounced, until in the time of Greg. Turon. it is a question whether frequentative verbs can properly be said to exist.[3] This weakness, as has often been pointed out,[4] is shown in three ways: I. by reinforcement with the help of adverbs, as *saepe, uehementer, etiam atque etiam*, etc., or of other verbs, as *solere*;[5] e. g., *uiatores pransitare solent*, Vitr. 8, 3, 16; *agitare solitus est*, Gell. 20, 8, 1; *solitauisse uentitare*, Id. 6, 1, 6; II. by reduplication of suffix, as *cano, canto, cantito*; III. by retention in the Romance languages of frequentatives in place of the simple verbs, as *cano*, **Fr.** *chanter*, etc. Strong evidence is also afforded by certain derivative substantives, and notably by verbal abstracts in **-tio, -sio,** formed from frequentatives, which do not differ appreciably from the corresponding forms derived from the simple stems, as *motio, motatio*. In the great majority of these pairs of words the forms from frequentatives belong to a later period, a fact which is important not only in showing the progressive weakening of frequentative stems, but also their prevalence in the later popular speech. Paucker gives 48 such pairs, in 28 of which the simple form belongs to an earlier period, and in 12

[1] Wölfflin, ALL. IV., p. 208, "Das Spätlatein nahm also die von den Klassikern verpönten Frequentativa des alten Lateins nicht nur wieder in Ehren auf, sondern bildete zahlreiche neue dazu." [2] Wölfflin, *l. l.* [3] Bonnet, Greg. Tur., "On peut même se demander s'il existe encore pour Grégoire des verbes fréquentatifs; ou, en d'autres termes, si le suffixe tare, itare, ajoute chez lui quelque chose à l'idée du verbe. [4] *Conf.* Wölfflin, Philol. 34, p. 157, and other authorities cited *supra*, p. 206, *not.* 1. [5] Ulrich, Vitr. II., p. 6.

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both forms are confined to late Latin, while in only 8 instances are the forms from frequentatives *uett.* and relatively older than those from the simple verbs.[1] A survey of these double forms shows that the frequentative forms, both *uett.* and *recc.*, belong principally to the more vulgar writers, while Cic. and Caes. use the corresponding shorter forms. As is apparent from the following table, Caes. and Cic. each give preference to the longer form in only two instances. African Latin, on the contrary, shows a marked fondness for the longer suffix; Gell. uses 4, Apul. 2, Tert. 9, Augustin. 3, Cael. Aur. 2.

In this list the relatively older form is in each instance printed in heavy-faced type, to make the relation of the two classes more apparent:

Plavtvs: **clamitatio**; (clamatio, *Hier.; Philastr.; Cael. Aur.*)

Cornif. Rhet.: **offensatio**, *Quint.; Sen.;* (offensio, *Caes.; Cic.; Liu.; Tac.; &c.*)

Varro: cantatio, *Apul.; Firm. Math.; Vulg.;* (**cantio**, *Plaut.; Cato; Cic.; Suet.; Apul.*)

Caesar: **obiectatio**, *semel; Ennod.; Schol. Pers.;* (obiectio, *Tert.; Vulg.; Augustin.; Ps.-Ambros.; Iul. Rufin.; Mart. Cap.; Schol. Iuuen.*)

ostentatio, *Cic.; Liu.; Sen.; Plin. Pan.;* (ostensio, *Apul.; Tert.; Intpr. Iren.; Hier.*)

Cicero: **occursatio**, *bis*; (occursio, *Sen.; Augustin.; Sidon. Ep.*)

afflictatio, *Tert.; Cod. Iust.;* (afflictio, *Sen.; Augustin.; Greg. M.; Cassiod.*)

Seneca: **discursatio**, *Frontin.; Tert.; Lact.;* (discursio, *Chalcid. Tim.; Amm.; Firm. Math.*)

intentatio, *Tert.;* (**intentio**, *Cornif. Rhet.; Cic.; Plin. Ep.; Tac.; Quint.*)

uectatio, *Suet.; Th. Prisc.; Augustin.;* (**uectio**, *Cic.*)

Petronivs: pensatio, *Quint.; Vlp. Dig.: Amm.* } (**pensio**, *Cic.; Liu.;*
Plinivs: pensitatio, *Ps.-Ascon.; Eumen.; Sulp. Seu.* } *Iuuen.; Mart.; &c.*)

coniectatio, *Gell.; Pacat. Pan.;* (**coniectio**, *Cic.; Vlp. Dig.; Paul. Dig.*)

Gellivs: dissersatio, (**dissertio**, *Liu.; Gell; Hier.; Fulg. Myth., &c.*)

illectatio; (**illectio**, *Cassiod.*)

perpensatio, (perpensio, *Augustin. Ep.; Boeth.*)

Apvleivs: **mussitatio**, *Tert.; Hier.; Cael. Aur.;* (mussatio, *Intpr. Vet. ad Verg. Ge.*)

Tertvllianvs: acceptatio, *Th. Prisc.; Facund.;* (**acceptio**, *Cic.; Sall.; Apul.; Excl.*)

compulsatio, *Fulg. Myth.;* (compulsio, *Cassiod.; ICt.*)

ducatio, *Intpr. Iren.;* (**ductio**, *Vitr.; Cels.; Vlp. Dig.*)

[1] Paucker, Add. Lex. Lat., p. 84, *not.* 68.

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inspectatio, *Chalcid. Tim.;* (inspectio, *Sen.; Col.; Quint.; Apul.; Ambros.; &c.*)
motatio, (motio, *Cic.; Cels.; Vlp. Dig.*)
SPARTIANVS: accubitatio, (accubitio, *Cic.; Lampr.*)
IVL. VAL.: defensatio, (defensio, *Caes.; Cic.; Nep.; &c.*)
CHALCID. TIM.: circumuolutatio, (circumuolutio, *Baeda.*)
raptatio, (raptio, *Ter.; Arnob.; Auson.*)
DONAT. AD TER.: cursatio, (cursio, *Varr. L. L.*)
AMBROSIVS: minitatio, *Auien. Arat.;* (minitio, *Plaut.; Cic.; Tiro ap. Gell.*)
HEGESIPPVS: incursatio, (incursio, *Cic.; Hirt.; Liu.; Sen.; Lact.*)
VVLGATA: denotatio, *Heges.; Augustin.;* (denotio, *Cic.; Liu.; Nep.; Apul.; &c.*)
dormitatio, *Augustin.;* (dormitio, *Varr.; Arnob.; Hier.; Eccl.*)
RVFINVS: cubitatio, (cubitio, *Augustin. Ep.*)
PS.-EVCHERIVS: complexatio, (complexio, *Cornif. Rhet.; Cic.; Quint.; Firm. Math.*)
CAEL. AVREL.: insertatio, (insertio, *Chalcid. Tim.; Augustin.; Macr.*)
PS.-SORAN.: eiectatio, (eiectio, *Cic.; Vitr.; Vulg.; Cael. Aur.*)
reiectatio, (reiectio, *Cic.; Plin.; Quint.; Pall.; Rufin.*)
FVLGENTIVS: uocitatio, (uocatio, *Varr.; Catull.; Hier.; Augustin.*)
CASSIODORVS: amplexatio, (amplexio, *Mar. Vict.*)
inuectatio, (inuectio, *Cic.*)
usitatio, (usio, *Cato; Arnob.*)
SCHOL. GRONOV.: excursatio, *Gl. Labb.;* (excursio, *Cic.; Liu.; Nep.; Quint.; &c.*)
GLOSS. LABB.: subditatio, (subditio, *Varr.*)

In the Romance languages the extent to which frequentatives have supplanted the simple verbs is too well known to need special comment. Not only have many forms in **-tare, -sare**, familiar to Latin literature, thus survived, as *adiutare, cantare, iactare,* (**Ital.** *ajutare, cantare, gettare;* **Fr.** *aider, chanter, jeter;* **Span.** *ayudar, cantar, echar;* **Port.** *ajudar, cantar, deitar*), but the Romance languages give evidence that many others, which do not occur in extant Latin, must have been prevalent in the *sermo plebeius:* Meyer-Lübke[1] cites among others, **ausare*, **oblitare*, **refusare*, **usare*, etc., comparing **Ital.** *osare, rifusare, usare:* **Ruman.** *uitá, refusá;* **Fr.** *oser, oublier, refuser, user;* **Span.** *osar, olvidar, rehusar, usar.* The survival of forms in **-itare** is not so general, but sufficiently frequent

[1] Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Roman. Spr., II., p. 612; *conf.* Diez, p. 695, "Das Frequentativ empfahl sich den jüngern Sprachen durch seine klangvolle Form," sq.

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to prove that they also were favorites in plebeian Latin:[1] as *circitare*, **Ruman.** *cercetá; cogitare*, **Ruman.** *cugetá*, **O. Ital.** *coitare*, **O. Fr.** *cuidier*, **Span., Port.** *cuidar; *flauitare, *miscitare, *pigritare, *seditare*, **Ital.** *flutare, mestare, peritarsi, assettare*, etc.

Livivs Andronicvs.
nexare,[2] *ap. Diom.* 369, 20
ommentare,[3] *Odyss. Fr.* 10 *Guenth.*

Naevivs.
annictare, *Com.* 76
annutare,[4] *Id. ib.; al.*
conflctare, *ap. Varr. L. L.* 7, 107
ititare, *Bell. Pun.* 3, *Fr.* 5, *p.* 61, *ed. Klussm.*
lusitare,[5] *ap. Non.* 139, 25
rumitare, *ap. Paul. ex Fest.* 271, 3

Plavtvs.
abnutare,[6] *Capt.* 611
acceptare,[7] *Pseud.* 627
acceptitare, *Fr. ap. Non.* 134, 29
accusitare, *Most.* 712
adiutare,[8] *Cas.* 580; *al.*
aduersare, *Rud.* 306
apertare,[9] *Men.* 910
artare,[10] *Capt.* 304
auctare,[11] *Amph.* 6
auditare,[12] *Stich.* 167
auersari,[13] *Trin.* 627
calefactare,[14] *Rud.* 411; *al.*
cassare, *Mil.* 852; *al.*
circumcursare,[15] *Rud.* 223
circumuectari,[16] *Id.* 933
commetare,[17] *Capt.* 185
conclamitare, *Merc.* 47
*coquitare, *Fr. Dub. et Susp.* 1
crepitare,[18] *Men.* 926; *al.*
culpitare, *Cist.* 495
datare,[19] *Most.* 602
defensare,[20] *Bacch.* 443
depulsare, *Stich.* 286
*deuotare,[21] *Cas.* 388
diffunditare,[22] *Merc.* 58
ductare,[23] *Capt.* 641; *al.*
ductitare,[24] *Poen.* 272; *al.*
edictare, *Amph.* 816; *al.*
edissertare,[25] *Id.* 600; *al.*
electare, (*elicio*), *Asin.* 295; *al.*
*electare,[26] (*eligo*), *Truc.* 508
erogitare,[27] *Capt.* 952
esitare,[28] *Id.* 188; *al.*
excisare, *p. p. p.*, *Cist.* 383

[1] Meyer-Lübke, *l. l.*, "itare . . . ist nach Ausweis des Romanischen in der lateinischen Volkssprache ziemlich beliebt gewesen: Diez, *l. l.*

[2] *Conf.* Neue, Formenl. 2², 421. [3] Gloss. Placid. [4] Plaut.; Apul. [5] Plaut.; Gell.; Tert. [6] Enn.; Arnob. [7] Varr.; Col.; Quint.; Mela; Sil.; Curt.; Tert.; Vulg.; ICt. [8] Pacuu.; Acc.; Ter.; Varr.; Cic., *semel*, (Fragm. p. 47 ed. Kays.); Petr.; Gell.; Hier.; *uerb. depon.* — Pacuu.; Afran. [9] Arnob. [10] Lucr.; Tibull.; Liu.; Cels.; Col.; Mela; Vell.; Iustin.; Petr.; Plin.; Lucan.; Stat.; Mart.; Sil.; Plin. Pan.; Pacat. Pan.; Pall.; ICt. [11] Lucr.; Catull. [12] Paul. ex Fest. [13] Enn.; Sall. Fr.; Auct. B. Hisp.; *Cic., *semel*, (Clu. 177); Ou.; Liu.; Curt.; Quint.; Tac. [14] Hor. Ep.; Capit. [15] Ter.; Lucr.; Catull.; Pacat. Pan.; Cypr.; Lact.; Amm.; Dict.; Heges. [16] Verg. Ge.; Liu.; *uerb. act.* — Sil. [17] Ter.; Afran.; Nou. [18] Lucr.; Verg.; Ou.; Prop.; Sen.; Petr.; Plin.; Mela; Augustin. [19] Plin.; Fronto; Apul. [20] Sall.; Ou.; Tac.; Stat.; Augustin. [21] Cic., *semel*, (Parad. 1, 12); Min. Fel.; Apul.; Augustin. [22] Amm. [23] Enn.; Sall.; Quint.; Amm.; Hier. [24] Hier.; Eccl. [25] Liu.; Fest.; Tert. [26] Ed. Schoell — *letat.* [27] Acc.; Sil. [28] Cato R. R.; Varr.; Gell.; Apul.

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frigefactare, *Rud.* 1326; *al.*
funditare,[1] *Asin.* 896; *al.*
gestitare,[2] *Mil.* 7; *al.*
halitare,[3] *Bacch.* 22
hietare,[4] *Men.* 449
imperitare,[5] *Capt.* 244
inceptare,[6] *Trin.* 1030; *al.*
inclamitare,[7] *Epid.* 711
incubitare,[8] *Pers.* 284
insputare, *Capt.* 553
introspectare, *Most.* 936
lactare,[9] (*lacio*), *Cist.* 217
licitari,[10] *Merc.* 441
loquitari,[11] *Bacch.* 808
lutitare, *Trin.* 292
*madefactare,[12] *Pseud.* 184
mantare,[13] *Most.* 116; *al.*
mussare,[14] *Aul.* 131
mussitare,[15] *Mil.* 311; *al.*
mutuitari, *Merc.* 48
negitare,[16] *Bacch.* 1193; *al.*
nictare,[17] *Asin.* 784; *al.*
noscitare,[18] *Trin.* 863; *al.*
obductare, *Merc.* 786
obreptare,[19] *Pers.* 79
occeptare, *Men.* 916; *al.*
occlamitare, *Curc.* 183; *al.*
occursare,[20] *Mil.* 1047
olfactare,[21] *Men.* 167
palitari, *Bacch.* 1123
paritare, *Merc.* 649; *al.*
perductare, *Most.* 846
perreptare,[22] *Amph.* 1011; *al.*
perspectare,[23] *Most.* 815
(pinsitare,[24] *Asin.* 32 *b.*)
placitare, *Bacch.* 1081
pollicitari,[25] *Mil.* 879; *al.*
potitare, *Id.* 836; *al.*
pressare,[26] *Pers.* 312; *al.*
promptare, *Bacch.* 465; *al.*
pultare,[27] *Asin.* 882; *al.*
*purgitare, *ap. Non.* 190, 10
quaeritare,[28] *Epid.* 436
recursare,[29] *Most.* 581
reptare,[30] *Cas.* 98
requiritare, *Most.* 1003
responsare,[31] *Mil.* 964; *al.*
restitare,[32] *Capt.* 503
retentare,[33] *Asin.* 591
rogitare,[34] *Aul.* 117; *al.*
sputare,[35] *Merc.* 138; *al.*
subigitare,[36] *Id.* 203
sublectare, *Mil.* 1066
subsultare,[37] *Cas.* 433; *al.*
subuentare, *Rud.* 231
tonsitare, *Bacch.* 1127
uictitare,[38] *Mil.* 321; *al.*
uisitare,[39] *Trin.* 766; *al.*
unctitare,[40] *Most.* 274

FABIVS PICTOR.
detonsare, *ap. Gell.* 10, 15, 11

[1] Flor.; Amm. [2] Treb. Poll.; Solin.; Arnob.; Hier. [3] Enn. [4] Caecil.; Laber.; Gn. Mattius ap. Diom.; Gloss. Labb. [5] Sall.; Hor. Sat.; Liu.; Curt.; Tac.; Flor. [6] Ter.; Gell.; Lampr. [7] Gloss. Amplon. [8] Col. [9] Ter.; Acc.; Varr. [10] Enn.; Caecil.; Curt. [11] Apul. [12] Ven. Fort. [13] Caecil.; Cael. Com.; Paul. ex Fest. [14] Enn.; Iuuent. Com.; Varr. L. L.; Sall. Fr.; Verg. Ge.; Liu.; Plin. Ep.; Fronto; Seru. ad Aen. [15] Ter.; Liu.; Pacat. Pan.; Apul.; Cl. Mam. [16] Lucr.; Cic., *semel*, (Ac. 2, 69); Sall.; Hor. [17] Caecil.; Nou.; Lucr.; Plin. [18] Catull.; Liu.; Plin. Ep.; Tac. [19] Plin. [20] Sall., *semel*, (Ing. 85, 3); Verg.; Liu.; Plin. Ep.; Tac.; Gell. [21] Plin. [22] Ter. [23] Pompon.; Sen.; Suet. [24] Thom. Thes. [25] Ter.; Sall.; Vlp. Dig.; Aur. Vict. [26] Lucr.; Verg.; Hor.; Ou.; Sil.; Ambros. [27] Ter. [28] Ter.; Pompon. Com.; Catull.; Amm.; Hier.; Saluian. [29] Lucr.; Verg.; Tac. [30] Lucr.; Hor.; Plin.; Plin. Ep.; Gell.; Claud. [31] Verg.; Hor.; Val. Fl.; Stat. [32] Enn.; Ter.; Liu.; Plin. [33] Cornif. Rhet.; Lucr.; Liu.; Cic., *semel*, (Poet. de Diu. 1, 17); Val. Fl. [34] Ter.; Verg.; Liu. [35] Ou. Met. [36] Ter.; Fronto; Apul.; Baeda. [37] Quint.; Tert.; Hier. [38] Ter.; Gell.; Amm.; Hier. [39] Cic., *semel*, (— to visit, Fin. 5, 31, 94); Vitr.; Suet.; Apul.; Ambros.; Hier.; Vulg.; Augustin. [40] Cato.

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Ennivs.
fossare,[1] *Ann.* 569
opertare, *Id.* 500
tuditare,[2] *Id.* 138

Cato.
confutare, (*futurus*), *ap. Paul. ex Fest.* 89, 3
dissertare,[3] *Oratt.* 40, *Fr.* 6
dolitare, *R. R.* 157, 7
*emptitare,[4] *Oratt.* 72
flexare, *R. R.* 49
meritare,[5] *ap. Paul. ex Fest. p.* 152
obsonitare, *Oratt.* 27, *Fr.* 1
redemptitare, *ap. Fest. p.* 286
subrectitare, *Oratt.* 57, *Fr.* 2

Pacvvivs.
initare, *Tr.* 1
perrogitare, *Id.* 315

Terentivs.
cantitare,[6] *Ad.* 750
cursitare,[7] *Eun.* 278
locitare, *Ad.* 949
*productare, *And.* 615
receptare,[8] *Haut.* 968
suspectare,[9] *Eun.* 584

Accivs.
succussare, *Tr.* 568

Lvcilivs.
eiulitare, *Sat.* 6, 16
secubitare, *Id.* 26, 93

Laevivs.
*missitare,[10] *Fr.* 19 *M.*

Pomponivs.
*lauitare,[11] *Com. Fr. ap. Calp. Pis.*
tortare,[12] *Com.* 40.

Clavdivs Qvadrigarivs.
comprehensare, *Ann.* 2, *Fr.* 39
exsertare,[13] *Id.* 1, *Fr.* 10 *b.*

Varro.
exercitare,[14] *L. L.* 5, 87
indigitare,[15] *ap. Non.* 4, 319
lutare,[16] (*luere*), *Sat. Men.* 100
offensare,[17] *Id.* 12
pascitare, *R. R.* 3, 16, 19
salitare, *L. L.* 5, 85.
subiectare,[18] *R. R.* 52, 2

Lvcretivs.
circumuersari,[19] 5, 520; *al.*
circumuolitare,[20] 2, 329
coactare, 6, 1120; *al.*
discrepitare, 3, 801; *al.*
disiectare,[21] 2, 553; *al.*
dissultare,[22] 3, 396
extentare,[23] (*extendere*), 3, 488
intercursare,[24] (*in tmesi*), 3, 262
mersare,[25] 5, 1005
nixari,[26] 4, 504; *al.*
persultare,[27] 1, 15

[1] Capitol.; Pall.; Veg. Mil.; Gromat. Vet.; Gloss. Labb. [2] Lucr. [3] Tac.; Gell. [4] Col.; Plin. Ep.; Tac. [5] Cic., *semel*, (Verr. 3, 119); Paul. ex Fest.; Plin.; Sil. [6] Afran.; Varr.; Cic., *semel*, (Brut. 75); Suet.; Apul.; Augustin. [7] Cornif. Rhet.; Cic., *semel*, (Nat. Deor. 2, 115); Hor.; Suet.; Plin. Ep. [8] Lucr.; Verg.; Liu.; Lucan.; Tac.; Auct. Itin. Alex. [9] Plin.; Tac.; Aur. Vict.; Amm. [10] Sall., *semel*, (Iug. 38, 1); Liu.; Plin.; Solin. [11] *Ap. Munk* de Atellania, p. 150 Fr. 2; *conf.* Georges Wörterb., *s. u.* [12] Lucr.; Arnob. [13] Verg.; Stat.; Amm. [14] Ps.-Sall. de Rep.; Sen.; Mela; Suet.; Aur. Vict. [15] Paul. ex Fest.; Tert.; Seru. ad Aen.; Macr. [16] *Form luitatum* — Paul. ex Fest. 116, 5. [17] Lucr.; Liu.; Quint.; Min. Fel. [18] Lucr.; Verg.; Hor. Sat.; Ou. Met. [19] Auien. [20] Verg.; Sen.; Col.; Sil.; Tac.; Mart. Cap.; Ven. Fort. [21] Amm. [22] Verg.; Plin. [23] Amm.; (*ex-tentare* — Plaut.). [24] Liu.; Plin. [25] Catull.; Verg.; Hor. Ep.; Sen.; Col.; Tac.; Mart. Cap. [26] Verg. [27] Liu.; Tac.; Apul.; Prud.

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peruolitare,[1] 6, 952; *al.*
reiectare,[2] 2, 326; *al.*
renutare,[3] 4, 598
repulsare, 4, 577; *al.*
*subditare,[4] 6, 604

CICERO (EPISTT.).
circumgestare,[5] *ad Q. Fr.* 1, 2, 2, 6
consputare,[6] *Id.* 2, 3, 2

AVCT. BELL. ALEX.
annatare,[7] 20, 6

CATVLLVS.
reflagitare, 42, 6 & 10
*trusare, 56, 6

HORATIVS.
pensare,[8] *Ep.* 2, 1, 29

COLVMELLA.
*confrequentare,[9] 9, 13, 13
euolitare, 8, 8; *in.*

PETRONIVS.
sternutare,[10] 98; *al.*

PLINIVS.
aduolitare,[11] 11, 65
circumuolutare, 8, 59
interuersari, 9, 157
mansitare,[12] 10, 7
reuisitare, 18, 13
sumptitare, 25, 51

MARTIALIS.
expulsare,[13] 14, 46, 1
*lactitare, 7, 101, 3

GELLIVS.
*antispectare, 9, 4, 6
deuersitare, 17, 20, 6
(motitare, *ap. Gell.* 9, 6, 3)
(raptitare, *Id. ib.*)
solitare, 7, 1, 6
(uectitare,[14] *ap. Gell.* 9, 6, 3)

APVLEIVS.
commorsitare, *Met.* 7, 16; *al.*
compulsare,[15] *Id.* 7, 21
curitare, *Met.* 7, 14
demorsitare, *Id.* 2, 21; *al.*
inhortari, *Id.* 8, 17; *al.*
obructare, *de Mund.* 59
pistare,[16] *Herb.* 75
progestare, *Met.* 6, 28
proquiritare,[17] *Apol.* 82

TERTVLLIANVS.
compressare,[18] *Scorp.* 3
constrictare, *adu. Marc.* 2, 16
conuentare,[19] *Anim.* 54
desultare, *Id.* 32
excussare, *Virg. Vel.* 7
inoblectari, *adu. Hermog.* 18
mergitare,[20] *Coron.* 3
nuptare, *Carm. de Sodom.* 45
obmussitare, *Pall.* 4
sponsare,[21] *Virg. Vel.* 11

COMMODIANVS.
congestare,[22] *Instr.* 2, 22, 15
tinnitare,[23] *Id.* 2, 22

SOLINVS.
consaeptare, 32, 37
conuentare, 27, 7

[1] Verg.; Vitr.; Flor. [2] Sil.; Capit.; Spart. [3] Prud. [4] Gloss. Labb. [5] Apul. Met. [6] Tert.; Ambr. [7] Phaedr.; Sen. Poet.; Plin.; Sil. [8] Ou.; Liu.; Val. Max.; Col.; Plin.; Curt.; Lucan.; Tac.; Vell.; Calp. Ecl. [9] Prud.; Inscrr. [10] Plin.; Macr. [11] Prud. [12] Tac.; Fronto; Iul. Val.; Hier. [13] Amm. [14] Solin.; Arnob. [15] Tert. [16] Veget. [17] Sidon. Ep.; Claud. Mam. [18] Porphyr. ad Hor. Sat. [19] Solin. [20] Hier. [21] Vulg.; Augustin.; Paul. Nol. [22] Augustin. [23] Anthol. Lat.

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fellitare,[1] 45, 17
feritare, (*ferre*), 56, 18
lambitare, 15, 12
mersitare, 45, 18
occursitare, 25, 6
subternatare,[2] 32, 26

Arnobivs.
conceptare,[3] 4, 21
flatare,[4] 2, 38
saltitare,[5] 2, 42

Ivlivs Valerivs.
praesuspectare, 1, 43
reuectare,[6] 3, 27
submersare, 3, 26
*transuectare, 2, 34 *ed. Rom.*

Ivvencvs.
correptare, 2, 192

Plinivs Valerianvs.
minutare,[7] 2, 30; *al.*
reuersare,[8] 1, 21
tostare, 2, 28

Avienvs.
perterritare,[9] *Arat.* 1170
protentare, *Id.* 285

Vegetivs.
obuolutare, *p. p. p., Vet.* 3, 4, 30
uulsare, *Mil.* 5, 41

Hieronymvs.
complexare,[10] *c. Iouin.* 1, 3
distentare, *in Iesai.* 15 *ad* 54, 2
exclamitare, *Ep.* 39, 5
uescitari, *in Eccl.* 4, *p.* 421

Avgvstinvs.
inuolutare,[11] *in Ps.* 57, 7
renatare, *Ciu. Dei* 18, 17
satare, *Serm.* 199, 1 *Mai.*

Marcellvs Empiricvs.
peruersare, 28

Theodorvs Priscianvs.
commotare, 1, 8
passare, (*pati*), 1, 30

Martianvs Capella.
recursitare, 1, 25
saeptare, 2, 208

Sedvlivs.
accubitare, *in Carm. Pasch. Prol.* 2
deuectare, *Carm.* 5, 345

Caelivs Avrelianvs.
frixare, *Acut.* 1, 11, 77
praeuexare, *Chron.* 1, 1, 18; *al.*

Sidonivs Apollinaris.
prensitare, *Ep.* 2, 8

Clavdianvs Mamertvs.
obstrepitare, *Rapt. Pros.* 2, 355
perquiritare, *p. p. p., Stat. Anim.* 1, *praef.*

Ennodivs.
illicitare, *Vit. S. Epiph. p.* 412 *ed. Sirmond.*

Fvlgentivs.
creditare, *Myth.* 1, *p.* 6 *M.*
expromptare, *Verg. Cont. p.* 137; *al. M.*
inuersare, *Id. p.* 141 *M.*

[1] Arnob. [2] Isid. [3] Amm. [4] Amm.; Augustin. [5] Vopisc.; Macr. [6] Hier. [7] Th. Prisc.; Intpr. Orig. in Leuit. [8] Augustin.; Isid. [9] Coripp. [10] Vulg.; Coripp.; Gloss. Labb. [11] *Ps.-Apic.

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CASSIODORVS.
inuisitare, *in Ps.* 134, 6; *al.*
praeiactitare, *Id.* 36, 14

VENANTIVS FORTVNATVS.
concursitare, *Vit. S. Radeg.* 24
instrepitare, *Carm.* 3, 9, 26
monitare, *Vit. S. Mart.* 2, 387

sepultare, *Carm.* 8, 6, 167
subincrepitare, *Vit. S. Mart.* 1, 259

CORIPPVS.
conterritare, *Ioann.* 2, 54
impressare, Id. 5, 371; *al.*

§ 51. INCHOATIVE VERBS: Of the various classes of derivative verbs, none has gained a more general acceptance in classic Latin than that of the so-called inchoative verbs. Paucker's list, including prepositional compounds, and counting separately the double forms in **-escere**, **-ascere**, contains altogether 694, *uett.* 440, *recc.* 254 (of which 398 are compounds, *uett.* 264, *recc.* 134), and Sittl's more critical list gives similar results.[1] Of these, Cic. alone has no less than 120, or nearly 28 % of the *uett.*, and many of them of frequent occurrence. The Augustan poets also show a fondness for these forms, Verg. adding 23, Ouid. 14. Nevertheless they are on the whole much more numerous in the *sermo plebeius* than the classic speech, another instance, as Guericke rightly observed, of the plebeian fondness for unnecessary fulness of expression.[2] The latter, however, went too far in claiming that inchoative and frequentative verbs never lost their distinctive meaning in vulgar Latin: the weakening of verbs in **-tare** has already been seen in the preceding section: that it was equally true in the case of verbs in **-escere**, at least in the later popular speech, is shown by the Romance languages, where the suffix has to a great extent sunk to a mere inflectional ending. It is worthy of note that no inchoative force seems to have been attached originally to the suffix **-sco**, but was acquired from certain verbs, as *crescere*, *adolescere*, in which an inchoative idea was inherent in the root.[3] Properly speaking, the term "in-

[1] Paucker, Spicilegium, p. 252; Sittl, ALL. I., pp. 465 sq. [2] Ludwig, p. 31; Rönsch, p. 313; Schmilinsky, p. 47, "Plautus etiam complura habet inchoatiua eodem fere significatu, quo doctus sermo simplicibus utitur;" Guericke, p. 34, "In sermone plebeio uerba formae intensiuae et incohatiuae ualde usitata erant, ubi formae simplicis uerba sententiae iam suffecerunt;" Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI., p. 190, "uerba inchoatiua in sermone uulgari saepe pro uerbis simplicibus ponuntur, oriendi ui plane obscurata;" Hauschild, Diss. Hal. VI., p. 257, "recte Schulze monuit in sermone uulgari saepe uerba inchoatiua pro illo plebis studio usurpandi formas ampliores inueniri pro simplicibus posita." [3] Brugmann, Grundriss, II., p. 1036.

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cohative," or "inceptive," is inappropriate and misleading: as recently expressed by Lindsay,[1] "It is only verbs of the second conjugation uncompounded with a preposition, such as calesco, liquesco, to which a notion of 'beginning' can be attached, and even there the notion conveyed by the suffix is rather that of passing into a state or condition, of 'becoming' than of 'beginning'; . . . Its sense of 'passing into a state or condition' suited it for acting as the Present Tense-stem of Intransitive Verbs." Accordingly, aside from derivatives from the second conjugation, the suffix was chiefly used in forming intransitives in **-escere** from nominal stems such as *dulci-*, *igni-graui-*, etc., and in **-ascere**, from ā-stems, etc., as *gemmascere*, *uesperascere*, *ueterascere*. Forms in **-ascere** from verbs of the 1st conjugation are purely archaic,[2] as *amascere*, Naeu., *hiascere*, Cato, etc., and so for the most part are the forms in **-iscere**, from the 4th conjugation, which are also quite devoid of inchoative force.[3] As for inchoatives in **-escere**, formed from intransitives of the 2nd conjugation, the distinction between the simple and the derivative forms is not always prominent, even in the best period. The intransitives, when compounded with a preposition expressing the idea of "becoming," as **con-**, **de-**, **ex-**, regularly assume the inchoative suffix: thus *rubere*, *erubescere*; *ualere*, *conualescere*, etc., and not *erubere*, *conualere*, (unless the preposition retains a separate force; compare *e-lucere*, *co-haerere* = *lucere ex*, *haerere cum*). In the later *sermo plebeius* the distinction is still less marked, even the uncompounded derivatives from the 2nd conjugation being used indiscriminately in place of the simple intransitives: thus for the sake of an example compare Schulze, who cites *arere*, *arescere*; *horrere*, *horrescere*, used interchangeably by Symm.[4] In the Romance languages, as already noted, the use of this suffix belongs largely to the question of conjugation rather than of word-formation; in **Span.** and **Port.** almost every

[1] Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 480, citing Sittl, ALL. I., p. 465 sq. [2] Sittl, ALL. I., p. 492, "Scriptores igitur qui post Plauti Catonisque tempora florebant, nec ullum uocabulum nouum illis addidisse anim aduertimus — an quis Columellam ipsum iudicat consudasco (12, 48, 2) finxisse? — nec in aliorum scriptis ea permansisse nisi qui antiqua dicendi forma atque usu delectabantur." [3] Sittl, *l. l.*, "inchoatiua a uerbis quartae coniugationis petita, . . . inceptiua ui prorsus carent et prisci maxime sermonis propria sunt." [4] Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI., p. 190, adding "Hunc usum qui ex studio plebis ampliores formas usurpandi natus est, nondum satis obseruatum esse uideo."

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verb in *-ir* has a corresponding form in *-ecer*, so also to some extent in **South-Ital.** dialects, while in **Ruman.**, **Ital.**, and **Fr.**, *-isc-* survives as an inflectional element.[1]

In regard to the number of these forms, the later popular speech is remarkably fertile in new formations, as the following list abundantly shows: their prevalence is especially noticeable in the later African writers, as has already been observed by that far-sighted authority on African Latin, Wölfflin.[2] The latter also notes the tendency in African writers to substitute the termination **-escere** for **-ascere**, citing *tenerascere*, Lucr., *-escere*, Tert.; Porphyr.; Ps.-Cypr.; Augustin.; *ueterascere*, Col.; Ambros.; *-escere*, Cass. Fel.[3]

The causative use of inchoatives seems to have been distinctly a feature of plebeian Latin, belonging to a very late period. In classical times only *suescere* and its compounds are so employed, and the later usage is evidently an extension from these verbs. The usage has been discussed by Muncker, Ott, and Löwe,[4] and more recently by Sittl., who in his Lokalen Verschiedenheiten d. Lateinischen Sprachen regarded it as a peculiarity of African Latin, citing *inolescere*, Gell., *innotescere* Tert., *hilarescere*, Augustin., *pauescere*, Coripp., but in his article on Inchoatives, in the Archiv, after a more critical survey of the examples usually cited, holds that there are no indisputable instances earlier than the fifth century.[5] Löwe cites from Glossaries the undoubted instances *ferascit* = *ferum facit*; *descens* = *aperiens*; *fatescunt* = *feriendo dissipant*, etc., and a few others occur in late literature, as *pulcrescere*, *tepescere*, from the Trag. Orest. In the Romance languages the suffix is to some extent causative; Diez cites **Span.** *apetecer*, *bastecer*, **Port.** *avilzir*, etc.[6]

[1] Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr., II., p. 615. The numerous forms in Fr., such as *éclaircir*, *enforcir*, *noircir*; and Prov., such as *amarzir*, *clairzir*, *magrezir*, etc., formerly included under this head, are now otherwise explained: according to Meyer-Lübke the suffix *-cir* is due to false analogy, a few verbs, such as *enforcir*, from *force*, *estressir*, from *estresse*, being wrongly taken as coming from *fort*, *estroit*, etc. So Prov. *-zir* arose from wrongful association of *tebezir* (*tepidire*), with the adj. *tebe*, etc. [2] Wölfflin, Cass. Fel., p. 416, "Wie lebenskräftig hier die afrikanische Latinität noch neue Schosse trieb, zeigen ihre Neubildungen." [3] Wölfflin, *l. l.* [4] Muncker ad Fulg. Verg. Cont. p. 141; Ott, Jahrb. 1874, p. 843, citing Wannowski, Promiscuo uerborum actiuorum et neutrorum usu apud scriptores Latinos, Posen, 1867; Löwe, Prodromos, p. 362, "uerbis in -sco lingua uulgaris factitiue ut grammatici loquuntur utitur." [5] Sittl, Lokal. Verschiedenheit., p. 41; Id. ALL. I., p. 519. [6] Diez, p. 699.

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LIVIVS ANDRONICVS.
frigescere,[1] *ap. Serv. ad Aen.* 1, 92

NAEVIVS.
amascere, *Com.* 138

PLAVTVS.
allubescere,[2] *Mil.* 1004
collabascere, *Stich.* 522
commiserescere,[3] *Rud.* 1090
compescere,[4] *Bacch.* 463; *al.*
condormiscere, *Curc.* 360; *al.*
conquiniscere,[5] *Cist.* 657; *al.*
consilescere,[6] *Mil.* 583
desudascere,[7] *Bacch.* 66
dispalescere, *Id.* 1046
edormiscere,[8] *Amph.* 697; *al.*
exputescere, *Curc.* 242
feruescere,[9] *Capt.* 917
frunisci,[10] *Rud.* 1012
implicisci,[11] *Amph.* 729
indipisci,[12] *Rud.* 1315; *al.*
labascere,[13] *Id.* 1394
macescere,[14] *Capt.* 134
miserescere,[15] *Trin.* 343; *al.*
obtaedescere, *Stich.* 732
occallescere,[16] *Asin.* 419
peracescere, *Bacch.* 1099; *al.*
perdormiscere, *Men.* 928
permanascere, *Trin.* 155
perpruriscere,[17] *Stich.* 761
persentiscere,[18] *Merc.* 687
redipisci, *Trin.* 1020

ENNIVS.
*incuruiscere, *Tr.* 194 *ed. Vahl.*
*longiscere,[19] *Ann.* 480
remorbescere, *ap. Fest.* 177 (*b*), 23
russescere, *Ann.* 266

CATO.
condeliquescere, *R. R.* 23, 3
dishiascere, *Id.* 12
distabescere,[20] *Id.* 24
fracescere,[21] *Id.* 128
hiascere, *Id.* 17, 2
inferuescere,[22] *Id.* 90
pertaedescere,[23] *Id.* 156, 6

PACVVIVS.
aggrauescere,[24] *Tr.* 69
fatisci,[25] *Id.* 154
*matrescere,[26] *Id.* 139
mitescere,[27] *Id.* 142; *al.*

TERENTIVS.
algescere,[28] *Ad.* 86
integrascere, *Andr.* 688
*praesentiscere, *Haut.* 769
silescere,[29] *Ad.* 785

CASSIVS HEMINA.
computescere, *ap. Plin.* 13, 86

ATTA.
celebrescere, *Tr.* 274

[1] Cato; Lucr.; Cels.; Curt.; Pers.; Quint.; Tac.; Hier. Ep. [2] Paul. ex Fest.; Apul.; Mart. Cap. [3] Enn.; Pacuu.; Turpil.; Ter. [4] Titin.; Verg.; Hor.; Tibull.; Sen.; Col.; Plin.; Plin. Pan.; Augustin.; Prisc. [5] Pompon. [6] Enn.; Gell.; Hier. [7] Gloss. Labb.; *form -escere* — Comp. Vitr.; Gloss. Placid. [8] Ter. [9] Lucr.; Sen.; Plin.; Arnob. [10] Cato; Cl. Quadrig.; Non.; Lucil.; Petr.; Commodian.; Inscrr. [11] Fronto; Gloss. Philox. [12] Lucr.; Liu.; Gell.; Apul.; Sulp. Seu.; Augustin.; Cod. Iust. [13] Ter.; Acc.; Varr.; Lucr. [14] Varr.; Col.; Pall. [15] Ter.; Verg.; Prud. [16] Cic. Att.; Ou.; Cels.; Col.; Plin. Ep. [17] Apul. Met. [18] Ter.; Lucr.; Solin.; Augustin. [19] Gloss. Labb. [20] Fest.; Veget.; Augustin. [21] Varr.; Col.; Pelag. Vet. [22] Hor.; Cels.; Plin.; Sil.; Augustin. [23] Gell. [24] Ter. [25] Acc.; Lucr.; Varr.; Fronto; *verb. act.* — Titin.; Verg.; Col.; Tac.; Sulp. Seu. [26] Gloss. Labb. [27] Acc.; Poet. ap. Cic.; Varr.; Hor.; Ou.; Liu.; Curt.; Col.; Plin.; Tac. [28] Prud.; Fulg. [29] Catull.; Verg.; Ou.

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ACCIVS.
perdolescere,[1] *Tr.* 317
pergrandescere *Id.* 440
sanctescere, *Id.* 163
uastescere, *Id.* 600

LVCILIVS.
obturgescere,[2] *Sat.* 4, 43

NOVIVS.
aurescere,[3] *Com.* 66
gallulascere, *Id.* 21
roborascere, *Id. ib.*

POMPONIVS.
ocquiniscere, *Com.* 126; *al.*

FVRIVS ANTIAS.
lutescere,[4] *ap. Gell.* 18, 11, 4
noctescere, *Id. ib.*
opulescere, *Id. ib.*
uirescere,[5] *Id. ib.*

SISENNA.
laetiscere *Hist.* 4, *Fr.* 123
persubhorrescere, *Id. ib.* 104

VARRO.
assudescere, *L. L.* 5, 109
colliquescere,[6] *ap. Non.* 334, 27 & 29
commacescere, *Id.* 137, 3
confracescere, *R. R.* 1, 13, 4
contenebrascere,[7] *Id.* 2, 2, 11
eliquescere,[8] *R. R.* 1, 55, 4
euirescere, *Sat. Men.* 425
hilarescere,[9] *ap. Non.* 121, 11
macrescere,[10] *R. R.* 2, 5, 15; *al.*
perarescere,[11] *Id.* 1, 49, 1
perfrigescere,[12] 2, 9, 13
puellascere, *Sat. Men.* 44
*tonescere, *Id.* 56

LVCRETIVS.
aborisci, 5, 731
aegrescere,[13] 5, 349
ardescere,[14] 6, 178; *al.*
candescere,[15] 1, 490
clarescere,[16] 1, 1115; *al.*
flammescere,[17] 6, 669
generascere, 3, 743
haerescere,[18] 2, 477; *al.*
liuescere,[19] 3, 527
mollescere,[20] 5, 1014
obbrutescere,[21] 3, 543
obhaerescere,[22] 4, 420
percalescere,[23] 6, 281
rarescere,[24] 6, 875
renidescere, 2, 326
sentiscere, 3, 393; *al.*
serescere, (*serenus*), 1, 306
spissescere,[25] 6, 176
uigescere,[26] 1, 674; *al.*
uĭrescere,[27] 1, 252
uiuiscere,[28] 4, 1138

[1] Caes., *semel*, (Bell. Ciu. 2, 15). [2] Lucr.; Paul. ex Fest. [3] Varr. [4] Col. [5] Cited by L. & S. under *uiresco*. [6] Col.; Fronto; Apul.; Boeth. [7] *Form -escere* — Vulg. Ierem. 13, 16. [8] Solin. [9] Augustin.; Eccl. [10] Hor. Ep.; Col.; Paul. ex Fest.; Veget. [11] Col. [12] Cels.; Scrib.; Mart.; Fronto; Plin. Val. [13] Verg.; Sil.; Stat.; Plin.; Tac.; Lact.; Ambros.; Macr.; Inscrr. [14] Ou.; Verg.; Sen.; Plin.; Tac.; Vulg.; Hilar.; Cael. Aur. [15] Ou.; Tibull.; Vitr.; Claud. [16] Verg.; Sen.; Quint.; Suet.; Tac.; Cl. Mam.; Capit.; Macr. [17] Ps.-Eucher. [18] Paul. Nol. [19] Scrib.; Cl. Mam. [20] Ou.; Plin. [21] Paul. ex Fest.; Prud. [22] Sen.; Suet.; Apul.; Aur. Vict. [23] Ou. [24] Verg.; Ou.; Prop.; Tac.; Sil.; Tert.; Lact.; Amm. [25] Cels. [26] Catull.; Censorin.; Amm. [27] Verg.; Ou.; Sen.; Plin.; Cl. Mam.; Ambros. [28] Col.; Plin.

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Cicero (Epistt.).
consanescere,[1] *ad. Fam.* 4, 6, 2
oblanguescere, *Id.* 16, 10, 2
recrudescere,[2] *Id.* 4, 6, 2

Catvllvs.
incandescere,[3] 64, 13
notescere,[4] 68, 47
uanescere,[5] 64, 199

Horativs.
acescere,[6] *Ep.* 1, 2, 54
conferuescere,[7] *Sat.* 1, 2, 71
inamarescere, *Id.* 2, 7, 107
pallescere,[8] *Ep.* 1, 1, 61
sordescere,[9] *Id.* 1, 20, 11

Vitrvvivs.
redurescere, 1, 4, 3
solidescere,[10] 2, 6, 1
subarescere, 7, 3, 5

Celsvs.
computrescere,[11] 4, 12
emacrescere, 2, 4
inalbescere,[12] 5, 28, *no.* 1; *al.*
inalgescere, 3, 3
infrigescere,[13] 5, 25
lätescere,[14] 8, 1
sanescere,[15] 3, 18; *al.*
tenerescere,[16] 6, 6, 4

Colvmella.
assiccescere, 12, 9, 1
caluescere,[17] 6, 14, 7; *al.*
commaturescere, 12, 49, 7
consudascere, 12, 48, 2
defrigescere, 12, 20, 4; *al.*
emitescere, 9, 14, 10
*glabrescere, 2, 19, 2
ingrandescere, 2, 10, 15; *al.*
praeualescere,[18] 5, 6, 17; *al.*
pullulascere,[19] 4, 21 *extr.*
repubescere, 2, 1, 4
repullescere, 4, 22, 5; *al.*
retorrescere, 3, 3, 4; *al.*
uetustescere, 1, 6, 20
uiescere, 12, 15, 1; *al.*

Petronivs.
detumescere,[20] 109, 5; *al.*

Plinivs.
arborescere, 19, 62
cornescere, 11, 261
decaulescere, 19, 122
dispescere,[21] 2, 173; *al.*
fermentescere, 17, 15; *al.*
fruticescere, 17, 257
gelascere,[22] 14, 132
gemmescere, 37, 138
glaciescere, 20, 230
*ilactescere, 16, 98 *D.*
*impubescere, 23, 130
inclarescere,[23] 35, 130; *al.*
lapidescere, 16, 21; *al.*
lassescere,[24] 7, 130; *al.*
masculescere, 18, 129
mucescere, 14, 131
plumescere,[25] 10, 149
reflorescere,[26] 18, 146
*repatescere, 13, 70 *ed. Mayh.*

[1] Cels.; Col. [2] Liu.; Curt.; Sen.; Cypr.; Hier. [3] Verg; Ou.; Frontin.; Solin.; Cl. Mam.; Symm. [4] Prop.; Tac.; Suet.; Lact. [5] Ou.; Pers.; Tac.; Plin. Ep.; Quint. [6] Plin.; ICt.; *form acescere* — Gargil. de Pom. 5. [7] Vitr.; Cels.; Plin. [8] Ou.; Prop.; Plin.; Val. Fl.; Quint.; Gell.; Diom. [9] Plin.; Gell.; Min. Fel.; Vulg.; Boeth. [10] Plin. [11] Col.; Plin.; Cael. Aur.; (Lucr. 3, 843, *in tmesis*). [12] Arnob. [13] Veget. [14] Col.; Manil. [15] Col.; Plin. [16] Plin.; Tert.; (but *form* *-*ascere* — Lucr. 3, 765). [17] Plin. [18] Augustin.; Eccl. [19] Prud. [20] Stat.; Augustin. [21] Apul.; Iul. Val.; Auct. Itin. Alex.; Prisc. [22] Adelh. [23] Tac.; Suet.; Plin. Pan.; Solin.; Amm.; Vulg. [24] Prud.; Symm.; Hier.; Vulg. [25] Hier.; Vulg.; Eustath. [26] Sil.; Vulg.

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rufescere, 28, 194; *al.*
rutilescere,[1] 8, 217
serescere, (*serum*), 11, 238
siccescere, 18, 339
stirpescere, 19, 149
superflorescere, 19, 70
unescere,[2] 17, 161 *D.*

FRONTO.
illuculascere, *Ep. ad Anton.* 1, 5

GELLIVS.
compauescere, 1, 23, 9
conflaccescere, 2, 30, 2
congelascere,[3] 17, 8, 8; *al.*
exsordescere, 9, 2, 11

APVLEIVS.
depudescere,[4] *Met.* 10, 29
exacerbescere,[5] *Apol.* 85
extumescere,[6] *Id.* 78
mutescere,[7] *Ascl.* 25 *extr.*

TERTVLLIANVS.
assenescere, *Exhort. ad Cast.* 13
cinerescere,[8] *Apol.* 40
*coaegrescere, *Anim.* 5
congemiscere,[9] *Spect.* 30
decinerescere, *Apol.* 48 *extr.*
deuigescere, *Anim.* 27
euigescere, *Id.* 38
frugescere,[10] *Res. Carn.* 22
ignauescere, *Anim.* 43
inaccrescere, *adu. Gnost.* 1
lapillescere, *ad Nat.* 2, 12
niuescere, *de Pall.* 3
reputescere, *Anim.* 32
retorpescere, *adu. Gnost.* 1
tenebrescere,[11] *adu. Iud.* 10

MINVCIVS FELIX.
pudescere,[12] 28, 10
taedescere, *Id. ib.*

SERENVS SAMMONICVS.
pulcrescere,[13] 44

SOLINVS.
cassescere,[14] 22, 21
febrescere, 19, 16
occlarescere, 2, 54

ARNOBIVS.
rancescere, 1, 21 *extr.*

IVLIVS VALERIVS.
consplendescere, 3, 42
conuirescere, 3, 36
indilucescere, 3, 27
praestupescere, 1, 52

VOPISCVS.
effrondescere, *Prob.* 19, 3

FIRMICVS MATERNVS.
fulgescere, 1, 4 *extr.*
obatrescere, *Praef. p.* 1 *ed. Basil.*

PALLADIVS.
amarescere,[15] 2, 15, 9

AMMIANVS.
commarcescere, 17, 10, 1
curuescere,[16] 22, 8, 5
efferascere,[17] 18, 7, 5
gracilescere, 17, 4, 7; *al.*
inanescere,[18] 23, 6, 86

VEGETIVS.
inturgescere, 1, 56, 19

[1] Mart. Cap. [2] Cl. Mam. [3] Ambros.; Amm.; Macr.; Augustin. [4] Placid. Gloss. [5] Sidon. Ep. [6] Eunanth. [7] Mart. Cap.; Cod. Theod.; Paul. Nol. [8] Fulg. Myth.; Augustin.; Cael. Aur. [9] Augustin.; Cod. Theod. [10] Prud.; Eccl. [11] Hier.; Vulg.; Augustin. [12] Prud. [13] Ps.-Augustin.; Cassiod.; Anthol. Lat.; Orest. Tr. [14] Amm. [15] Augustin.; Eccl. [16] Ambros. [17] Heges. [18] Augustin.; Gloss. Labb.

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Ambrosivs.
effluescere, *de Off.* 2, 21, 109
germinascere,[1] *Cain et Abel*, 2, 8, 26
iuuenculescere, *Id.* 2, 1, 2
uiridescere,[2] *in Luc.* 7, 16

Hieronymvs.
demarcescere, *in Ps.* 89
desipescere,[3] *Nom. Hebr. p.* 42
immitescere, *Ep.* 100, 15
impinguescere, *in Iesai.* 16 *ad* 58, 10
lippescere, *in Sophon.* 3, 49
pertremiscere, *in Iesai.* 3, 7, 2; *al.*

Pavlinvs Nolanvs.
planescere, 5, 318

Avgvstinvs.
fluescere, *Ciu. Dei* 21, 5; *al.*
granascere, *Serm.* 223, 3
indormiscere, *Ep.* 1, 2
obdulcescere,[4] *Conf.* 7, 20 *extr.*
obrubescere, *Serm.* 107, 7
surdescere, *Ep.* 157, 4, 25
uermescere, *Trin.* 3, 17; *al.*

Martianvs Capella.
autumnescere, 6, 605
furuescere, 1, 30
spinescere, 6, 704

Caelivs Avrelianvs.
carbonescere, *Chron.* 2, 13, 168; *al.*
contumescere, *Id.* 2, 4, 71
edurescere, *Acut.* 2, 34, 182
elentescere, *Id.* 2, 18, 108
pustulescere, *Chron.* 5, 1, 17
segnescere, *Acut.* 2, 18, 110

Sidonivs Apollinaris.
crepusculascere, *Ep.* 8, 3
detepescere, *Id.* 5, 17
familiarescere, *Id.* 7, 2
refrondescere, *Carm.* 22, 46
retabescere, *Id. ib.*

Fvlgentivs.
fauillescere, *Verg. Cont. p.* 152 *M.*
fistulescere, *Myth.* 2, 19

Venantivs Fortvnatvs.
extorpescere, *Vit. S. Mart.* 1, 120
morbescere, *Carm.* 5, 6, 1
recipiscere, *Vit. S. Germ.* 16

§ 52. Desiderative Verbs: This class of verbs belongs distinctly to the popular speech. With one or two exceptions they are confined to early Comedy, the *Epistt.* of Cic., Petr., Iuuen., Mart., Apul., and late Latin, and were carefully avoided by writers of an elevated style. Their plebeian character was first noticed by Ludwig and Schmilinsky, and has since been generally conceded:[5] Guericke alone wonders that

[1] Gloss. Labb. [2] Anthol. Lat.; Th. Prisc. [3] Not. Tir.; Thes. Nou. Lat. [4] Gloss.
[5] Ludwig, p. 38; Schmilinsky, p. 44; Stuenkel, p. 64; Landgraf, Blätt. f. Bayer. Gymn., XVI., p. 331, "Ebenso ist in der Volkssprache beleibt die Bildung von Desiderativen;" Stinner, p. 16; Wölfflin, ALL. I., pp. 408–414; Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI., p. 192, "Verba desideratiua in sermone uulgari prioris aetatis adamata fuerunt;" Friedländer ad Petr. 64, "in der höhern Sprache wol vermieden;" Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 482, "They were avoided in the higher literature and went out of use in late Latin."

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Ludwig characterized *canturire*, Petr., 64, as *rusticanum*, and adds 'talia enim uerba in sermone quotidiano frequentiora fuisse res ipsa iam ferebat,'[1] a view which he would hardly have expressed had he had before him the list compiled by Wölfflin for the Archiv f. Lat. Lex.[2] The latter has not only pointed out their vulgar nature, as indicated by such forms as *cacaturire*, *micturire*, but has especially emphasized the degradation of these verbs, in plebeian and late Latin, to the level of the simple verb, citing the *melica canturire* of Trimalchio, (Petr. 64), which evidently means nothing more than *cantare*.[3] The formation belongs mainly to the earlier period of the language, yet only three forms are classic, *esurire*, *habiturire*, *parturire*, all three in Cic. Of the examples from later writers, a few, such as *amaturire*, *lecturire*, are confined to the grammarians, and probably are cited from the earlier literature.

According to Diez and Wölfflin these verbs have left no survivors in the Romance languages.[4] Gröber, however, in his Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter, cites **pisturire*, as evidenced by **Prov.** *pestir*, **O. Fr.**, *pestrir*, **Fr.**, *pétrir*, adding "so vielleicht ital. scal*tr*ire aus scalptum."[5]

So few of these verbs have been preserved to us that the following list, taken from Wölfflin, has been kept complete, including the few forms which have been accepted by the best classic authors.

PLAVTVS.
adesurire, *Stich.* 180; *al.*
esurire,[6] *Cas.* 795
habiturire,[7] *Amph.* 1039; *al.*

TERENTIVS.
parturire,[8] *Hec.* 413

VARRO.
empturire, *R. R.* 2, *Praef.* 6

NIGIDIVS.
nixurire,[9] *ap. Non.* 144 *M.*

CICERO.
morturire, *Fr. ap. Augustin. Regul.* 516, 17 *K.*
petiturire, *ad Att.* 1, 14, 7
proscripturire, *Id.* 9, 10, 6
Sullaturire, *Id. ib.*

[1] Guericke, p. 35, "Quare Ludwig, p. 32 uerbum desideratiuum canturire rusticanum esse putet nescio." [2] Wölfflin, *l. l.; conf.* Paucker, list of denom. verbs in -ire, Ztschr. f. Vergl. Sprachf. 26, p. 415. [3] Wölfflin, *l. l.* p. 410; Friedländer, *l. l.* [4] Wölfflin, *l. l.*, p. 409, "Die Romanischen Sprachen keine Spur derselben erhalten haben;" *conf.* Diez, p. 691. [5] G. Gröber, in ALL. IV., p. 438; *conf.* Körting, Wörterbuch, p. 565, *s. u.* *pisturire.

[6] Ter.; Varr. R. R.; Cic.; Plin.; et Al. [7] Ter.; Cic.; Hor.; Liu.; et Al. [8] Cic.; Verg.; Hor.; Ou.; Liu.; et Al. [9] Gloss. Labb.

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Laberivs.
adulescenturire, *Com.* 137

Petronivs.
canturire,[1] 64

Martialis.
cacaturire, 11, 77, 3
cenaturire, *Id. ib.*
nupturire, 3, 93, 18

Ivvenalis.
micturire,[2] 6, 309; *al.*

Diomedes Grammat.
amaturire,[3] 346, 2
lecturire,[4] *Id. ib.*

Priscianvs.
dictaturire, 8, 74

Ambrosivs.
comparturire, *de Fide* 1, 14, 87; *al.*

Macrobivs.
dicturire,[5] *Sat.* 2, 3, 16; *al.*

Sidonivs Apollinaris.
scripturire, *Ep.* 8, 11
taciturire, *Id.* 8, 16

Alcimvs Avitvs.
reparturire, *Poem.* 6, 71

§ 53. Denominative Verbs in General: The plebeian tendency to form neologisms is again seen at its height in the denominative verbs. As is to be expected, these formations are fairly numerous in classic Latin: thus out of a total of 1777, (inclusive of participial adjectives in **-atus**), Caes. and Cic. have no less than 401, more than 22 % of the whole.[6] In the *sermo cotidianus*, however, they are much more prevalent, while in the *sermo plebeius* every substantive and adjective, and even the adverbs, seem capable of forming a corresponding denominative verb.[7] Usually these verbs are formed by simply adding the inflectional endings to the nominal stem, yet there is a marked tendency towards strengthened suffixes, either with or without modification of meaning: such are **-ic-are**, (*conf. infra*, § 57), **-in-are**, **-cin-are**, (*infra*, § 58), **-ill-are**, (with diminutive force: *infra*, § 59), ***-ant-are**, ***-ent-are**, (*infra*, § 60), **-iz-are**, (properly a hybrid formation, and accordingly treated under that head, *infra*, § 89), all of which endings are in the main

[1] *Conf.* Paul. ex Fest. 68, 16. [2] Schol. Pers.; Prisc. [3] Prisc.; Consent.; et al. Grammatt. [4] Prisc., et al. Grammatt.; Sidon. Apoll. [5] Eutyches.

[6] Paucker, Ztschr. f. Vergl. Sprachf. 26, p. 289. [7] *Conf.* Ludwig, p. 32; Schmilinsky, p. 43, "Verba a nominum stirpibus ducta . . . magno numero florent in linguis Romanicis, item ut in sermone rustico," citing Diez, II., p. 364; Guericke, p. 35, "mirabilis copia uerborum transitiuorum in -are desinentium, in sermone plebeio notanda est;" Rebling, p. 25; Stuenkel, p. 64; Müller, Varro, p. 67; Plew, p. 28; Wölfflin, Casa. Fel., p. 413; Schulze, Diss. Hal., VI., p. 192; Hauschild, Diss. Hal., VI., p. 258; Goelzer, p. 31; Ulrich, Vitr. II., p. 7.

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avoided by the best writers. A characteristic of vulgar and late Latin, and notably of the *sermo Africus*, is the tendency to form verbs from derivative substantives and adjectives, such as those in **-tio**, (all late, excepting *auctionari*, *contionari*, Cic.), **-do**, **-go**, (post-Augustan, and mainly African: *conf. infra*, § 54), **-mentum**, (post-Augustan, excepting *fermentare*, Varr., Cels., Col., et Al.; *argumentare*, *coagmentare*, *lamentare*, Cic.; *iugmentare*, Vitr.), **-ura**, such as *feturare*, Tert.; *mensurare*, Veget.; *liturare*, *tristurare*, Sidon.; **-ax**, as *loquacitare*, Onomast.; **-osus**, *uerbosare*, Intpr. Iren., Augustin., et. Al.; **-lentus**, as *opulentare*, Hor. Ep.; *turbulentare*, Apul. Met.; **-urnus**, *diurnare*, Quadr. ap. Gell., etc., and from adjectives in the comparative and superlative degree, (chiefly in African Latin, *conf.* §§ 55, 56). In all of these derivatives the desire for lengthened forms is evidently the underlying principle.

Another interesting feature is the prevalence in plebeian Latin of denominative participles in **-atus**. These cannot logically be separated from the verbs, and accordingly their discussion has been reserved for the present section, but as many of them had a purely adjective value and were so regarded by the people, a separate list of them has been given in the chapter on adjectives, (*supra*, § 34), to show their great abundance in the plebeian writers. But the list there given is limited to participles from verbs whose other parts are lacking in extant literature. All forms which at any period of the language occur as verbs are included in the present section, their earlier occurrence as participles, where such is the case, being carefully noted. Such a division, however, is more or less arbitrary, for many denominatives which occur only as participles in the simple form, are in good usage as verbs when compounded with a preposition. Compare the following instances:

arenatus, ex-arenare,
argentatus, de-, in-argentare,
capitatus, de-, in-, prae-capitare,
capitulatus, re-capitulari,
carnatus, con-, de-, ex-, in-carnare,
corticatus, de-, ex-corticare,
foliatus, de-, ex-foliare,
malleatus, con-malleare,
praeputiatus, in-praeputiare,
ruderatus, e-ruderare,
squamatus, de-squamare,
tesseratus, con-tesserare,
ualuatus, e-ualuare,
uasatus, con-uasare,
ungulatus, ex-ungulare.

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Yet when taken separately, it is surprising to find how rare such participial formations are in the best writers. A certain number are in common use, which relate to soldiers, and perhaps originated in the *sermo militaris:* the following collection will serve as an illustration:

caetratus, (*caetra*), *Caes.; Liu.; Sil.; et Al.*
chlamydatus, (*chlamys*), *Plaut.; Cic.; et Al.*
ephippiatus, (*ephippium*), *Caes. Bell. Ciu.* 4, 2, 5
falcatus, (*falx*), *Auct. Bell. Alex.; Verg.; Liu.; Curt.; et Al.*
gaesatus, (*gaesum*), *Hyg. Mun. Castr.; Oros.; Seru. ad Aen.*
hastatus, (*hasta*), *Caes.; Cic.; Veg. Mil.; et Al.*
paludatus, (*paludamentum*), *Caes.; Cic.; Liu.; et Al.*
parmatus, (*parma*), *Liu.* 4, 38, 3; *al.*
sagatus, (*sagum*), *Cic.; Mart.; Capitol.; et Al.*
sagulatus, (*sagulum*), *Suet.; Flor. Vergil. Orat.*
scutatus, (*scutum*), *Caes.; Verg.; Liu.; et Al.*

Aside from these, Cic. has only the following 23:

aeratus,	curiatus,	paenulatus,
barbatus,	dentatus,	personatus,
bracatus,	filicatus,	pinnatus,
calamistratus,	fornicatus,	praetextatus,
cincinnatus,	hamatus,	soleatus,
conchyliatus,	lemniscatus,	togatus,
crepidatus,	mastrucatus,	uictoriatus.
cretatus,	moratus,	

On the other hand their use in the *sermo plebeius* has often been noticed: Lorenz[1] commented on their prevalence in Plaut., who often coined them for comic effect. Guericke,[2] citing numerous examples from Petr., also notes their frequency in early Comedy. In the later period they flourished undiminished: Rönsch[3] gives an extensive list, and observes especially, as characteristic of the language of the Itala, forms in **-or-atus**, from verbal substantives in **-or**.

In marked contrast with the verbal derivatives in **-tare**, **-escere**, **-urire**, considered in the preceding sections, all of which belong chiefly to the older language and were more or

[1] Lorenz ad Pseud., 300. [2] Guericke, p. 36, "adiectiua in *-atus* desinentia . . . et apud poetas scaenicos antiquissimos creberrima." [3] Rönsch, p. 473, "die Hinneigung zur längeren und volleren Form erschien nicht minder . . . in den von Substantiven auf *or* abgeleiteten Participial adjectiven:" compare further Rebling, p. 25; Schulze, Diss. Hal., VI., p. 181.

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less obsolescent in late Latin, the denominative verbs and participles flourished at all periods of the language, down to the latest times, where we can trace the beginning of their profusion in the Romance languages. To cite a single example from among the late writers, Greg. Tur. uses few frequentatives and avoids intensives, in some instances employing an unused primitive in preference to the usual intensive: e.g., *reuirere, Conf.* 50, p. 778, 11, in place of *reuirescere;* while on the other hand the predominance of verbs in **-are,** formed from substantives and adjectives, is the most striking feature in his use of derivative verbs.[1] The Romance languages are a good criterion of the great license in the later *sermo plebeius,* showing by surviving words that practically any substantive or adjective, primary and derivative alike, could receive the verbal suffixes. Of forms from derivative words Diez[2] cites a vast array of examples, of which the following are especially instructive: from substantives in **-tio, -tura, -ntia, -ela, -tas, -itia, -mentum: Ital.** *cagionare, tenzonare, — avventurare, naturare, —fidanzare, — cautelare, querelare, — capacitare, facilitare, — carezzare, giustiziare, — alimentare;* **Span.** *ocasionar, questionar, — aventurar, mixturar, — esperenzar, sentenciar, — capacitar, posibilitar, — codiciar, justiciar, — parlamentar;* **Fr.** *façonner, questionner, —fiancer, — faciliter, — caresser, justicier, — complimenter;* from adjectives in **-bundus, -bilis, -anus, -inus, -aceus, -uceus, -osus: Ital.** *vagabondare, — agevolare, piacevolare, — lontanare, —camminare, mulinare,— abbonacciare, corrucciare, — ventosare;* **Span.** *caminar,—embarazar;* **Fr.** *moyenner,—assassiner, badiner, —embarasser, tracasser, courroucer, —jalouser,* **O. Fr.** *doloser, goloser.* In regard to the formation of new denominatives the modern languages have retained this freedom practically undiminished, and in some respects have gone further than the Latin, forming verbs from other parts of speech; thus from numerals: **Ruman.** *îndoi,* (*duo*), *întrei,* (*tres*); **Ital.** *squarciare,* (*quartus*); **O. Fr.** *entercier,* (*tertius*); **Span.** *quintar,* (*quintus*); from pronouns, **Ruman.** *aşui,* (*suus*): **Fr.** *tutoier,* etc.[3] It is a question whether all derivative substantives and adjectives can still give corresponding verbs; instances are cited of such

[1] Bonnet, pp. 472-8, adding "On voit poindre déjà la riche production de verbes français." [2] Diez, p. 690. [3] Diez, p. 688; Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Roman. Spr., II., pp. 604-5.

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formations from words ending in suffixes which are still actively productive, such as **Ital.** *ag-evol-are, frant-um-are.* But it is claimed that such denominatives are formed from derivatives only where the primitive word has been lost to the language, or in other words where the derivative has come to be regarded as a primitive word.[1]

The following is a general list of denominatives, omitting those treated separately in subsequent sections:

Livivs Andronicvs.
*anclare,[2] *Tr.* 30
procare,[3] *Id.* 14

Naevivs.
*suppetiari,[4] *Tr.* 12
*uenustare,[5] *p.* 151 *ed. Klussmann.*
uitulari,[6] *Tr.* 34

Plavtvs.
aduersari, *Rud.* 306
argutari,[7] *Amph.* 349
arietare,[8] *Truc.* 256
artare,[9] *Capt.* 304
baiulare,[10] *Merc.* 508; *al.*
bubulcitari,[11] *Most.* 53
catillare,[12] *p. p. p., Cas.* 552
cerare,[13] *p. p. p., Asin.* 763
clatrare,[14] *p. p. p., Mil.* 379
culpare,[15] *Bacch.* 397
dapinare, *Capt.* 897
furcillare,[16] *Pseud.* 631
impurare,[17] *p. p. p., Rud.* 543
incertare,[18] *Epid.* 545
incestare,[19] *Poen.* 1096
infelicare,[20] *Rud.* 885; *al.*
laruare,[21] *p. p. p., Men.* 890; *al.*
limare, (*limus*), *Poen.* 292
lineare,[22] *p. p. p., Mil.* 916
pandiculari, *Men.* 834
pauperare,[23] *Pseud.* 1128
peculiare,[24] *Pers.* 192
perplexari, *Aul.* 259
quadruplicare,[25] *Stich.* 405
rugare,[26] *Cas.* 246
rurare,[27] *Capt.* 84
suburrare,[28] *p. p. p., Cist.* 121
scintillare,[29] *Men.* 829
scortari,[30] *Asin.* 270
sibilare,[31] *Merc.* 407

[1] Meyer-Lübke, *l. l.*

[2] *Verb. depon.* — Liu. Andr.; *form anculare* — Paul. ex Fest. [3] Varr.; Fest.; Paul. ex Fest.; *uerb. depon.* — Cic., *semel*, (Rep. 4, 6); Sen. [4] *Cic. Ep.; Apul. Met. [5] Heges.; Firm. Math.; Ambros. [6] Plaut.; Enn.; Varr. Fr. [7] Enn.; *Titin.; Nou., Lucil.; *uerb. act.* — Prop.; Petr.; Non. [8] Att.; Verg.; Curt.; Sen.; Plin. [9] Lucr.; Liu.; Cels.; Vell.; Col.; Mela; Lucan.; Petr.; Plin.; Sil.; Mart.; Plin. Pan.; Iustin.; Pacat. Pan.; Pall.; ICt. [10] Phaedr.; Quint.; Veget.; Prob.; Th. Prisc.; Gloss. Labb. [11] *Verb. act.* — Varr.; Apul. Flor. [12] Auct. Inc. ap. Fulg. [13] *Cic., *semel*, (Diu. in Caecil. 7, 24); *Hor.; Ou.; Col. [14] Cato R. R.; *Vitr.; Col.; Inscrr. [15] Ter.; Lucil.; Verg.; Hor.; Ou.; Quint.; Col. [16] *p. p. p.* — Varr. L. L. [17] Ter.; Apul.; Isid. [18] Pacuu.; Apul. [19] Verg.; Stat.; Suet.; Claud.; Capit. [20] Caecil. [21] Apul.; Firm. Math. [22] Cato; Vitr.; Hier.; *p. p. p.* — Solin.; Isid. [23] Titin.; Varr.; Hor. Sat.; Firm. Math.; Sidon. Ep. [24] Asin. Poll. ap. Cic. Ep.; Apul.; Auct. Priap. [25] Boeth. [26] Prop.; Plin.; Hier.; Optat. [27] *Verb. depon.* — Varr. Sat. Men. [28] Plin.; Solin.; Arnob.; Ven. Fort. [29] Verg.; Plin.; Calp.; Sil.; Ambros.; Augustin. [30] Ter.; Varr. L. L.; Vulg. [31] Cic. Ep.; Verg.; Hor. Sat.; Ou.; Lucan.; Vulg.; Fulg. Myth.; Sidon. Ep.

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sororiare,[1] *Friuol. Fr.* VIII.
sospitare,[2] *Aul.* 546
striare,[3] *p. p. p.*, *Rud.* 298
superstitare,[4] *Pers.* 331
terebrare,[5] *Bacch.* 1199
uelitare,[6] *Men.* 778

ENNIVS.
cauponari,[7] *Ann.* 201
nitidare,[8] *Tr.* 116
poetari,[9] *Sat.* 8
sublimare,[10] *Tr.* 319
uerare, (*uerus*), *Ann.* 370
uruare,[11] *Tr.* 141

CATO.
auerruncare,[12] *R. R.* 141, 2
bullare,[13] *Id.* 105, 9
defrutare,[14] *Id.* 24
festucare,[15] (*fistucare*), *Id.* 18, 7
lutare,[16] *Id.* 92
luxare,[17] *Id.* 157, 4
nubilare,[18] *Id.* 88, 2
pampinare,[19] *Id.* 33, 3
periculari, *Oratt.* 23, *Fr.* 2
piaculare, *R. R.* 141, 4
picare,[20] *Id.* 23, 1; *al.*
tribulare,[21] *Id.* 23, 4

PACVVIVS.
amplare, *Tr.* 330

causari,[22] *Id.* 23
cicurare,[23] *Id.* 389
clipeare,[24] *Id.* 186
grandinare,[25] *Praetext.* 4
manticulari,[26] *Tr.* 377
tetrare, (*tastrare*), *Id.* 303

CAECILIVS.
sentinare,[27] *Com.* 4

TERENTIVS.
phalerare,[28] *p. p. p.*, *Phorm.* 500
secundare,[29] *Adelph.* 994
susurrare,[30] *Andr.* 779

TITINIVS.
ancillari,[31] *Com.* 72

TVRPILIVS.
diuitare,[32] *Com.* 198
torporare,[33] *Id.* 76
uilitare, *Id.* 148

ACCIVS.
pigrare,[34] *Tr.* 267; *al.*
rutilare,[35] *Id.* 675
uanari,[36] *Id.* 66

LVCILIVS.
lupari,[37] *Sat.* 5, 38
pumicare,[38] *Id.* 7, 12

[1] *Plin. [2] Enn.; Catull.; Liu. [3] Vitr.; Sen.; Plin.; Apul. [4] Enn. [5] Cato; Verg.; Vitr.; Col.; Pers.; Suet.; Liu. Epit. [6] Gell.; Apul. [7] Vulg.; Cassiod. [8] Acc.; Col.; Pall.; Marc. Emp. [9] *uerb. act.* — Verus ap. Fronton.; Auson. [10] Cato; Vitr.; Apul.; Min. Fel.; Tert.; Iul. Val.; Aur. Vict.; Amm.; Vulg.; Prud.; Macr.; Cl. Mam.; Cassiod.; Cod. Theod. [11] Pompon. Dig. [12] Pacuu.; Lucil.; Cic. Ep.; Liu.; Apul.; Arnob. [13] Cels.; Plin.; Calp. [14] Col. [15] Vitr.; Plin. [16] Pers.; Mart.; Calp.; Lampr. [17] Cels.; Sen.; Plin. [18] Varr.; Plin.; Augustin.; Paul. Nol. [19] Varr.; Col.; Plin. [20] Verg.; Vitr.; Col.; Plin.; Mart.; Suet. [21] Tert.; Ambr.; Hier.; Vulg. [22] Afran.; Att.; Lucr.; Ou.; Sall. fr.; Liu.; Curt.; Tac.; Suet.; Vlp.; Cl. Mam.; Salu. [23] Nigid. [24] Verg.; Ou.; Liu.; Curt. [25] Sen.; Aur. Vict.; Augustin. [26] Apul.; *uerb. act.* — Gloss. [27] Fest.; Augustin.; Paul. Nol. [28] Liu.; Suet.; Mart.; Prud.; Ambros. [29] Verg.; Ou.; Prop.; Lucan.; Tac.; Iustin.; Vopisc.; Iul. Vict. [30] Verg.; Ou.; Mart.; Calp.; Amm. [31] Acc.; Plin.; Apul.; Tert.; *uerb. act.* — Pa.-Cypr. [32] Acc. [33] Lact. [34] Lucr.; *uerb. depon.* — Cic. Ep. [35] Verg.; Liu.; Tac.; Plin.; Min. Fel.; Ven. Fort. [36] Dosith.; Gloss. Labb. [37] Att. [38] Catull.; Mart.; Plin. Ep.; Apul.; Hier.; Augustin.; Isid.; Sidon.

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simare,[1] *Id.* 7, 14
uermiculari,[2] *p. p. p.*, *Id. Fr. Inc.* 34

Pomponivs.
aedituari,[3] *Com.* 2
lirare,[4] *Id.* 158
uerminare,[5] *Id.* 56

Clavdivs Qvadrigarivs.
cognominare,[6] 1 *Fr.* 10
copiari,[7] *ap. Gell.* 17, 2, 9
diurnare, *ap. Id.* 17, 2, 16

Varro.
abortare,[8] *R. R.* 2, 4, 14
adolescentuari, *ap. Non.* 71, 30
aestiuare,[9] *R. R.* 2, 1, 16; *al.*
aeternare,[10] *ap. Non.* 75, 20
asperare,[11] *R. R.* 3, 16, 20
aurigari,[12] *Sat. Men.* 316
aurorare,[13] *Id.* 121
bucinare,[14] *R. R.* 2, 4, 20
carminare,[15] *L. L.* 7, 50
cernuare,[16] *Fr. ap. Non.* 21, 8
conuiciare,[17] *R. R.* 2, 5, 1
exsequiari, *Sat. Men.* 47; *al.*
februare,[18] *L. L.* 6, 34
fenestrare,[19] *Id.* 8, 29
gallari,[20] *Sat. Men.* 119; *al.*
loricare,[21] *R. R.* 1, 57 *in.*
marmorare,[22] *p. p. p.*, *Id.* 1, 57, 1
mulierare,[23] *Sat. Men.* 205
nidulari,[24] *ap. Non.* 145, 7
praenominare, *Id.* 352, 29
racimari,[25] *R. R.* 3, 9, 1
runcinare,[26] *L. L.* 6, 96
satullare, *Sat. Men.* 401
*scirpare, *Id.* 116; *al.*
stabulare,[27] *R. R.* 1, 21
sulcare,[28] *Id.* 1, 29, 2
tudiculare,[29] *Sat. Men.* 287
uacuare,[30] *ap. Prob. ad Verg. Ecl.* 6, 51
uinculare,[31] *p. p. p.*, *Sat. Men.* 534
uulpinari,[32] *Id.* 327

Lvcretivs.
articulare,[33] 4, 551
diluuiare, 5, 387
saccare,[34] 4, 1021
uiduare,[35] 5, 840

Avct. Bell. Hisp.
lapidare,[36] 22, 4

Avct. Bell. Alex.
infestare,[37] 3, 2

Cicero (Epistt.).
fruticari,[38] *ad. Att.* 15, 4, 2

[1] Vitr.; Anthol. Lat. [2] Plin.; Mart. Cap. [3] Gloss. Labb.; *uerb. act.* — Inscrr. [4] Varr.; Col.; Plin.; Auson. [5] Cl. Quadr.; Sen.; Mart.; Auct. Priap.; Arnob. [6] Varr.; Val. Max.; Iustin.; Plin.; Liu. Epit.; Gell. [7] Non. [8] Firm. Math. [9] Plin.; Suet.; Stat. [10] Hor.; Schol. Arat. [11] Verg.; Cels.; Col.; Tac.; Val. Fl.; Lucan.; Stat.; Pall.; Prud.; Cael. Aur. [12] *uerb. act.* — Plin.; Suet.; Gloss. Labb.; *p. pr. a.* — Gell.; Auct. Itin. Alex.; Iul. Val. [13] Gloss. Vat. [14] Sen.; Apul.; Vulg.; Gloss. Labb. [15] Sen.; Plin.; Ven. Fort.; Marc. Emp. [16] Fronto; Apul.; Prud.; *uerb. depon.* — Solin. [17] Liu.; Quint.; Suet.; Paul. Sent.; Vulg.; Dig. [18] Paul. ex Fest.; Schol. Iuuen. [19] Vitr.; Plin. [20] *Anthol. Lat. ed. Burm. [21] Plin.; *p. p. p.* — Liu. et Al. [22] Stat.; Petr.; Plin.; Lampr.; Veget.; Pelag. Vet. [23] Gloss. Labb. [24] Plin.; Gell.; Gloss. Lab. [25] Augustin.; Dosith.; *uerb. act.* — Itala. [26] Min. Fel.; Arnob. [27] Verg.; Stat.; Apul. [28] Verg.; Ou.; Tibull.; Sil.; Sen. Poet.; Plin. [29] Ps.-Apic. [30] Lucr.; Stat.; Anthol. Lat.; Col.; Mart.; Sil.; Quint.; Frontin.; Ambros.; Aur. Vict. [31] Ambros.; *Mart. Cap.; Cael. Aur. [32] Apul. Met. [33] Apul.; Solin.; Arnob.; Prisc.; Isid. [34] Sen.; Mart.; Plin.; Ser. Samm.; Arnob.; Isid. [35] Verg.; Hor.; Vitr.; Sen.; Col.; Stat.; Sil.; Tac.; Mart.; Suet.; Apul. Met. [36] Liu.; Flor.; Petr.; Suet.; Vulg.; Macr. [37] Sen.; Cels.; Col.; Plin.; Frontin.; Suet.; Vell.; Mela; Iustin.; Liu. Epit.; Lact. [38] *uerb. act.* — Col.; Plin.

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gypsare,[1] *ad Fam.* 7, 6, 1
miniare,[2] *ad Att.* 15, 14, 4; *al.*
suppetiari,[3] *Id.* 14, 18, 2
tricari,[4] *Id.* 14, 9, 14

LABERIVS.
iniquare, *Com.* 65
maestare, *Id.* 91
puellitari, *Id.* 140

CATVLLVS.
angustare,[5] 64, 359
basiare,[6] 7, 9
fascinare,[7] 7, 12
meridiare,[8] 32, 3

HORATIVS.
ampullari, *Ep.* 1, 3, 14
auctorare,[9] *Sat.* 2, 7, 59
curtare,[10] *Id.* 2, 3, 124
graecari,[11] *Id.* 2, 2, 11
opulentare,[12] *Ep.* 1, 16, 2
scurrari, *Id.* 1, 17, 19; *al.*

VITRVVIVS.
asciare,[13] 7, 2, 2
imbricare,[14] *p. p. p.*, 2, 8, 1
iugumentare, 2, 1, 3
octare, *p. pr. a.*, 10, 6, 1
pandare,[15] 6, 11, 3; *al.*
pectinare,[16] *p. p. p.*, 5, 1, 10
spicare,[17] 7, 1, 4
statuminare,[18] 7, 1, 3

CELSVS.
febricitare,[19] 3, 6

COLVMELLA.
cancellare,[20] 4, 2, 2
cibare,[21] 8, 10, *fin.*; *al.*
colare,[22] 9, 16, 1; *al.*
fetare,[23] (*fetus*), 8, 8, 8; *al.*
fibulare,[24] 1, 6, 13
glabrare, 12, 55, 4
*meretricari,[25] 11, 1, 16
normare,[26] 3, 13, 12
obesare, 7, 7, 4
obsidiari,[27] 9, 14, 10
operculare, 12, 30, 1; *al.*
opimare,[28] 8, 7, 5; *al.*
pastinare,[29] 3, 13, 6; *al.*
pedare,[30] 4, 12, 1
pelliculare,[31] 12, 39, 2; *al.*
prolixare, 4, 24, 22
radicari,[32] 4, 2, 2; *al.*
saliuare, 6, 5, 2
sebare, 2, 21, 3
stilare, 4, 33, 4
surculare,[33] 5, 9, 11
tertiare,[34] 2, 4, 8
uberare,[35] 5, 9, 11
uindemiare,[36] 12, 33, 1

PERSIVS.
cornicari,[37] 5, 12
trutinari,[38] 3, 82

[1] Ou.; Tibull.; Fest.; Ps.-Apic. [2] Plin.; Ps.-Apic. [3] Apul. Met. [4] *uerb. act.* — Vulg.; Not. Tir. [5] Sen.; Plin.; Lucan.; Stat.; Eccl. [6] Mart.; Petr.; Apul. [7] Verg. Ecl.; Tert.; Veget.; Vulg. [8] Suet.; *uerb. depon.* — Cels.; Vulg. [9] Liu.; Plin.; Quint.; Vell.; Manil.; Tert.; Vlp. Dig.; Pompon. Dig.; *uerb. depon.* — Apul.; Tert. [10] Pers.; Pall.; Cledon.; Boeth. [11] Apul.; Tert. [12] Col.; Vatic. Fragm. Iur. [13] Augustin. [14] Plin.; Sidon. Ep. [15] Col.; Quint.; Plin. [16] Plin.; Paul. Sent.; Apul.; Marc. Emp. [17] Plin.; Grat.; Min. Fel.; Vulg. [18] Plin. [19] Sen.; Col.; Mart.; Vulg. [20] Plin.; Gromat. Vet.; ICt. [21] Liu. Epit.; Tert.; Commod.; Cypr.; Cael. Aur.; *uerb. depon.*—Apul. Apol. [22] Plin.; Manil.; Scrib.; Apul. Flor.; Tert.; *p. p. p.* — Veget.; Pall. [23] Vulg.; Augustin. [24] Ps.-Apic.; Valerian. Imp. ap. Vopisc. [25] Rufin.; Augustin. [26] Diom. [27] Commod. [28] Apul.; Vopisc.; Mart. Cap.; Auson.; Sidon. Ep. [29] Plin.; Salu. [30] Plin. [31] Gloss. Philox. [32] Plin.; *uerb. act.* — Cassiod.; *p. p. p.* — Pall.; Vulg.; Sidon. [33] Ps.-Apic. [34] Apul. Met.; Pall. [35] Pall. [36] Plin.; Arnob.; Salu.; Vulg.; Porphyr.; Cassiod. [37] Hier. Ep. [38] Hier.; *uerb. act.* — Eccl.

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Petronivs.

gesticulari,[1] 36, 6
libidinari,[2] 138, 7
naufragare,[3] 76, 4
serrare,[4] *p. p. p.*, 136, 4

Plinivs.

acuminare,[5] *p. p. p.*, 11, 79; *al.*
arbustare, 17, 201
artrare, (aratrare), 18, 182
autumnare, 2, 124; *al.*
bituminare,[6] *p. p. p.*, 31, 32
camerare,[7] 10, 97
caminare, 16, 23; *al.*
caprificare,[8] 16, 114
capulare,[9] 15, 22
carbunculare, 24, 113
carinare, 9, 103
centuplicare,[10] 6, 101
clauare,[11] *p. p. p.*, 9, 130
coagulare,[12] 12, 123
cuspidare, 11, 126; *al.*
formicare, 30, 120; *al.*
globare,[13] 2, 163; *al.*
gyrare,[14] 5, 62
mangonicare, 32, 135.
oliuare, 15, 11
pectinare,[15] 18, 50
plantare,[16] 17, 67
rigorare, *p. p. p.*, 17, 211
rufare,[17] 15, 87; *al.*
saluare,[18] 17, 178
sementare, 18, 259
semitare, 17, 169
siderari,[19] 9, 58; *al.*
siliquari, 17, 54; *al.*
spiculare,[20] 11, 3
stellare,[21] 37, 100
stipendiari,[22] 6, 68
tepidare, 17, 250
teporare, *p. p. p.*, 36, 199
tergorare, 8, 212

Martialis.

fasciare,[23] *p. p. p.*, 12, 57, 12
guttare,[24] *p. p. p.*, 3, 58, 5
nauculari, 3, 20, 20

Fronto.

ludicrari, *ad Amic.* 1, 12 *Mai.*
trigeminare, *Eloq.* 1, *p.* 139, 8 *N.*

Gellivs.

ignominiare, 8, 15, *Lemm.*
illudiare, 1, 7, 3
interuallare,[25] *p. p. p.*, 17, 12, 5
(sermonari,[26] 17, 2, 17).
uenerare, (*Venus*), 13, 25, 8

Apvleivs.

acetare,[27] (*acetum*), *Herb.* 3, 8
alumnari,[28] (*-are*), *Met.* 10, 23; *al.*
anilitari, *Mund.* 23
anxiari,[29] *Met.* 4, 27
araneare, *p. pr. a.*, *Id.* 4, 22
assare,[30] (*assus*), *Id.* 2, 10
buxare, *p. p. p.*, *Id.* 8, 21
crassare,[31] *Id.* 3, 24

[1] Suet.; Fronto; Apul.; Tert.; Solin. [2] Mart.; Suet.; Tert.; Porphyr.; Anthol. Lat. [3] Itala; Cypr.; Ambros.; Vulg.; Salu.; Sidon.; Augustin.; Not. Tir.; Gloss. Labb. [4] Plin.; Tac.; Veget.; Ambros.; Hier.; Vulg. [5] Lact.; Sidon. [6] Ambros.; Vulg.; Eccl. [7] Seru. ad Aen.; Cassiod. [8] Pall. [9] "sed *-tio* iam Cato," Paucker, Silb. Lat., p. 49. [10] Vulg.; Prud.; Fulg.; Iuuenc. [11] Paul. ex Fest.; Lampr.; Vopisc.; Paul. Nol.; Isid.; Gloss. Labb. [12] Pall.; Vulg.; Augustin.; Inscrr. [13] Solin. [14] Veget.; Ambros.; Fulg. Myth.; Vulg. [15] Apul.; Vulg. [16] Vulg. [17] Tert.; Onom. Lat. Gr. [18] Quint.; Gargil.; Augustin.; Eccl. [19] Veget. [20] Solin. [21] Symm. Ep.; *p. p. p.* — Cic. et Al. [22] Tert. [23] Capit.; Vulg. [24] Pall. [25] Amm.; Cael. Aur. [26] *uerb. act.* — C. I. L. I., 118, c. 1, l. 3 & 6. [27] Gloss. Labb. [28] Mart. Cap. [29] Tert.; Arnob.; Vulg.; Gloss. [30] Gargil.; Vulg.; Ps.-Apic. [31] Amm.

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*effigiare,[1] *Fl.* 111; *al.*
extraneare,[2] *Apol.* 97
follicare,[3] *Met.* 9, 13
herbare, *p. pr. a.*, *Id.* 7, 15
liciniare, *Id.* 10, 31
luminare,[4] *Id.* 9, 12
madidare,[5] *Met.* 8, 19
praesagare,[6] *Id.* 9, 38; *al.*
pugilari,[7] *Id.* 7, 16; *al.*
splendidare, *Apol.* 103
tenebrare,[8] *Met.* 8, 15
turbulentare, *Id.* 5, 12; *al.*
uictimare,[9] *Id.* 7, 11
uigorare,[10] *Id.* 9, 21

TERTVLLIANVS.
coaetaneare, *Res. Carn.* 45
compendiare,[11] *adu. Marc.* 4, 1; *al.*
cruditare, *Apol.* 9; *al.*
dimidiare,[12] *Carn. Chr.* 5
feturare, *p. p. p.*, *Id.* 25
fiduciare,[13] *Idol.* 23
figulare, *Carn. Chr.* 9; *al.*
flabellare, *Pall.* 4
galaticari, *adu. Psych.* 14
incolare, *Res. Carn.* 26 *fin.*
infantare, *adu. Marc.* 1, 14
lanceare,[14] *adu. Iud.* 9; *al.*
obsoletare,[15] *adu. Gnost.* 6; *al.*
obstetricare,[16] *ad Nat.* 2, 2; *al.*
procliuare, *adu. Herm.* 41
propaginare,[17] *de Pall.* 2
saporare,[18] *p. p. p.*, *Spect.* 27
sequestrare,[19] *Res. Carn.* 27
taediare,[20] *adu. Iud.* 11
tibicinare,[21] *Anim.* 38
titulare,[22] *Id.* 13
uirginari, *Virg. Vel.* 12
unare, *adu. Prax.* 27

INTPR. IREN.
angariare,[23] 1, 24, 4
dementare,[24] 1, 23, 1
uerbosari,[25] 1, 15, 5

GARGILIVS MARTIALIS.
crocinare, *Cur. Boum* 13
imbricare,[26] *Id.* 23

SOLINVS.
escare, 40, 27
maciari,[27] 15, 18
turbidare,[28] 49, 11
uesperari, 11, 9

SPARTIANVS.
magistrare, *Hadr.* 10

CAPITOLINVS.
*agricolari,[29] *Albin.* 11, 7 *ed. Peter.*
annonari,[30] *Gord.* 29, 2
centesimare, *Macrin.* 12, 2

TREBELLIVS POLLIO.
popinari, *Trig. Tyr.* 29, 1

LAMPRIDIVS.
tauroboliari,[31] *Heliog.* 7, 1

[1] Min. Fel.; Tert.; Chalcid. Tim.; Amm.; Non.; Eccl. [2] Cassiod. [3] Tert.; Veget.; Hier.; Gloss.; *form -eare* — Isid. [4] Cypr.; Mart. Cap.; Cael. Aur.; Auien. [5] Claud.; Arnob. [6] Hier.; Augustin.; Cassiod. [7] Treb. Poll.; Augustin. [8] Lact.; Amm.; Vulg. [9] Vulg. [10] Tert.; *p. p. p.* — Chalcid. Tim. [11] Augustin. [12] Vulg.; Eccl.; (*p. p. p.* — Plaut.; Cic.; Caes., etc.). [13] Inscrr.; Gloss. [14] *p. p. p.* — Vulg. [15] Gloss. Isid. [16] Intpr. Iren.; Vulg. [17] Isid. [18] Amm.; Fulg. Myth.; Dracont. [19] Vopisc.; Treb. Poll.; Macr.; Veg. Mil.; Prud.; Sidon.; Boeth. [20] Intpr. Iren.; Lampr.; Ambros.; Veget.; Vulg.; Gloss. Cyrill. [21] Schol. Iuuen.; Fulg. Myth.; *uerb. depon.* — Dosith. [22] Hier.; Mart. Cap.; Eccl. [23] Vlp. Dig.; Vulg.; Augustin.; Paul. Nol. [24] Lact.; Vulg.; Ps.-Cassiod.; Gloss. Labb. [25] Augustin. [26] *Form imbricitur* — Gloss. Labb. [27] *uerb. act.* — Eutych. Gramm.; Gloss. Labb. [28] Mart. Cap.; Sidon. Ep. [29] Augustin.; Eccl. [30] *uerb. act.* — Augustin. [31] Inscrr.

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Vopiscvs.
samiare,[1] *Aurel.* 7, 6

Firmicvs Maternvs.
artuare,[2] *p. p. p.*, 6, 31
augmentare,[3] 5, 6
proportionare,[4] *p. p. p.*, 4, 13
sordidare,[5] *p. p. p.*, 4, 12

Chalcidivs.
calculare,[6] *Tim.* 35

Palladivs.
gumminare, 2, 15, 20
mellare, 8, 7, 1
menstruare, *p. pr. a.*, 1, 35, 3
sarculare,[7] 2, 9, 1
simplicare, 2, 15, 15

Plinivs Valerianvs.
onicare, 1, 17
psilothrare, 3, 52
subtiliare,[8] 5, 17
sucidare, 2, 9; *al.*

Avct. Itin. Alex.
tabulare, 33 (77)

Pelagonivs.
suenare, *Vet.* 12, 207
cauteriare,[9] *Id.* 9, 180
hordiari, *Id.* 5, 47; *al.*
scabiare, *Id.* 26, 347
tortionare, *Id.* 31, 469

Vegetivs.
fomentare,[10] *Vet.* 2, 25, 3
limpidare,[11] *Id.* 2, 18; *al.*
mensurare,[12] *Mil.* 1, 25
murare,[13] *Mil.* 1, 21
semissare, *Vet.* 1, 26, 4; *al.*
serrare,[14] *Mil.* 2, 25 *extr.*
suffimentare, *Vet.* 3, 2 *extr.*
uadare,[15] *Mil.* 2, 25

Hieronymvs.
*pronubare, (*pronubus*), *Vit. Malchi* 6

Avgvstinvs.
campestrari, *Ciu. Dei* 14, 17
cauernare,[16] *Quaest. in Heptat.* 2, 177, 7
exemplare, *Ep.* 149
ieiunare,[17] *Id.* 36, 5
ignobilitare,[18] *Serm.* 166, 3
illecebrare,[19] *Id.* 310, 1
salsare,[20] *Ep.* 108, 14
tumidare, *Spect.* 30
udare,[21] *Mor. Manich.* 2, 13 *extr.*

Marcellvs Empiricvs.
scalpellare,[22] 12, 22

Theodorvs Priscianvs.
uesicare, 1, 28
uetustare,[23] 1, 10

Martianvs Capella.
balteare,[24] *p. p. p.*, 5, 426
cariare, *p. pr. a.*, 1, 10
culminare, *Poet.* 9, 914
fidicinare,[25] 9, 928
indusiare, 1, 65; *al.*
stupidare, 6, 572; *al.*
torridare,[26] 6, 602
uicinare,[27] 6, 608
uiuidare, *Poet.* 9, 912

[1] Veget.; Non. [2] Gloss. Labb. [3] Hier.; Greg. M.; Verecund. [4] Baeda. [5] Cypr.; Lact.; Hier.; Sidon. [6] Prud.; Sidon. Ep. [7] Prud. [8] Oribas. Fragm. Bern. [9] Eccl. [10] Cael. Aur. [11] Thom. Thes.; Gloss. Paris. [12] Gromat. Vet.; Vulg.; Acron ad Horat.; Gloss. [13] Hier.; Cassiod. [14] Ambros.; Hier.; Vulg. [15] Sulp. Seu. [16] Cael. Aur. [17] Sidon. [18] *conf.* Not. Tir. 12. [19] Isid. [20] Gloss. [21] Macr. [22] Gloss. Labb. [23] Boeth. [24] Gloss. [25] Gloss. [26] Non. [27] Cael. Aur.; Sidon.

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MACROBIVS.
annare, *Sat.* 1, 12, 6

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
alterare,[1] *Chron.* 2, 8, 115
cicatricari,[2] *Id.* 4, 8, 118
elogiare, *Id.* 2, 1, 16; *al.*
feminare, *Id.* 4, 9, 133
fluidare, *Id.* 5, 11, 136
frigidare, *Acut.* 1, 17, 168; *al.*
frigorare, *Id.* 3, 21, 298
latinare, *Chron.* 5, 4, 77
palpebrare, *Acut.* 2, 10, 70
populare, *Chron.* 2, 1, 34
regulare,[3] *Id.* 3, 4, 62
uncare,[4] *p. p. p.*, *Id.* 5, 3, 57

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
absentare,[5] *Ep.* 9, 13, 6
altare,[6] *Id.* 2, 2, 1; *al.*
cassare,[7] (*cassus*), *Id.* 1, 11, 13
dulcare, *Id.* 5, 4, 2; *al.*
facetiari, *Id.* 3, 13, 1
liturare,[8] *Id.* 9, 3, 7
nouercari,[9] *Id.* 7, 14, 3
rhoncare, *Id.* 1, 6, 3

FVLGENTIVS.
garrulare, *Myth.* 1, *Praef. p.* 20

VENANTIVS FORTVNATVS.
apothecare, *Carm.* 5, 6, 2
cruminare, *Vit. S. Mart.* 2, 380
longaeuare, *Vit. S. Medard.* 13
necessare, *Vit. S. Mart.* 2, 412
torculare, *Carm.* 5, 6, 2

ISIDORVS.
merendare, 20, 2, 12
obelare, 1, 20, 21; *al.*

§ 54. VERBS IN **-are** FROM SUBSTANTIVES IN **-do, -go**: The few denominatives formed from the stems of substantives in **-do, -go,** are grouped by themselves, as being almost exclusively of African origin. As already shown by Paucker[10] and emphasized by Goelzer,[11] they are all post-Augustan, and all *recc.* excepting the two deponents *imaginari, libidinari.* The former of these, the earliest instance of such derivatives, is assignable to Spanish Latin, (closely connected with the African dialect), being first used by Sen. and Col., both natives of Spain, and its compound *coimaginari* is used only by Hilarius, from the adjoining region of Aquitania. *libidinari* first occurs in Mart., (also a Spaniard), and in Petr., (another point of contact between African and Campanian Latin). The remaining examples are due to African writers, with the single exception of the ἅπαξ λεγ. *fuliginatus* in Hier. Such forms must have gradually spread throughout the whole *sermo plebeius*: thus *caliginare* (Itala) is later employed by the Gallic writer Marc. Emp.,

[1] Boeth. [2] Sidon. Ep. [3] Dosith. [4] Sidon.; Gloss. [5] Cl. Mam.; Cod. Theod. [6] Eccl. [7] Cassiod.; Cod. Theod.; ICt. [8] Inscrr. [9] Gloss.
[10] Paucker, Add. Lex. Lat. p. 7, *not.* 15. [11] Goelzer, p. 174.

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while in the Romance languages they are well represented: Diez cites **Ital.** *aeruginare, cappruggínare, originare;* **Span.** *originar;* **Prov.** *eruginar.*[1]

Gellivs.
imaginare,[2] 16, 18, 3

Apvleivs.
discapedinare, *Flor.* 3, *p.* 3, 13 *Kr.*
robiginare, *Id.* 17, *p.* 26, 14 *Kr.*

Itala.
aeruginare,[3] *Iac.* 5, 3
caliginare,[4] 3 *Regg.* 4, 14

Tertvllianvs.
auruginare, *Anim.* 17
ferruginare, *p. pr. a., adu. Valent.* 15
uertiginare, *de Pall.* 3

Hilarivs.
coimaginare, *Trin.* 8, 48

Hieronymvs.
fuliginare, *p. p. p., Ep.*, 54, 7

Avgvstinvs.
lanuginare, *p. pr. a., Annot. in Iob.* 38, 36

Martianvs Capella.
intercapedinare,[5] 9, 921

§ 55. Verbs in **-are** from Superlative Adjectives: Like the verbs discussed in the preceding section, the *verba desuperlativa*, or those derived from adjectives in the superlative degree, are a characteristic of the *sermo Africus.* This was first pointed out by Wölfflin, in his study of the Latinity of Cass. Fel., and recently in a separate article in the Archiv f. Lat. Lex.; it has been reiterated by Sittl and Thielmann, while Kübler has pointed out the occurrence of *consummare* in African inscriptions.[6] With the exception of *consummare*, (Liu.; Ou.; et Al.), which is derived not from *summus*, but from the substantive *summa*,[7] and therefore is hardly an exception, no instance occurs until the end of the second century, and then they appear first in African writers. The formation is still

[1] Diez, p. 690.

[2] Apul.; Lact.; Firm. Math.; *uerb. depon. iam in* Sen.; Plin.; Plin. Ep.; Suet.; Augustin. [3] Vulg. [4] Ps.-Cypr.; Gargil. Mart.; Marc. Emp.; Fulg. Verg. Cont. [5] Cael. Aur.; Fulg. Myth.

[6] Wölfflin, Cass. Fel., p. 418; Id., ALL. II., p. 355; Sittl, Lokal. Verschiedenh., p. 103; Thielmann, ALL. VIII., p. 517; Kübler, ALL. VIII., p. 170; *conf.* Paucker, Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf., 26, p. 272, *annot.* 47; Rönsch, p. 172. [7] Thielmann, *l. l.*, "das von summa (nicht summus), abgeleitete consummare, in Africa das eigentliche Wort für 'vollenden.'"

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unknown to the Latin of Fronto and Gell.,[1] but in Apul., Tert., and the Itala a number of these verbs come into use, in which no trace of a superlative force can be detected.[2] These formations continued to be popular with the later African writers such as Mart. Cap., Fulgent., Cael. Aur., but are not confined to them: *conf.* for instance *intimare*, frequent in Gallic Latin;[3] **Ital.** *intimare;* **Fr.** *intimer;* **Prov.** and **Span.** *intimar.*[4]

APVLEIVS.
infimare,[5] *Deo Socr.* 4
intimare,[6] *Dogm. Plat.* 2, 5
proximare,[7] *Met.* 2, 16; *al.*
(*summare,[8] *Id.* 11, 1 *Cod. Florent.*)

ITALA.
approximare,[9] *Genes.* 27, 16
pessimare,[10] *Philipp.* 6, 2, 3 & *Ephes.* 16, 2, (*ap. Ignat. Epp.*)

TERTVLLIANVS.
extimare,[11] *Cor.* 5
postumare, *Apol.* 19; *al.*
ultimare, *de Pall.* 1 *extr.*

VALERIVS ABBAS.
extremare, *Patrol.* 87, 437 *C. Migne*

CAPITVL. CAROLI M.
minimare, *p. p. p.*, 65, 21 *Bor.*

ROMVLVS NILANTI.
improximare, 26

§ 56. VERBS IN **-are** FROM COMPARATIVE ADJECTIVES: Unlike the desuperlative verbs, those formed from adjectives in the comparative degree have regularly retained a comparative force, and are not especially characteristic of

[1] Wölfflin, ALL. II., p. 355, "Zwar Fronto ist von denselben unberührt und auch Gellius nimmt die Neuerung nicht an; wohl aber sind die Itala und Apuleius von Madaura die ersten Freunde der Bildungen." [2] Sittl, *l. l.*, "die von Superlativen abgeleiteten Verba, in denen ebenfalls keine Spur einer Steigerung mehr vorhanden ist;" Thielmann, *l. l.*, "die verba desuperlativa, in denen ja ebenfalls der Superlativ zur Bedeutung eines Positivs herabgesunken ist." [3] Sittl, *l. l.*, "Wölfflin . . . geht zu weit, wenn er sie auf die Latinität Afrikas beschränkt," citing *intimare*, "besonders in Frankreich." [4] *Conf.* Littré, Dict. Français, *s. v.* approcher, "On a dit dans l'ancien français *aproismer*, d'approximare."

[5] *Tert.; Mart. Cap.; *conf.* Wölfflin, ALL. II., p. 361. [6] Tert.; Arnob.; Cypr.; Commodian.; Solin.; Capit.; Spart.; Trebell.; Firm. Math.; Iul. Val.; Mart. Cap.; Hier.; Augustin.; Fulg. Myth.; Ennod.; Sulp. Seu.; Ambros.; Amm.; Cod. Theod.; Cod. Iust.; Symm.; Chalcid.; Iordan.; Capitul. Caroli M. [7] Solin.; Vulg.; Ennod.; Pa.-Fulg.; Cassiod. [8] Schol. Bob. ad Cic.; *conf.* Wölfflin, *l. l.*, "Apul. Met. 11, 1 hat zwar der bessere codex Florentinus summatam deam, die Herausgeber aber mit Recht summatem." [9] Tert.; Cypr.; Hier.; Augustin.; Arnob. Iun.; Cassian.; Paul. Hist. Langob. [10] Vulg.; *conf.* Wölfflin, *l. l.*, p. 363, "muss aus der Itala stammen;" Thielmann, ALL. VIII., p. 517. [11] Cael. Aur.

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African Latin. Thielmann[1] indeed has claimed that *minorare* at least arose in Africa, but if the doubtful reading *minorato pretio*, Scaeuol. Dig. 18, 7, 10, is accepted, its first occurrence, like that of most of these forms, is in juridical Latin. Yet, as has been observed by Wölfflin,[2] the Africans by no means avoided these forms, but used them, as they did many other denominatives, both transitively and intransitively. Rönsch[3] includes them in his lists of vulgar forms, and with reason, for such formations would have been an impossibility in Ciceronian Latin and are to be attributed to the great freedom with which all classes of denominatives were formed in the later popular speech.

Only five of these verbs are cited:

SALVIVS IVLIANVS: certiorare, *ap. Vlp. Dig.* 13, 6, 5, 8; (*Gai.; Vlp., et al. ICt*).

CERVIDIVS SCAEVOLA: *minorare, *Dig.* 18, 7, 10; (*Tert.; Intpr. Iren.; Ambros.; Vulg.; Augustin.*).

VLPIANVS: meliorare, *Dig.* 7, 1, 13, 6; (*Ambros.; Cassiod.; Cod. Iust.*).

IVLIVS PAVLVS: *peiorare, Sent.* 2, 18, 1; (*Cael. Aur.; Cass. Fel.*).

SYMMACHVS: deteriorare, *Ep.* 4, 68; (*Vulg.; Ambros.; Claud. Mamert.; Cod. Iust.*).

§ 57. VERBS IN **-icare**: The prevalence of these verbs in the *sermo plebeius* is revealed chiefly by the Romance languages, for the number in extant Latin is not large.[4] The suffix was added to verbal and nominal stems alike, the former class, as *vellicare, splendicare,* having usually an intensive force which has survived to some extent in the modern languages. The denominatives on the contrary have in many cases a diminutive force, as *candicare, nigricare;* others usually grouped under this head owe the syllable -ic- to their primitive word, and not to the suffix,[5] as *nutricare,* (*nutrix*), *rusticari,* (*rusticus*), *rhetoricare,* (*rhetor* or *rhetoricus ?*) and such forms naturally do not differ in meaning from other simple denominatives in **-are.** Of genuine formations in **-icare** very few occur in Cic. I have

[1] Thielmann, ALL. VIII., p. 525, "Die an Komparative sich anschliessenden Bildungen sind zwar nicht spezifisch afrikanisch, sondern haben auch anderwärts Verbreitung gefunden, immerhin muss minorare zuerst in Afrika aufgekommen sein." [2] Wölfflin, Cass. Fel., p. 418, "von den Afrikanern nicht vermieden, aber durchaus nicht characteristisch für sie." [3] Rönsch, p. 171. [4] *Conf.* Paucker, Ztschr. f. Vergl. Sprachf., 26, p. 290; Id. Spicilegium, p. 220, *not.* 17. [5] Kühner, Lat. Gramm., I., p. 645.

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found only the following: denom., *claudicare, dis-, ex-, communicare,* (*alter-care*); verbal, *fodicare, uellicare.* The majority are found in later writers, while the Romance languages indicate that they were great favorites in the late period of the popular speech: Meyer-Lübke[1] cites **auctoricare,* **Span.** *otorgar,* **Port.** *outorgar;* **carricare,* **Fr.** *charger;* **Span.**, **Port.** *cargar;* **ferricare,* **Ruman.** *ferecá;* **O. Fr.** *enfergier;* **quassicare,* **Prov.**, **Span.**, **Port.** *cascar;* and a host of others both verbal and denominative. The suffix was used concurrently with **-izzare,** (Vulg. Lat. **-idiare**), by which it was ultimately superseded to a large extent in France, Italy, and to a less degree in the Spanish peninsula.[2] New formations are not numerous: compare **Ruman.** *adurmecá, sorbecá;* **Ital.** *dimenticare, gemicare, rampicare,* etc., (mostly intensive); **Span.** *aungar, forzgar,* and a few others.

In the list here given the forms which may come from adjectives in **-icus** are indicated:

Ennius.
albicare,[3] *Tr.* 336

Cato.
deuaricare,[4] *R. R.* 45, 3

Novius.
rhetoricare,[5] (*rhetoricus?*), *Com.* 5

Varro.
candicare,[6] *p. pr. a., ap. Non.* 213, 24
subalbicare, *R. R.* 3, 9, 5
uaricare,[7] (*uaricus?*), *L. L.* 5, 117

Cicero (Epistt.).
*uir(i)dicare, *p. p. p., ad Qu. Fr.* 3, 1, 2, 3

Plinius.
mangonicare, (*mangonicus?*) 32, 125
nigricare, 37, 161; *al.*
pastillicare, 21, 49

Frontinus.
clauicare, *p. p. p., Gromat. Vet.* 44, 18; *al.*

Gellius.
crispicare, *p. pr. a.*, 18, 11, 3

Apuleius.
claricare, *de Mund.* 15
follicare,[8] *Met.* 9, 13
splendicare, *Id.* 5, 9; *al.*

Tertullianus.
galaticari, (*galaticus?*), *adu. Psych.* 14
tenebricare,[9] (*tenebricus?*), *adu. Iud.* 13

[1] Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr., II., p. 607. [2] Schuchardt, Literaturbl., Feb. 1884, in which Diez's views are criticised; W. Meyer in Gröber's Grundriss, I., p. 374.
[3] Varr. Sat. Men.; Catull.; Hor. Carm.; Col.; Plin. [4] Varr.; *conf. not.* 7, *infra.*
[5] *uerb depon.* — Tert.; Hier. [6] Plin.; Scrib.; Apul.; Mart. Cap. [7] Quint.; Cassiod.; *conf.* Stuenkel, p. 66, "ab adiectiuo uaricus uidetur profectum esse, nisi potius id ab adiectiuo uarus suffixo -ic-, sicut claudicare a claudus ortum esse censes." [8] Tert.; Veget.; Hier. [9] Augustin.

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GARGILIVS MARTIALIS.
imbricare, (*imbricus?*), *Cur. Boum*, 23

IVLIVS VALERIVS.
ignicare, 3, 21

THEODORVS PRISCIANVS.
amylicare, 4 *Fbl.* 316 *a.*

PLINIVS VALERIANVS.
onicare, 1, 17

VVLGATA.
manicare,[1] (*mane*), *Luc.* 21, 38

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
mordicare,[2] *Acut.* 2, 8, 34

VENANTIVS FORTVNATVS.
bombicare, *Misc. Praef. p.* 62 *M.*
discaricare, *Vit. S. Medard.* 7
rubicare, *Carm.* 8, 9, 12; *al.*

ANTHIMVS.
caballicare, *Praef. p.* 67, 2 *R.*

§ 58. VERBS IN **-inare, -cinare**: It has been well observed by Rönsch that the majority of these comparatively rare formations bear on their face the impress of their vulgar origin.[3] Not only does Gell. stamp the class as plebeian in his comment on the word *sermocinari*, *Noct. Att.* 17, 2, 17, *sermonari rusticius uidetur, sed rectius est, sermocinari crebrius est sed corruptius*, but statistics amply confirm this view: only 37 occur in extant Latin, several of which are confined to the glossaries, and the remainder distributed principally between Early Comedy, Lucil., Petr., Tert., and later authors, while Cic., outside of the *Epistt.*, has only six, *alucinari, semel*, (*N. D.* i, 26, 72; *bis in Epistt.*), *latrocinari, lenocinari, semel*, (*Diu. in Caecil.*, 15, 48), *destinare, freq., sermocinari, bis*, (*Inu.* 2, 17, 54; *Verr.* 2, 1, 52, 138), *urinari, semel*, (*Acad. Fr.* 10 *Halm.*). With the exception of *destinari, latrocinari*, these are all rare in good Latin, and it is noteworthy that their derivatives are for the most part unclassical; compare *alucinatio*, archaic, according to *Non.* 121, 20, *alucinator*, cited in Paul. ex Fest., *destinator*, Ennod., *destinate*, Amm., *lenocinator*, Tert., *lenocinamentum*, Sidon. Ep., *lenocinatio*, Cassiod., etc.

Many of these verbs have been separately cited as vulgar: thus *coquinare, suffarcinare*, by Schmilinsky, *aginare* by Guericke.[4] The Romance languages[5] also indicate that the for-

[1] Schol. Iuuen. [2] Gloss.

[3] Rönsch, Ztschr. f. Oesterr. Gymn. 33, p. 588, "Von diesen 37 Verben mit erweitertem Stamme sind . . . etwa 6 Nominalderivata; die übrigen sind von anderen Zeitwörtern gebildet. Nicht wenige derselben tragen unverkennbar das Gepräge der Volksthümlichkeit an sich." [4] Schmilinsky, p. 43; Guericke, p. 35. [5] Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr., II, p. 611.

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mation was common in the *sermo plebeius:* Meyer-Lübke cites **uisinare,* **Fr.** *vêner;* **Span.** *graznar, maznar, voznar,* as compared with **Ital.** *gracidare,* **Lat.** *macerare, uocitare,* etc.

In forming a list of these words it is sometimes hard to determine whether they are derivatives in **-inare,** or simple denominatives in **-are** from substantives in **-go:** thus *propaginare,* which Paucker derives from *propagare,* may come from *propago, inis;*[1] *pataginare* may be either from *patagus* or *patago, inis.*[2] It is possible that the forms from words in **-go** had their influence in extending the range of the verbs in **-inare,** and that the two classes became confused in the minds of the people.

PLAVTVS.
coquinare,[3] *Pseud.* 853; *al.*
obstinare,[4] *Aul.* 267
praestinare,[5] *Pseud.* 169
suffarcinare,[6] *Curc.* 289
tuburcinari,[7] *Pers.* 122

CATO.
natinari,[8] *ap. Fest.* 166

ENNIVS.
carinare,[9] *Ann.* 181

TERENTIVS.
patrocinari,[10] *Phorm.* 939

ATTA.
muginare,[11] *Com.* 4

LVCILIVS.
imbubinare,[12] *Fr. Inc.* 54

VARRO.
musinari, *ap. Plin. Praef.* 18
urinare,[13] *L. L.* 5, 126

PETRONIVS.
aginare,[14] 61, 9

FESTI PAVL. EPIT.
bouinare,[15] 30, 12
bubinare,[16] 32, 1

TERTVLLIANVS.
offarcinare, *p. p. p., adu. Marc.* 4, 24 *in.*
propaginare, *de Pall.* 2 *fin.*

CAPITOLINVS.
leuiginare, *Pert.* 8, 5

CHARISIVS.
apinari,[17] *ap. Dosith.* 58, 17 *K.*

[1] Paucker, Subindenda, p. 141. [2] *Conf.* Ihm ad Pelag. Vet. 335.
[3] Prud.; Non. Marcell.; Itala. [4] Pacuu.; Liu.; Tac. [5] Apul.; "Das Vulgärwort p. findit sich nur bei Plaut. u. Apul.," Rönsch, *l. l.*, p. 592. [6] Apul.; Cassiod. [7] Turpil.; Apul. Met. "Ausserdem lässt sich sowohl der archaische als auch der volksthümliche Charakter dieses Wortes aus dem Adj. tuburchinabundus erkennen," Rönsch, *l. l.*, p. 596.
[8] Gloss. Isid. [9] Paul. ex Fest.; Seru. ad Verg. [10] Auct. Bell. Hisp.; Quint.; Tert.; Lact.
[11] Lucil.; Cic. Ep.; Gell.; *Amm. [12] *conf.* Paul. ex Fest. 32, 1. [13] *form -ari* — Cic., *semel,* (Acad. fr. 10 Halm.); Plin. [14] Gloss. Philox.; Gloss. Labb. [15] Gloss. Philox.; Gloss. Amplon.; *conf.* Löwe, Prodr. p. 317, sq. [16] Gloss.; *conf.* Löwe, Prodr. p. 313.
[17] *Gloss. Isid.

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AVCT. ITIN. ALEX.
continari, 6, *p.* 4, 6 *Volkm.*

PELAGONIVS.
pataginare, *Vet.* 335

HEGESIPPVS.
intaminare,[1] *Bell. Iud.* 2, 10, 4

VVLGATA.
scrutinare,[2] 4 *Esdr.* 13, 52

MARTIANVS CAPELLA.
farcinare,[3] 9, 998

ISIDORVS.
coracinare, 12, 7, 43

GLOSSARIA.
alipinare, *Gloss. Cyrill.*
lacinare, *Gloss. Paris.*
lucinare, *Gloss. Mai.*
ruspinare, *Gloss. Philox.*
scarpinare, *Gloss. Amplon.*

§ 59. VERBS IN **-illare**: Among the denominative verbs it is not surprising to find some formed from diminutives. They are rare in the best authors, but must have been frequent in the *sermo plebeius*, where diminutives had so largely sunk to the level of the primary word.[4] Thus we find from forms in **-ellus, a, um,** *cribellare,* (*cribellum*), Pall., Th. Prisc., Marc. Emp.; *cultellare,* (*cultellus*), Plin., Gromat. Vet.; *flabellare,* (*flabellum*), Tert.; *nouellare,* (*nouellae*), Suet., Isid., Paul. Nol.; from forms in **-illus, a, um,** *scintillare,* (*scintilla*), Plaut., etc.; *oscillare,* (*oscillum*), Santra, Schol. Bob., etc. Formations of the latter class must have been especially numerous, for the syllable **-ill-** came to be regarded as part of the verbal ending, and accordingly the suffix **-illare** was used to form derivatives from verbal as well as nominal stems. Examples of true diminutive verbs are very rare in extant literature: Funck,[5] who has made an exhaustive study of this class of verbs, cites but three which are unquestionably derived from verbal stems, *conscribillare,* (*conscribere*), *occillare,* (*occare*), *sorbillare,* (*sorbere*). In the popular speech, however, such forms cannot have been uncommon, as numerous examples may be cited from Italian and French: compare **Ital.** *balzellare, dentellare, saltellare,* **Fr.**

[1] Gloss. Philox. [2] Ps.-Augustin.; Lucif. Calar.; *conf.* Pauck. Subind., p. 441. [3] Cassiod; Rufin.

[4] Funck, ALL. IV., p. 68, "Auch für das Lateinisch hat man längst beobachtet, dass die Deminutiva bezeichnend für die Volkssprache waren, und eben von dort aus—oft mit Einbusse an ihrer eigentlichen Bedeutung—ihren Weg in die romanischen Sprachen fanden (vgl. Wölfflin, Philologus 34, 153). Es lässt sich also auch für unsre Kenntnis des Vulgärlateins aus einer Besprechung deminutiver Verben Gewinn erwarten;" Ulrich, Vitr. II., p. 6, "(uerb. demin.), quae in optimorum scriptis raro deprehenduntur;" *conf. supra,* § 39. [5] A. Funck, ALL. IV., pp. 68–89, 223–246, citing Schwabe, Demin. Gk. et Lat., Giessae, 1859; Kessler, Lat. Demin., Hildburghausen, 1869; Kühner, Gramm. Lat., I., p. 644; *conf.* Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 487.

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chanceler, *grommeler*, *sauteler*.[1] The Romance languages show some analogous instances of nominal suffixes which have become merged in the verbal ending: ***-aceare**, from **-aceus**, as seen in **Ital.** *ghignazzare*, *innamorazzare*, **Fr.** *crevasser*, *fricasser*, *rimasser*, etc.; ***-ittare**, from the late diminutive suffix **-ittu**, **Ital.**, *bombettare*, *fiorettare*; **Fr.** *chuchoter*, *feuilleter*; **Span.** *balitar*, *peditar*, etc.[2]

Funck, in his treatment of the Latin verbs in **-illare**, has grouped them under five heads, (*a.*) from stems in **-illa**; (*b.*) from stems in **-illo**; (*c.*) those of undoubted verbal origin; (*d.*) of apparent verbal origin; (*e.*) of uncertain origin. This classification has been indicated in the following list, by means of letters preceding the words, which refer respectively to these five divisions. It is interesting to observe that of the 7 verbs cited by Funck from Cic., none can be traced to a verbal source, 5 being denominative and 2 doubtful: thus (*a.*) *capillatus*, (*a.*) *cauillari*, (*a.*) *instillare*, (*a.*) *stillare*, (*e.*) *titillare*, (*b.*) *tranquillare*, (*e.*) *uacillare*. This fact sustains the view that the forms from verbal stems belong especially to the *sermo cotidianus*.[3]

PLAVTVS.
(*b.*) catillare,[4] *Cas.* 352
(*a.*) *expapillare, *p. p. p.*, *Mil.* 1180 *Ritschl.*
(*a.*) furcillare,[5] *Pseud.* 631
(*b.*) murmurillare,[6] *ap. Non.* 143, 2
(*e.*) occillare, *Amph.* 188
(*a.*) scintillare,[7] *Men.* 829

ENNIVS.
(*d.*) obstri(n)gillare,[8] *Sat.* 5

TERENTIVS.
(*c.*) sorbillare,[9] *Ad.* 591

TITINIVS.
(*a.*) ancillari,[10] *Com.* 72

SANTRA.
(*b.*) oscillare,[11] *ap. Fest.* 134 (*b*), 9 & 10

VARRO.
(*c.*) conscribillare,[12] *Sat. Men.* 76; *al.*
(*a.*) destillare,[13] *L. L.* 5, 22
(*d.*) focillare,[14] *ap. Non.* 481, 12
(*e.*) *strittilare, *L. L.* 7, 65
(*d.*) sugillare,[15] *ap. Non.* 171, 13

[1] Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr., II., p. 613; Diez, p. 696. [2] Meyer-Lübke, *l. l.*, pp. 609, 613. [3] Funck, *l. l.*, p. 223, "Es sind Verba, deren Bedeutung auf die Sprache des täglichen Lebens hinweist."

[4] Auct. Inc. ap. Fulg. [5] *p. p. p.* — Varr. L. L. [6] Onom. Gr. [7] Verg. Ge.; Pers.; Sil.; Calpurn.; Ambros.; Sedul.; Augustin.; Aldhelm. [8] Varr.; Sen.; Isid. [9] Apul. Met.; Cledon. [10] Acc.; Plin.; Apul.; Arnob.; Gloss. Vet.; *uerb. act.* — Ps.-Cypr. [11] Schol. Bob.; Mythogr. Lat. [12] Catull.; Inscrr. [13] Verg.; Tibull.; Lucan.; Fronto; Ambros.; Hier.; Augustin.; Cael. Aur.; Ps.-Soran.; Greg. M. [14] Sen. Ep.; Plin.; Fronto; Cypr.; Pelag. Vet. [15] Liu.; Sen.; Plin.; Val. Max.; Prud.; Cledon.; ICt.

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FESTVS.
(*e.*) fucillare, 371, 46

GELLIVS.
(*a.*) incauillari,[1] 5, 5, *Lemm.*

APVLEIVS.
(*b.*) sigillare,[2] *p. p. p.*, *Met.* 2, 19

TERTVLLIANVS.
(*a.*) *exancillari, *Apol.* 17 *extr.*

CENSORINVS.
(*e.*) *irquitillare, 14, 7

VOPISCVS.
(*b.*) *specillare, *p. p. p.*, *Prob.* 4, 5

SERVIVS.
(*e.*) cillare,[3] *ad Verg. Ge.* 2, 389

DOSITHIVS.
(*b.*) imbecillari,[4] 60, 2

VEGETIVS.
(*a.*) subterstillare, 3, 7

PRVDENTIVS.
(*a.*) restillare, *c. Symm.* 2, 287

HIERONYMVS.
(*a.*) perstillare,[5] *Epp. et Verb. S. Pachom.* 3, 86, 88 *C.*

PSEVDO-APICIVS.
(*a.*) subinstillare, 3, 95

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
(*a.*) superdistillare,[6] *Chron.* 5, 1, 18

NOTT. TIRON.
(*b.*) bacillare, 115

§ 60. VERBS IN ***-antare,* -entare**: These suffixes are important only from the standpoint of the Romance languages, in which they have attained considerable prominence. Diez[7] makes the broad statement that the formation of verbs from present participles is not known in Latin, as *parentare* is from the noun *parens* and *praesentare* from *praesens* in its adjectival, rather than its participial sense. Meyer-Lübke[8] however cites the latter verb as an example of this class, and points out that other forms must have occurred in the *sermo plebeius*, as is evidenced by the Romance languages, as for example **expauentare*, **Ital.** *spaventare*; **Fr.** *épouvanter*; **Span., Port.** *espantar*; and a host of new formations, mainly in the Southwest: **Span.** *habilentar*, *levantar*, *mamantar*, *aparantar*; **Port.** *acalentar*, *endurmentar*, *amolentar*, etc.; less numerous in **Ital.** *addormentare*, *piacentare*; and **Fr.**, *creanter*; **Ruman.** has only *infierbentá*.

[1] Gloss. [2] Ven. Fort.; Fulg. Myth.; Aldhelm.; *conf.* ALL. IV., p. 84. [3] Mythogr. Lat.; Isid. [4] Gloss. Labb. [5] Vulg.; Augustin. [6] Oribas.

[7] Diez, p. 697, "Verbalableitung aus dem Part. Präs. ist nicht lat." [8] Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr. II, p. 614 "Die lateinische Schriftsprache hat von solchen Verben nur praesentare gegenwärtig machen aufgenommen, dass aber die Volkssprache mehr besass, zeigen die romanischen Sprachen."

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PART II.

COMPOSITION.

I.—PREPOSITIONAL COMPOUNDS.

§ 61. Prepositional Compounds in General: While true composition between two or more word-stems became neglected in the Italic branch of the Ind.-Germ. languages,[1] prepositional compounds continued to flourish at all periods, and were thoroughly in accordance with the spirit of classic Latin. This must be understood however with two limitations: first, classic Latin here showed its wonted reluctance to form neologisms; secondly, the compounding of verbs with more than one preposition, as in Greek and Sanskrit, was avoided, and as a rule tolerated only where a preposition had lost its force and had come to be regarded as an integral part of the stem.[2] The *sermo plebeius* on the contrary preserved much more of the license of the Ind.-Germ. speech, freely compounding its prepositions and attaching certain favorite ones to any stem, verbal or nominal, at pleasure. The greatest fertility is seen in the department of compound verbs, which form one of the marked characteristics of the *sermo plebeius*:[3] the immoderate and often superfluous use of these forms, notably in the

[1] *Conf. infra*, § 75. [2] *Conf. infra*, § 74. [3] Wölfflin, Philol. 34, p. 157 sq.; Rebling, p. 17; Schmilinsky, p. 40 sq.; Lorenz ad Plaut. Pseud., Einleit. pp. 37–8, annot. 36; Rönsch, p. 474; Guericke, p. 38; Koehler, p. 15; Thielmann, Cornif. Rhet., p. 5 sq.; Kraut, Sall., p. 6; Hellmuth, Prior. Cic. Oratt. Sermo, p. 25; Koffmanne, Kirchenlat., p. 102, "Noch mehr zeigt sich der Einfluss des unteren Volksthums in der Misshandlung des Verbums. Da sind zunächst die auffälligsten Composita zu finden," citing *abrenunciare*, *deexacerbare*, *discredere*, etc.; Landgraf, Blätt. f. Bayer. Gymn. 16, p. 321; Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI, p. 202; Hauschild, Diss. Hal. VI, p. 259; Goelzer, p. 31, "C'est à l'élément populaire qu'on peut rapporter l'emploi fréquent fait par saint Jérôme des formes en -mentum . . . et enfin et surtout des verbes composés;" even Bonnet concedes the popular nature of these verbs: p. 229 "d'assez bonne heure déjà, et probablement dans le langage familier plus que dans le style élevé, on employa souvent le composé à la place du simple;" Ulrich, Vitr. II, p. 7.

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case of the prepositions **ad-**, **con-**, **de-**, **ex-**, led to a loss of significance analogous to that already observed in diminutives, frequentative verbs, etc., until they sank to the level of the simple verb. In the course of time such loss of force extended in some instances to classic Latin, which shows a tendency in such cases to discard the superfluous preposition and revive the simple verb in place of the wonted compound. The *sermo plebeius* on the other hand chose to retain the longer form, preferring to add an extra preposition rather than relinquish one already in use. This resulted in a constant increase of *verba decomposita*, and in some instances in the reduplication of prepositions, as *ad-al-ligare*, Plin.; *con-col-ligere*, Intpr. in Math.; *per-per-ire*,[1] etc., while combinations of even three prepositions sometimes occur, as *cor-res-sus-citare*, Tert.; *co-ad-im-plere*, Rustic.[2]

Here, as elsewhere, the popular speech lacks consistency: the weakening observed in the prepositions **ad-**, **con-**, **de-**, etc., shows the same want of uniformity as is seen in the decline of the diminutive suffixes. Thus Bonnet points out in Greg. Tur. a number of recent compounds in **con-**, such as *con-pauper*, *con-ciuis*; *col-laetari*, *con-catenare*, where the preposition adds a new sense to the word, while conversely *con-densus*, *con-dignus*; *co-aptare*, *com-manere* have practically the value of the simple form.[3] Here also the analogy with the diminutives continues; the greatest degree of weakening is generally found in the older and consequently more familiar forms. Bonnet however observes that of the examples above cited *coaptare* is no older a form than *concatenare* and accordingly that the difference cannot be explained on the ground that prepositions lose their force through lapse of time, but is an example of "that remarkable faculty possessed by language of trusting to the intelligence of the hearer, and making the same means serve for different ends, as occasion requires."[4] It is

[1] Cited by Paucker, Subrelicta Add. Lex. Lat., Dorpati, 1872, to which I have not had access. [2] *Conf. infra*, § 74. [3] Bonnet, p. 233, "Il ne faudrait pas croire cependant que cet affaiblissement des préfixes se fasse sentir d'une manière uniforme. Loin de là. Non seulement un grand nombre de composés anciens, ou plutôt la majorité, conserve la signification spéciale que renferme le préfixe, mais il y a une grande différence à cet égard entre les composés nouveaux eux-mêmes." [4] Bonnet, p. 233, "cette faculté si remarquable dont jouit le langage, de pouvoir se fier à l'intelligence de l'auditeur pour faire servir les mêmes moyens à des fins différentes suivent les besoins."

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not always safe to judge of the age of words by their first occurrence in literature; a more natural presumption is, that the weaker form is considerably the older. But in any case such divergence of usage is only the natural and logical result of the gradual process of decay which is first indicated in Plautine Latin, where the compounds were freely used in place of the simple forms, but as is well observed by Guericke, had not altogether lost their distinctive meaning.[1] While the progress of the decay received a check in classic Latin, it continued in the *sermo plebeius* uninterrupted, the older compounds being the first to lose their identity, the later ones succumbing in their turn. In late Latin so large a share of prepositional compounds had sunk to the level of the simple word that the new formations were as likely to be made by analogy with those in which the preposition was valueless as with those in which it retained its value. In late literature especially, where the popular speech had made serious inroads upon the classic models, and provincial vulgarisms stood side by side with Ciceronian forms, such inconsistencies are to be expected as a necessary incident to language in a highly transitional state. It is instructive to note, in connection with the examples above cited, that in the Romance languages new formations with **con-** are uniformly consistent: the prefix has remained productive only in **Ital.**, **Span.**, and **Port.**, and in these languages regularly retains its original Latin significance.[2]

The importance of the compound verbs in relation to the Romance languages is too well known to need comment. Many simple Latin verbs have survived in **Fr.**, **Ital.**, etc., only in the compound form, while instances of the reverse phenomenon are practically unknown.[3] The majority of the prepositions have remained productive, and the separate languages are rich in new formations. Yet on the whole the Romance languages are scarcely richer in this respect than the Latin of the fifth century; the gain has been offset by the loss. A few new prefixes have been added to the list: thus **minus-**, seen in

[1] Guericke, p. 38. [2] Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr., II, p. 622. [3] Diez, p. 708, "Dass viele Wörter, hauptsächlich Verba, nur noch in der Partikelcomposition fortleben, ist eine allen Sprachen gemeine Thatsache, und es bedarf nur der Anzeige, dass Bsp. hier in grosser Menge vorliegen. Umgekehrt ist aber an ein Wiederaufleben erloschener Simplicia kaum zu denken."

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Ital., *misavvenire, misfare, misprendere;* **Fr.** *méconnaître, médire, mésinterpreter;* **Span.** *menoscabar, menospreciar;* and **bis-**, found only in **Ital.**, as *biscantare, bistentare*, etc., and in **Fr.**, *bescuire, besjugier*, etc. On the other hand, some of the old prefixes have fallen into disuse, as **ob-** and **retro-**, which have not only ceased to form new compounds but have practically disappeared from the modern languages, the former being regularly replaced by **a-**, as in **Ital.** *affogare, assediare*, etc., the latter surviving only in **Sard.** *trokere*, from *retrocedere*.[1]

While the tendency of the later Latin was in favor of prepositional compounds, the retention of a simple verb, for which the classical language had already substituted a compound, is much rarer, and in the main is to be regarded as another archaism of the *sermo plebeius*. Instances of such usage occur in the best period, chiefly in the poets, who, as Schmalz aptly points out,[2] avoid the precision which the prepositional form affords, and thus leave more to the imagination. A few others have survived in legal formulæ, such as *capere* for *accipere*, *uidere* for *prouidere*, in the phrase *consuli uideant, ne quid detrimenti res publica capiat*, (Cic. *Cat.* 1, 4, *Phil.* 5, 34). The greatest number of examples, however, occur in the popular speech, notably in the language of the camp, as *exercitum, legiones*, etc. *scribere*, for *conscribere* (Cic. *Ep.*, Liu. et Al.), *milites legere*, for *deligere*, and other instances cited by Schmalz.[3]

The nouns and adjectives compounded with prepositions are less important, though here also Latin is on a par with the other Ind.-Germ. branches.[4] On the whole, the instances of direct composition of prepositions with substantives are neither numerous, nor especially characteristic of the *sermo plebeius*. The compound verbs and adjectives afforded derivative substantives with the same freedom as the simple forms, particularly in late Latin; such derivatives, however, show no distinctive feature and accordingly have been grouped with the uncompounded forms. One class of substantives compounded with prepositions which certainly originate in the popular speech are derivatives in **-ium**, such as *ante-ludium*, Apul. *Met.; inter-femin-*

[1] *Conf.* especially Meyer-Lübke, *l. l.*, pp. 617–620. [2] Schmalz, Stilist. p. 552, "Wenn nun an Stelle des Kompos. das Simpl. gesetzt wird, so wird damit der Phantasie des Lesers überlassen, dass selbst herauszufinden, was sonst die Präpos. besagt. Hieraus erklärt sich, dass der Gebrauch der Simpl. an Stelle der Kompos. vorzüglich der poetischen Sprache eigentümlich ist." [3] Schmalz, *l. l.* [4] Brugmann, II, p. 55.

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ium, Id.; *inter-natium*, Fronto; *super-pondium*, Apul. These forms are not direct compounds, but are derivatives, whose primitive word is not found in the compound form. They are moreover so closely connected in form and usage with other derivative compounds in **-ium**, such as *ferri-terium*, Plaut.; *semi-funium*, Cato; *fratri-cidium*, Tert., that the two groups are treated together, *infra* § 77.

The only other class of substantives deserving of separate notice are those compounded with **in-** negative, which are interesting because characteristic of the *sermo Africus*, and will accordingly be briefly considered, *infra*, § 62.

Among verbs and adjectives the prepositional formations are so much more numerous that a complete survey of all the classes would be beyond the scope of the present work. Accordingly this chapter will be confined to the most important, the adjectives in **per-** and **sub-**, the verbs in **ad-**, **con-**, **de-**, **dis-**, **ex-**, **ob-**, **per-**, and **sub-**, and those with two or more prepositions.

§ 62. SUBSTANTIVES COMPOUNDED WITH **in-** *privative:* It is well settled that while the preposition **in** is freely joined to verbs, formations with **in-** *privative* are as a rule restricted to adjectives and participles. It has been claimed by Schulze,[1] that even the latter compounds are more abundant in the *sermo plebeius* than the classic speech, and he cites with some show of reason the prevalence of such forms among adjectives in **-bilis**, **-osus**, and other plebeian suffixes. Adjectives formed with **in-** *privative* however cannot as a whole be regarded as unclassical, and accordingly the substantives and verbs derived from them present no irregularity; compare from *insanus*, *immortalis*, *ineptus*, *infamis*, the substt. *insania*, *immortalitas*, *ineptia*, *infamia;* verbs, *insanire*, *ineptire*, *infamare*. Direct composition of **in-** *privative* with substantives, unaided by any intermediate adjective, stands upon quite a different footing: such usage belongs mainly to a late period, and is generally admitted to be characteristic of African Latin. This view was advanced by Sittl,[2] who pointed out the large number of these

[1] Schulze, Diss. Hal. VI., p. 223, "Mea quidem sententia uocabula cum in- 'priuatiuo' composita neque soli ingenio singulorum auctorum neque soli imitationi sermonis Graeci attribuenda sunt sed praecipue Romanorum sermoni uulgari." [2] Sittl, Lokal. Verschiedenh., p. 118, "Eine griechische Weise der Wortbildung ist es auch, wenn die Afrikaner Substantiva mit negativem in zusammensetzen, wobei selbst-ver-

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forms due to Gell., Apul. and Tert., and regarded the usage as a Grecism. He has been ably sustained by Wölfflin,[1] in an important article on these substantives in the fourth volume of the Archiv, and most recently by Thielmann,[2] in his study of the "Latin Translation of the Book Sirach," who cites *ineruditio, inhonoratio,* used to render ἀπαιδευσία, ἀτιμία.

The conclusions reached by Wölfflin, who is the principal authority on these forms, embody all which is of importance to our subject, and are briefly as follows:

I. That only five instances of direct composition of a substantive with **in-** *privative* occur in the archaic period: *intemperies,* Plaut.; Cato; Cic.; Liu.; Col.; Sen., etc.; *insatietas,* Plaut. *Aul.* 487; *ingratiis, s. f.,* Plaut., *adu.* = Ter.; Cic.; etc., (*ingratia,* Tert.); **irreligio,*[3] Cornif. Rhet.; iniussus, ū, (only in abl.), Ter. *Phorm.* 231; Cic.; Auct. Bell. Afr.; Liv., etc.).

II. That the Latin of the Golden and Silver periods retained the forms *intemperies, iniussu,* but with the single exception of *inquies,* Plin. 14, 142, did not add to the list.

III. That with the African writers a great number of new forms arose, such as: Gell., *insuauitas,* (Tert.: Cael. Aur.); *inualentia,* (Apul.); Tert., *immisericordia, immoderantia, impraescientia, improuidentia, inexperientia, inhonestas, inualitudo;* Intpr. Iren., *indictobaudientia,* etc.

IV. That derivatives in **-ia, -ium, -ies,** such as *incuria,* from **in-** and *cura,* also belong mainly to the *sermo plebeius.* Com-

ständlich einfache Ableitungen von negativen Adjektiven ausgeschlossen werden müssen:" *conf.* Schulze, *l. l.,* "Hanc componendi rationem Sittl, l. l. ex imitatione sermonis Graeci fluxisse putat; quod ei fortasse concedendum est."

[1] Wölfflin, ALL. IV., p. 400, "Eine neue fruchtbare Aera eröffnet Tertullian, und wenn ihm Apuleius, Gellius und Cyprian zur Seite stehen . . . so wird man dieses Latein wohl als ein afrikanisches oder als ein zuerst in Afrika anerkanntes bezeichnen dürfen:" *conf.* Id. ib., p. 405, "die sogen. Africitas besteht . . . zum Teil um dem griechischen Originale möglichst treu zu bleiben." [2] Thielmann, Die lateinische Uebersetzung des Buches Sirach, ALL. VIII., p. 505; according to him, inhonoratio, although African Latin, does not belong under this head, being directly derived from inhonorare — ἀτιμάζειν; it shows, however, the tendency to render the Greek ἀ privative by the Latin in- privative. [3] Wölfflin, *l. l.,* p. 408, "Mit Klotz nach schlechteren Handschriften religio zu schreiben . . . lässt sich durchaus nicht rechtfertigen;" *contra,* Sittl, *l. l.,* p. 118, "Cornif. rhet. 2, 34 irreligio angefochten wird," and the new edition of Cornif. Rhet. "Incerti Auctoris de Ratione Dicendi ad C. Herennium Libri IV," ed. Fr. Marx, Leipsiae, 1894, reads *religio.*

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pare the archaic *infortunium*, Plaut.; Ter.; Liu.; Hor.; Apul.; etc., *inbalnities*, *inperfundities*, Lucil.

§ 63. ADJECTIVES COMPOUNDED WITH **Per-**: These compounds, like all formations with superlative force, are appropriate to the exaggerated language of the *sermo plebeius*, and their use has accordingly been frequently regarded as a plebeian characteristic, notably by Wölfflin.[1] The latter claims that at least one-half of these compounds used in the classic period belong to the popular speech, and points out that a large proportion of those used by Cic. occur only in his letters, especially those to Atticus; that Hor. avoids them in his Odes, but uses them in the Epistles and Satires; and that the forms used by Plaut. and Ter. have almost all disappeared in the classic period. He is accordingly led to attribute this class of compounds as a whole to the influence of the *sermo plebeius*, and compares the traces which it has left in the modern languages, as **Ital.** *percaro*, *permaloso*, etc. Somewhat more recently Wölfflin's position has been reviewed by Dutilleul, in an able article in the Revue de Philologie (Vol. 13, p. 133). The latter admits that such formations were prevalent in the popular speech,[2] and adds further evidence from the Romance languages, comparing with such phrases as *per mihi gratum est*, Cic. *ad Att.* 1, 20, 7: *per fore accommodatum tibi*, Id. *ad Fam.* 3, 5, 3, the similar usage in **O. Fr.**, *mult par est pruz*, Roland, 546: *mult par est grant la feste*, Id. 142. He criticises Wölfflin's claim, however, as too general, and refuses to admit that the forms found in the classic period, when taken as a whole, all belong to the *sermo plebeius*, or even to the *sermo familiaris*. Dutilleul carefully reviews the forms found in Cic., distinguishing between those adjectives which in Cic. always form their superlative with **per-** and those which also have a regular inflectional superlative. The former class he sets aside as affording only negative proof: of the latter he cites on the one hand about a dozen forms in **per-** from the Epistt., and 10 more from the early orations, for which Cic. uses a regular superlative in his

[1] Wölfflin, Philol. 34, p. 163: Lorenz ad Pseud. 1196, "Bekanntlich liebt die Römische Umgangssprache solche verstärkende Bildungen mit per ausserordentlich:" Kraut, Sall., p. 4, citing as vulgar percupidus, pergnarus, perincertus; *conf.* Hellmuth, Prior. Oratt. Cic. Serm., "Adiectiuorum unum sufficit commemorasse, rarum admodum et familiaris sermonis colore tinctum: perbonus." [2] Dutilleul, *l. l.*, "Wölfflin a raison de penser que cette formation existait dans la langue vulgaire."

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finished works, but on the other, he gives no less than 26 from the most finished orations, used side by side with the superlative forms.

Even Dutilleul did not notice the inordinate fondness which Cic. shows for these forms. I have been able to collect only an odd 225 adjectives, (and adverbs), with **per-** from the entire language; of these Cic. (including the *Epistt.*) employs no less than 106, or almost one-half of the entire number: only 19 are confined to the *Epistt.* The following 87 occur in his more finished works, many of them being of frequent occurrence, e.g. *perpaucus*, 9 times (4 times in the *Oratt. in Verr.*), *permultus*, 55 times, *persaepe*, 15 times, etc.:

per-absurdus,
-acerbus,
-acutus,
-aeque,
-amplus,
-angustus,
-antiquus,
-appositus,
-arduus,
-argutus,
-attentus,
-beatus,
-bene,
-blandus,
-bonus,
-breuis,
-carus,
-celer,
-comis,
-commode,
-curiosus,
-difficilis,
-diserte,
-diues,
-doctus,
-elegans,
-eloquens,
-excelsus,
-exiguus,
per-facetus,
-flagitiosus,
-frigidus,
-grandis,
-gratus,
-grauis,
-honorificus,
-indulgens,
-infamis,
-infirmis,
-ingeniosus,
-iniquus,
-insignis,
-inuisus,
-iucundus,
-leuis,
-liberaliter,
-longus,
-magnus,
-mediocris,
-mirus,
-modestus,
-moleste,
-multus,
-necessarius,
-necesse,
-nobilis,
-obscurus,
-opportunus,
per-optatus,
-ornatus,
-paruulus,
-paruus,
-pauculus,
-paucus,
-paulus,
-propinquus,
-pugnax,
-pusillus,
-raro,
-reconditus,
-ridiculus,
-saepe,
-salsus,
-sapiens,
-scienter,
-scitus,
-similis,
-studiosus,
-subtilis,
-tenuis,
-tristis,
-turpis,
-uarie,
-uetus,
-uetustus,
-urbanus,
-utilis.

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These statistics tend to show that, while this method of formation may have originated in the *sermo plebeius*, it had become in the classic period very far removed from a vulgarism, and belonged rather to the easy tone of the *sermo cotidianus* of the upper classes. This is made more apparent by the following list, where the forms from Ter., relatively more numerous than those in Plaut., are significant. In silver Latin, also, the greatest number are found, not in Col., or Plin., the usual sources of plebeian vocabulary, but in Cels., whose Latin is remarkably pure for the period at which he wrote.

NAEVIVS.
per-sibus,[1] *Com.* 116

PLAVTVS.
per-doctus,[2] *Mil.* 258
-dudum, *Stich.* 575
-graphicus, *Trin.* 1139
-iratus,[3] *Truc.* 656
-lepide, *Cas.* 927
-longinquus, *Bacch.* 1194
-longus,[4] *Trin.* 745
-meditatus, *Epid.* 375
-niger, *Poen.* 1113
-pauxillus, *Capt.* 177

ENNIVS.
*per-altus,[5] *Ann.* 192

CATO.
per-aridus,[6] *R. R.* 5, 8
-iniurius,[7] *Oratt. Fr.* 21
-macer,[8] *ap. Plin.* 18, 34
-sanus, *R. R.* 157 *extr.*

TERENTIVS.
per-benigne,[9] *Ad.* 702
-contumax, *Hec.* 504
per-fortiter, *Ad.* 567
-liberalis,[10] *Hec.* 864; *al.*
-opus, *Andr.* 265
-parce, *Id.* 455
-pulcher, *Eun.* 468
-sancte,[11] *Hec.* 771
-scitus,[12] *Andr.* 486

AFRANIVS.
per-pauper,[13] *Com.* 160

ACCIVS.
per-propinquus,[14] *Tr. Brut.* 36

VARRO.
per-ferus, *R. R.* 2, 1, 5
-imbecillus,[15] *Id.* 3, 10, 5
-mundus, *Id.* 3, 7, 5
-purus, *Id.* 3, 16, 28
*-rimosus, *Id.* 1, 51, 1

LVCRETIVS.
per-delirus, 1, 692
-hilum, 6, 576
-subtilis,[16] 3, 179

[1] Plaut. ap. Varr. [2] Ter.; Lucr.; Cic., *semel*, (Balb. 27, 60); Stat. [3] Cic. Ep. [4] Cic. Ep.; *adv.* — Ter. [5] *Liu.; *Apul.; (Enn. ed. Vahl. — *per alta*). [6] Col. [7] Min. Fel. [8] Cels. [9] Cic. Ep. [10] *adv.* — Cic. *ad Att. et semel*, (Rosc. Am. 108). [11] Suet.; *adj.* — Inscrr. Afr. [12] Cic., *semel*, (de Or. 2, 271, *in tmesis*). [13] Cic. Ep. [14] Cic., *semel*, (Clu. 23). [15] Cic. Ep.; Sulp. Sev. [16] Cic., *semel*, (Planc. 58).

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CICERO (EPISTT.).
per-accommodatus, *ad Fam.* 3, 5, 3
-acer, *Id.* 9, 16, 4
-amans, *ad Att.* 4, 8, *b.* 3
-belle, *ad Fam.* 16, 18, 1; *al.*
-beneuolus, *Id.* 14, 4, 6
-cautus, *ad Qu. Fr.* 1, 1, 6, 18
-cupidus, *ad Fam.* 1, 7, 2
-dignus, *Id.* 13, 6, 4
-diligens,[1] *ad Qu. Fr.* 3, 5, 6
-eruditus,[2] *ad Att.* 4, 15, 2
-fidelis,[3] *Id.* 2, 19, 5
-humanus,[4] *Id.* 16, 12 *in.*
-inuitus, *ad Fam.* 3, 9
-luctuosus, *ad Qu. Fr.* 3, 8, 5
-male, *ad Att.* 1, 19, 2
-odiosus, *Id.* 10, 17, 2; *al.*
-officiose, *ad Fam.* 9, 20, 3
-tumultuose, *Id.* 15, 4, 3
-uesperi, *Id.* 9, 2, 1

AVCT. BELL. AFRIC.
per-impeditus, 58 *extr.*

VITRVVIVS.
per-crudus,[5] 10, 14, 3
-quadratus, 5, *Praef.* 4

CELSVS.
per-asper,[6] 5, 28, 14
-candidus,[7] 5, 19, 24
-liquidus, 2, 4 *extr.*
-maturus,[8] 2, 30; *al.*
-modicus,[9] 4, 2 *extr.*
-pallidus, 2, 6 *in.*
per-siccus,[10] 3, 6
-uiridis,[11] 5, 19, 4

COLVMELLA.
per-densus, 3, 12, 2
-exilis,[12] 11, 2, 60
-mitis, 12, 42, 1

PLINIVS.
per-gracilis, 25, 159
-translucidus, 13, 79

MARTIALIS.
per-inanis, 1, 76, 10
-tricosus, 3, 63, 14

FRONTO.
*per-atticus, *ad M. Caes.* 1, 8, *p.* 23, 13 *N.*

GELLIVS.
per-inconsequens, (*in tmesi*), 14, 1, 10
-mirandus,[13] (*in tmesi*), 3, 6, 1

APVLEIVS.
per-albus,[14] *Met.* 1, 2; *al.*
-astutulus, *Id.* 9, 5
-egregius, *Apol.* 37

POMPONIVS PORPHYRIO.
per-ineptus, *ad Hor. Epod.* 5, 1

CAPITOLINVS.
*per-trepidus, *Max. et Balb.* 1, 1 *ed. Iordan.*

ARNOBIVS.
per-honestus, 2, 49

[1] Porphyr. ad Hor. [2] Flor.; Licin. Calu. ap. Ascon. [3] Aur. Vict. [4] Apul. Met. [5] Col. [6] Iul. Val. [7] Solin.; Paul. ex Fest. [8] Col. [9] Suet.; Vlp. Dig.; Capit.; Aur. Vict.; *adu.* — Col. [10] Fest.; Paul. ex Fest. [11] Plin.; Mela; Frontin.; Solin. [12] Boeth. [13] Iul. Val. [14] Gromat. Vet.

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LACTANTIVS.
per-opacus, Inst. 1, 22, 2

IVLIVS VALERIVS.
per-suauis,[1] 3, 18

VOPISCVS.
per-friuolus, *Aurel.* 6, 6
-tepidus, *Carin.* 17, 5
-turbidus, *Saturn.* 7, 3

IVVENCVS.
per-congruus, *in Iosue* 566
-docilis, *in Exod.* 1184
-minimus, 3, 584

PLINIVS VALERIANVS.
per-calidus, 2, 29
-lippidus, 1, 34

AVCT. ITIN. ALEX.
per-amicus, 22
-pinguis, 18

AVRELIVS VICTOR.
per-formidolosus, *de Caes.* 4, 9

DICTYS CRETENSIS.
per-laudabilis, 6, 14
-maestus, 1, 23

AMMIANVS.
per-anceps, 29, 5, 36
-humilis, 16, 10, 10
-ualidus,[2] 29, 1, 2

VEGETIVS.
per-parum,[3] 4, 4, 9

HIERONYMVS.
per-litteratus, *Ep.* 52, 8

AVGVSTINVS.
per-fatuus,[4] *c. Duas Epp. Pelag.* 2, 4, 7
-feruens, *in Ps.* 147, 2
-mirabilis, *de Gen. ad Litt.* 1 10
-probabilis, *Music.* 1, 6, *no.* 12

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
per-sequax, *Ep.* 4, 9, 4

§ 64. ADJECTIVES COMPOUNDED WITH **sub-**: A close analogy exists between the superlatives in **per-**, and the opposite formations in **sub-**, which have a diminutive force. Like the preceding, these compounds have been sometimes assigned to the *sermo plebeius*, although on no stronger grounds. They are numerically less than the forms in **per-**, but the proportion in good Latin is large enough to justify the view that these also belong mainly to the *sermo cotidianus*.[5] Cic. has only 8

[1] *adu.* — Augustin. [2] Vulg.; Eccl. [3] Augustin. [4] Innoc. Pap.

[5] *Conf.* Thielmann, Cornif. Rhet., p. 15, "uocabula in hunc modum composita prope ad nominum deminutiuorum accedunt significationem; quorum usus cum late patuerit in sermone uulgari, illa quoque uerba copulata in sermone cotidiano non minus saepe usurpata esse probatur," citing Stuenkel, p. 74, Stinner, p. 13, Wölfflin, Philol. 34, p. 163; *conf.* Schulze, Diss. Hal., VI., p. 216, "in sermone cotidiano et prioris et posterioris aetatis admodum adamabantur," citing further Lorenz ad Plaut. Pseud. 401; 1201; Wölfflin, Cass. Fel., p. 407.

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new forms in the *Epistt.*, and in his other writings the following 14:

sub-absurdus,	sub-difficilis,	sub-rancidus,
-agrestis,	-insulsus,	-ridicule,
-amarus,	-obscenus,	-rusticus,
*-arroganter,	-obscurus,	*-turpis.
-crispus,	*-par,	

Like all forms with diminutive force, adjectives in **sub-** seem to have been popular in African Latin; Wölfflin notes their prevalence in Cass. Fel., but fails to find any instance of the corresponding formations in **per-**.[1] They are comparatively rare in Silver Latin, except in Cels., who adds 15; this again stamps these forms as colloquial rather than vulgar.

These compounds must be carefully distinguished from the other class in **sub-**, where the preposition has a local force, such as *subdialis*, Plin., *subcaelestis*, Tert.[2] The latter are rare, and have no special bearing upon the present subject.

PLAVTVS.
sub-aquilus,[3] *Rud.* 423
-crotillus,[4] *ap. Fest.* 301 *M.*
-merus, *Stich.* 273
-niger,[5] *Pseud.* 1218
-rufus,[6] *Capt.* 648
-uulturius, *Rud.* 423

CATO.
sub-acidus,[7] *R. R.* 108, 2
-crudus,[8] *Id.* 156, 7
-stillus,[9] *Id. ib.*

TERENTIVS.
sub-tristis,[10] *Andr.* 447

VARRO.
sub-paetulus, *Sat. Men.* 375
-simus,[11] *R. R.* 2, 5, 7
-tenuis, *Id.* 2, 7, 5

CICERO (EPISTT.).
sub-comtumeliose, *ad Att.* 2, 7, 3
*-debilitatus, *Id.* 11, 5, 1
-grandis, *ad Qu. Fr.* 3, 1, 1, 2
-impudens, *ad Fam.* 7, 17, 1
-inanis, *ad Att.* 2, 17, 2
-molestus, *Id.* 16, 4, 4
-odiosus, *Id.* 1, 5, 4
-turpiculus, *Id.* 4, 5, 1

CELSVS.
sub-albidus,[12] 5, 28, 8
-asper, 5, 28, 19
-austerus,[13] 3, 6; *al.*
-caeruleus, 6, 5 *extr.*
-cruentus, 4, 18; *al.*
-humidus, 3, 6
-liuidus,[14] 3, 28, 1; *al.*
-pallidus, 5, 26, 20; *al.*
-pinguis,[15] 6, 4

[1] Wölfflin, *l. l.* [2] *Conf.* Goelzer, p. 167.
[3] Treb. Poll. [4] Afran. Com.; Titin. Com. [5] Varr.; Cels. [6] Vitr.; Plin.; Vulg.
[7] Plin. [8] Cels. [9] *subst.* — Tert. [10] Cypr. Ep.; Amm.; Hier. Ep. [11] Gloss. Labb.
[12] Plin.; Cael. Aur.; Cass. Fel.; *Isid. [13] Dynam. [14] Donat. ad Ter. [15] Th. Prisc.

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sub-rotundus, 5, 28, 14
-ruber, 5, 28, 5
-rubicundus,[1] 5, 28, 4
-salsus,[2] 5, 12
-similis,[3] 5, 26, 20
-uiridis,[4] 5, 28, 13

COLVMELLA.
sub-rectus,[5] *Arb.* 4, 1

PETRONIVS.
sub-auratus,[6] 32, 3

PLINIVS.
sub-breuis, 21, 43
-candidus, 27, 120; *al.*
-dulcis,[7] 26, 58; *al.*
-riguus, 17, 128
-rutilus,[8] 10, 8

GELLIVS.
sub-argutulus, 15, 30, 1
-frigide,[9] 2, 9, 4

APVLEIVS.
suf-fusculus,[10] *Met.* 2, 13
-lucidus,[11] *Id.* 6, 3
-luteus,[12] *Flor.* 12, *p.* 14, 12 *Kr.*

TERTVLLIANVS.
suf-fermentatus, *adu. Valent.* 17
-limus, *Pall.* 4

SPARTIANVS.
sub-balbe, *Get.* 5, 1

CAPITOLINVS.
sub-crassulus, *Gord.* 6, 1

LAMPRIDIVS.
sub-sericus,[13] *Heliog.* 23, 1

AVCT. ITIN. ALEX.
sub-aquilinus, 6, (15)

AMMIANVS.
sub-curuus, 26, 9, 11
-maestus, 30, 8, 11; *al.*
-scruposus, 21, 16, 3
-tabidus, 26, 6, 15

COMMODIANVS.
sub-tutus, *Instr.* 1, 30, 18

CASSIVS FELIX.
sub-acer,[14] 67, *p.* 164, 20
-longus, 48, *p.* 127, 15

VENANTIVS FORTVNATVS.
sub-occulte, *Vit. S. Radeg.* 4

ISIDORVS.
*sub-albulus, 12, 1, 50 *ed. Otto.*
-coloratus, 6, 10, 3

§ 65. VERBS COMPOUNDED WITH **ad-**: Of the prepositional verbs, those compounded with **ad-**, **con-**, **de-**, have been most frequently associated with the *sermo plebeius*, owing to their marked tendency to sink to the level of the simple verb.[15] In

[1] Sen. [2] Plin. [3] Vlp. Dig. [4] Plin.; Scribon. [5] Gromat. Vet. [6] Schol. Iuuen.; Inscrr. [7] Augustin.; Marc. Emp. [8] Suet. [9] *adi.* — Amm. [10] Amm. [11] Amm.; Cassiod. [12] Arnob. [13] Gallien. ap. Treb. Poll.; Vopisc. [14] Isid.

[15] Rebling, p. 29; Schmilinsky, p. 40; Wölfflin, Philol. 34, p. 157; Guericke, p. 38; Stuenkel, p. 70; Köhler, p. 15; Thielmann, Cornif. Rhet., p. 5; Landgraf, Cic. Epp., p. 276; Schulze, Diss. Hal., VI., p. 202 sq.; W. Meyer, in Gröbers Grundriss, I., p. 374, "die verbalpräfixe, namentlich ad, de, cum, verblassen, wie schon Bell. Afr. u. a. zeigen; im Ganzen gehört ad Spanien, cum Italien und Gallien an."

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the case of **ad-** this weakening began at an early period, as is evidenced not only by the usage of Plaut.[1] and other plebeian writers, but by the occurrence in Plin. of the reduplicated form *ad-al-ligare*, the earliest undoubted instance of such reduplication of a preposition found in the language. But aside from such weakening of the prefix, these verbs are far more numerous in the *sermo plebeius* than in classical Latin. Like all prepositional verbs, excepting those in **super-**, **subter-**, they were most abundant in the earlier period of the language.[2] According to Paucker's computation, the entire number in the language is not less than 402,[3] and of these more than two-thirds are *uett.*, while among the later formations those from denominatives largely preponderate. Paucker's list of prepositional verbs, which excludes compounds of denominatives and intensives, shows only 26 in **ad-** from post-Hadrian literature. The prevalence of all classes of verbs in **ad-**, in the early period, is also indicated by the large number which had become fixed in the language prior to the classic age. I have found not less than 140 of these verbs in Cic. alone, the great majority of which already occur in Plaut., or other early authors. That they continued to flourish in the *sermo plebeius* throughout the whole extent of the language is shown not only by the accompanying list, but by the usage of the Romance languages, in which the fertility of the prefix has continued undiminished. As already stated, the formations in later Latin were chiefly denominative, and in this respect point the way to the prevailing modern method of forming the compound verb directly from preposition and substantive, without the intervention of the uncompounded denominative verb:[4] thus from *ad* and *ripa* come **Ital.** *arrivare*, **Fr.** *arriver*, **Span., Port.** *arribar*. This class of formations is remarkably large, with the single exception of **Ruman.**: Meyer-Lübke cites among others: **Ital.** *abballare, abbellire, aggrandire, arrosire;* **Fr.** *acclimater, affamer, amasser*, **Span.** *abalsamar, aclarar, agravar*, etc. That the prefix was a favorite one in the Romance languages is further indicated by its frequent substitution for

[1] Lorenz, Einleit. ad Pseud., p. 38, Annot., "Auch ad diente ursprünglich in der Umgangssprache zur Verstärkung, erscheint aber in den Beispielen der Palliaten meistens entwerthet." [2] Paucker, Materialien, I., p. 21. [3] Paucker, *l. l.*, p. 22. [4] Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr., II., p. 621.

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ex-: e. g. for *exspectare*; **Ruman.** *asteptá*, **Ital.** *aspettare*; for *elegere*; **Ruman.** *alege*, **O. Ital.** *allegere*, etc.[1]

LIVIVS ANDRONICVS.
ac-cantitare, *Tr.* 9

NAEVIVS.
an-nictare, *Com.* 76
-nutare,[2] *Id.* 76; *al.*

PLAVTVS.
ad-ambulare,[3] *Bacch.* 768
-bibere,[4] *Stich.* 382; *al.*
-bitere,[5] *Capt.* 604
-ceptitare, *ap. Non.* 134, 29
-ciere,[6] *Mil.* 935
-credere,[7] *Asin.* 627
-cubitare, *Most.* 713
-cudere, *Merc.* 432
-decere,[8] *Rud.* 1391; *al.*
-esurire, *Trin.* 169; *al.*
-flere,[9] *Pers.* 152; *al.*
-formidare, *Bacch.* 1078
-glutinare,[10] *Aul.* 801; *al.*
-latrare,[11] *Poen.* 1234; *al.*
-laudare, *Merc.* 85
-lubescere,[12] *Mil.* 1004
-lucere,[13] *Pers.* 515
-ludiare, *Stich.* 382; *al.*
-migrare, *Pers.* 347
-moderari, *Mil.* 1073
-moenire, *Pseud.* 384
-moliri,[14] *Asin.* 570
-mordere,[15] *Pers.* 267; *al.*
-mutilare, *Mil.* 768; *al.*
*ad-olere,[16] *Cas.* 236 *Codd.*
-plaudere,[17] *Pseud.* 1334
-radere,[18] *Fr.* 94
-stituere,[19] *Capt.* 846
-tigere,[20] *Bacch.* 445
-trepidare, *Poen.* 544

ENNIVS.
ad-itare,[21] *Tr.* 433

CATO.
ad-aggerare,[22] *R. R.* 94
-arescere, *Id.* 98
-cessitare, *Origg.* 1, *Fr.* 20
-indere, *R. R.* 18, 1
-serere,[23] (*-seui*) *Id.* 32

PACVVIVS.
ag-grauescere,[24] *Tr.* 69
-iugare,[25] *Id.* 93; *al.*
-tulere,[26] *Id.* 228

TERENTIVS.
ap-poscere,[27] *Haut.* 838

ACCIVS.
ad-auctare, *Tr.* 14
-petissere, *Id.* 160

VARRO.
af-friare, *R. R.* 1, 57, 1
-ruere, *Id.* 1, 35, 1

[1] Meyer-Lübke, *l. l.*
[2] Plaut.; Apul. [3] Apul. [4] Ter.; Hor. Ep.; Ou.; Gell.; Sidon. [5] Placid. Gloss. [6] *Id. ap.* Diom. 366, 33; *conf. contra*, Fleckeisen, Lorenz, and Brix. [7] Lucr.; Nep.; Cic. Ep.; Hor. Ep.; Col. [8] Enn.; Publ. Syr.; Sen. Poet. [9] Hor. Ars Poet. [10] Cic. Ep.; Vitr.; Cels.; Plin.; Nazar. Pan.; Vulg. [11] Hor. Sat.; Liu.; Col.; Plin.; Sil.; Quint.; Mart.; Aur. Vict. [12] Paul. ex Fest.; Apul.; Mart. Cap. [13] Sen. Ep.; Suet.; Augustin. [14] Curt.; Apul. [15] Verg. Ge.; Prop. [16] Enn.; Lucr.; Val. Antias; Verg.; Ou.; Col.; Tac.; Apul. [17] Ou.; Tibull.; Nemes.; Apul.; Lampr.; Hyg.; Vulg. [18] Hor.; Col.; Plin. Ep. [19] Acc. Fr.; Apul. [20] Pacuu.; Turpil.; Ter.; Acc.; Varr.; Col. [21] Col. [22] Col.; Plin. [23] Varr.; Catull.; Hor. Ep.; ICt. [24] Ter. [25] Col.; Plin.; Lact. [26] Nou. Com. [27] Hor. Ep.

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ad-significare,[1] *Id.* 2, 11, 10; *al.*
-sudescere, *L. L.* 5, 109
-tueri, *Id.* 7, 7
-uenerari,[2] *R. R.* 1, 1, 6

LVCRETIVS.
ad-augescere,[3] 2, 296
-opinari, 4, 813
-parere, 2, 1110
-sugere,[4] 4, 1186

HORATIVS.
ad-docere, *Ep.* 1, 5, 18

VITRVVIVS.
at-temperare,[5] 10, 7

COLVMELLA.
al-lēuare, 3, 15, 3; *al.*
-siccescere, 12, 9, 1

PHAEDRVS.
ad-testari,[6] 1, 10, 3

PETRONIVS.
ad-cognoscere,[7] 69

PLINIVS.
ad-alligare, 17, 211; *al.*
-aquare,[8] 17, 64
-densare, 20, 234
*-diuinare, 35, 88
-fodere, 2, 174
-halare, 22, 95
-nauigare,[9] 36, 76; *al.*
-nutrire, 17, 202
-spuere, 28, 39
-subrigere, 9, 88
-tumulare,[10] 9, 14
*-uolitare,[11] *p. pr. a.*, 11, 65

GELLIVS.
af-figurare, 4, 9, 12

APVLEIVS.
ad-blaterare, *Met.* 9, 10
-luctari, *Id.* 10, 17; *al.*
-pronare, *Id.* 1, 19
-scalpere, *Id.* 6, 9
-suspirare, *Id.* 4, 25; *al.*
-tolerare, *Id.* 2, 4

MINVCIVS FELIX.
ad-strangulare, 30, 2

TERTVLLIANVS.
ag-generare, *adu. Marc.* 4, 19
-geniculari,[12] *de Poen.* 9
-inuenire,[13] *adu. Gnost.* 1
-postulare, *de Monog.* 10
-pretiare,[14] *Res. Carn.* 20
-proximare,[15] *adu. Iud.* 11
-relinquere, *Id.* 1
-senescere, *Exhort. ad Cast.* 13
-solare, *Apol.* 15; *al.*

SOLINVS.
ac-corporare,[16] 37, 8
-operari, 2, 26
-pectorare, 26, 5

ARNOBIVS.
at-terminare, 3, 13

PALLADIVS.
ad-mulcere, 4, 12, 2

AVCT. ITIN. ALEX.
ap-pascere, 75 *M.*

[1] Non.; Vell. Long. [2] Sil.; Auson.; *uerb. act.* — Apul. [3] Cic., *semel*, (Poet. de Diu. 1, 13.) [4] Cael. Aur. [5] Sen. Ep. [6] Sen.; Plin.; Paul. ex Fest.; Gell.; Cael. Aur.; *uerb. pass.*, Paul. Patroc.; Ambros. [7] Quint. [8] Suet.; Cypr.; Vulg.; Augustin. [9] Vulg. [10] Ambros. [11] Prud. [12] Vulg. [13] Vulg.; Seru. ad Verg.; Inscrr. [14] Hier.; Vulg. [15] Cyprian.; Ambros.; Vulg. [16] Paulin. in Augustin. Ep.; Amm.; Cod. Theod.

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VEGETIVS.
as-sellari,[1] *Vet.* 1, 50; *al.*
-tinguere, *Id.* 1, 11, 7
-tundere, *Id.* 5, 2, 4

AMBROSIVS.
ap-propiare,[2]

HIERONYMVS.
an-nihilare,[3] *Ep.* 106, 57

AVGVSTINVS.
af-fabricare, *p. p. p., de Music.* 6, 7
-fauere, *Serm.* 312, 2
-inflare, *Ciu. Dei* 19, 23, 1

MARCELLVS EMPIRICVS.
al-lactare, 8

MARTIANVS CAPELLA.
ag-garrire, 1, 2

CASSIVS FELIX.
ad-dulcare, 6, *p.* 13; *al.*

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
ad-dormire,[4] *Acut.* 1, 11, 83
-escare, *Id.* 1, 11, 95
-pendere,[5] *Id.* 2, 38, 222
-propriare, *Chron.* 4, 3, 22

BOETHIVS.
ad-inuestigare, *Art. Geom. p.* 400, 1 *Fr.*

ANTHIMVS.
ad-mollire, 86

§ 66. VERBS COMPOUNDED WITH **con-**: These verbs form the most numerous class of compound verbs in Latin. According to Paucker[6] the language possesses 668, yet here again we find that the great majority belong to the older period. Cic. uses not less than 225, of which a list is here given, to show how large a portion occur in earlier authors, notably in Plaut.:

co-aceruare, et Caes.,
-ascescere, (Varr.),
-aedificare,
-aequare, (Cato),
-agmentare,
-angustare, (*Varr.),
-arguere,
-artare,
-bibere, (Cato),
-burere, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-calefacere, (Varr.),
-calescere, (Plaut.),
-callescere,

con-cedere, (Plaut.),
-celebrare, (Plaut.),
-cerpere,
-certare, et Caes.,
-cĭdere, (Lucr.),
-cĭdere, (Plaut.),
-cipere, (Cato),
-citare, et Caes., (Lucr.),
-cludere, (Plaut.),
-coquere, (Cato),
-credere, (Plaut.),
-crescere, (Lucr.),
-culcare, (Cato),

con-cumbere, (Ter.),
-cupiscere,
-currere, et Caes., (Cato),
-cursare, (Lucr.),
-cutere, (Ter.),
-demnare, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-dere, (Plaut.),
-dicere, (Plaut.),
-discere, (Plaut.),
-docefacere,
-dolescere, (Plaut.),
-donare, (Plaut.),

[1] Plin. Val. [2] Lucif. Cal.; Sulp. Seu. [3] Cassiod.; Iordan.; Gloss. Labb.; Augustin. [4] Eccl. [5] Ps.-Apic.; Metrol. Script., p. 114, 5.
[6] Paucker, Materialien, I., p. 22.

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con-ducere, (Plaut.),
-edere, (Plaut.),
-emere, et Caes., (Ter.),
-ercere, (Varr.),
-fercire, et Caes., (Varr.),
-ferre, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-ficere, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-fidere, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-figere, et Caes., (Cato),
-fingere, (Plaut.),
-firmare, et Caes.,
-fiteri, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-flagrare,
-flare, (Ter.),
-fligere, et Caes., (Lucr.),
-fluere, (Lucr.),
-fodere, (Plaut.),
-formare,
-fricare, (*Plaut.),
-fringere, (Plaut.),
-fugere, et Caes., (Ter.),
-fundere, (Plaut.),
-futare, (Plaut.),
-gelare, (Varr.),
-gemere, (Lucr.),
-gerere, (Plaut.),
-glaciare,
-globare, (Varr.),
-glutinare, (Plaut.),
-gredi, (Plaut.),
-gregare,
-gruere, (Ter.),
-haerere, (Ter.),
-haerescere,
-hibere, (Plaut.),

co-honestare,
-horrescere,
-hortari, et Caes.,
-icere, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-ire, et Caes., (Ter.),
-iugare,
-iungere, et Caes., (Cato),
-iurare, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-lacrimare, (Plaut.),
-laudare, (Plaut.),
-libere, (Plaut.),
-lidere, (Lucr.),
-ligare, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-ligere, (Plaut.),
-lineare,
-liquefieri, *p. p. p.*, (Varr.),
-locare, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-loqui, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-lucere,
-ludere,
-lustrare,
-maculare,
-meare, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-meminisse, (Plaut.),
-memorare, (Plaut.),
-mendare, et Caes., (Ter.),
-merere, (Plaut.),
-metiri, (Plaut.),
-migrare, (Plaut.),
-minisci, (Plaut.),
-minuere, (Plaut.),
-miscere, (Cato),
-miserari,

com-mittere, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-monere, (Plaut.),
-monstrare, (Plaut.),
-morari, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-mouere, (Plaut.),
-munire, et Caes.,
-murmurari, (Varr.),
-mutare, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-nectere, (Plaut.),
-niti, (Plaut.),
-operire, (Plaut.),
-optare,
-oriri, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-parare, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-parere, (Plaut.),
-pascere, (Varr.),
-pellare, (Plaut.),
-pellere, (Plaut.),
-pensare, (Cato),
-perire, et Caes., (Ter.),
-pilare, (Plaut.),
-pingere, (Plaut.),
-planare, (Cato),
-plecti, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-plere, (Plaut.),
-plicare, (Plaut.),
-plorare,
-ponere, (Cato),
-portare, et Caes.,
-prehendere, et Caes., (Ter.),
-primere, (Plaut.),
-probare, (Plaut.),
-promittere,
-pungere, (Lucr.),
-putare, (Plaut.),

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con-quassare, (Cato),
-queri, (Plaut.),
-quiescere, (Plaut.),
-quirere, et Caes.,
-repere, (Plaut.),
-rigare, (Plaut.),
-ripere, (Varr.),
-roborare,
-rodere,
-rogare, et Caes., (Cornif. Rhet.),
-ruere, (Plaut.),
-rumpere, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-saepire, (*Enn.),
-salutare,
-sanescere,
-scendere, (Afran.),
-scindere, (Plaut.),
-sciscere, (Plaut.),
-scribere, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-secrare,
-sectari, (Plaut.),
-senescere, (Plaut.),
-sentire, (Lucr.),
-sequi, (Plaut.),
-serere, serui, et Caes., (Enn.),
-serere, seui, (Plaut.),
-seruare, (Ter.),
-siderare, (Ter.),
-sidere, (Plaut.),
-signare, (Plaut.),

con-sistere, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-sociare, (Plaut.),
-solari, et Caes., (Ter.),
-sopire, (Lucr.),
-spergere, (Plaut.),
-spicere, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-spirare, et Caes.,
-sputare,
-stare, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-sternere, et Caes., (Cato),
-stipare, et Caes.,
-stituere, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-stringere, (Plaut.),
-struere, (Sisenn.),
-stuprare,
-suescere, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-sultare, (Plaut.),
-sumere, (Ter.),
-surgere, et Caes., (Lucr.),
-tabescere, (Plaut.),
-taminare, (Ter.),
-tegere, et Caes., (Ter.),
-temnere, (Ter.),
-templari, (Plaut.),
-tendere, et Caes., (Enn.),
-terere, (Plaut.),

con-terrere, (*Lucr.),
-testari, et Caes.,
-texere, et Caes., (Lucr.),
-ticescere, (Plaut.),
-tinere, et Caes., (Ter.),
-tingere, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-trahere, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-tremiscere,
-trucidare,
-trudere, (Varr.),
-torquere, (Lucr.),
-tueri, (Plaut.),
-tundere, (Plaut.),
-turbare, (Plaut.),
-ualescere,
-uehere, (Varr.),
-uellere, et Caes., (Cato),
-uenire, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-uerrere, (Plaut.),
-uersare,
-uertare, et Caes., (Plaut.),
-uestire, (Enn.),
-uincere, (Plaut.),
-uisere, (Lucr.),
-uocare, et Caes, (Plaut.),
-uolare, (*Ter.),
-uoluere, et Caes.,
-uomere,

The preceding list affords a good illustration of the reluctance shown by classic writers to add to the already large number of compound verbs. As has been intimated, the chief fertility of these forms belongs to early Latin: compounds with **con-** especially, both nominal and verbal, abound in all the pre-classical writers; their prevalence in early Comedy

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was noticed by Lorenz,[1] who points out the large number of ἅπαξ λεγ. and other rare forms apparently coined by Plaut. without regard for the meaning, but solely for the sake of assonance; compare *compsissume confido confuturum, Mil.* 941; *concastigabo pro commerita noxia, Trin.* 26; *congerrones consulto consilio, Truc.* 101; *ne quid tecum consilii commisceam, Mil.* 478; etc. A fondness for this same form of assonance is seen in the archaist Gell., and is doubtless due largely to a conscious imitation of early writers; compare *concentu conspiratuque, Noct. Att.* 1, 11, 8; *constantiam confidentiamque, Id.* 1, 19, 8; *cognatae coniunctaeque, Id.* 2, 4, 6; *comparo et contendo, Id.* 2, 23, 22; *congrediuntur et consistunt et conserebantur*, 9, 11, 6, and so *passim.* This tendency of Gell., however, may also be regarded as one of the many evidences of his African origin, for while compounds in **con-** are recognized as prevalent throughout the *sermo plebeius,*[2] they are in later Latin especially characteristic of the *sermo Africus,*[3] which is confessedly more archaic than the dialects of the other provinces. They are most numerous in Tert. and in his imitator, the Sardinian bishop Lucif. Calar., whose Latinity shows many analogies with the African writers.[4] The latter, especially in his denunciation of Constantius and the followers of the Arian heresy, is fond of using such invectives as *conblasphemus, condesperatus, condetestabilis, cohaereticus, coinmundus, comperfidus, consacrilegus, consceleratus, conspurcatus, contyrranus,* etc., in which the preposition is used rather for the sake of giving the epithets a weightier sound, than for any additional meaning contained in

[1] Lorenz ad Plaut. Pseud., Einleit. p. 88, "Ueberhaupt sind Zusammensetzungen mit *con* sehr beliebt in der ganzen älteren komischen Poesie und müssen also in der damaligen römischen Volkssprache überaus häufig gewesen sein, wofür auch die fast überall stattfindende Verblassung der Bedeutung der Präposition spricht; das Compositum ist = das Simplex, verdrängt auch öfter dasselbe . . . Nicht wenige unter folgenden, nur bei ihm vorkommenden, Composita scheint Plautus aufgenommen oder neugebildet zu haben dem Buchstaben- und Silbenreime zu Liebe." [2] *Conf.* authorities cited *supra*, § 65, p. 258, *not.* 15. [3] B. Kübler, ALL. VIII., p. 202, cites "competens, concurialis, congentilis, und andere Bildungen mit con," among "eine Reihe von Wörtern, die wirklich in Afrika besonders gebräuchlich gewesen zu sein scheinen;" *conf.* P. Thielmann, ALL. VIII., p. 523, "Besonders Reichthum zeigt Afrika an Kompositis mit *cum*, in denen die Präposition ihre Bedeutung bewahrt: . . . in andern Zusammensetzungen . . . ist zwar die Bedeutung in Schwinde." [4] W. Hartel, ALL. III., p. 3, "Lucifer zeigt, wie es scheint, grössere Belesenheit nur in den Werken der Afrikaner, unzweifelhaft in Tertullian und Cyprian, deren Sprache er redet."

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it.[1] W. Hartel, in his interesting study of the style of Lucif. Calar.,[2] regards this fondness for compounds in **con-** as one of his direct imitations of Tert., and cites from the latter a long array of examples, such as *coadulescere, coaetaneus, coaeternus, coangustare, coinquinare, collactaneus, commiser, compar, compassio, compinguescere, compossessor, concarnare, confermentare, conspurcare, constuprare,* etc. It is not improbable, however, that the *sermo plebeius* had retained in Sardinia, to the same extent as in the African provinces, its original fondness for these compounds: the connection between African and Campanian Latin has often been noticed,[3] and modern philology shows that a close relationship must have existed between the Sardinian Latin and that of Southern Italy. Furthermore, Sardinia, having been acquired at an early date, naturally retained a larger proportion of archaisms than the provinces which were added later,[4] a presumption corroborated by numerous points in which the modern dialects of Sardinia differ from the other Romance languages. In connection with verbs in **con-**, it is interesting to observe that Sardinia from its geographical position forms a connecting link between the language of Italy and Spain, and that Ital. on the one hand, and Span.-Port. on the other are the only modern branches in which composition with **con-** has survived.[5]

NAEVIVS.
con-cipilare,[6] *ap. Paul. ex Fest.* 62, 6
-fictare, *ap. Varr. L. L.* 7, 107
-spondere,[7] *Com. Fab. Inc. XXVI.*

PLAVTVS.
*-co-addere,[8] *Cas.* 518
-calere, *Pers.* 88
con-castigare,[9] *Bacch.* 497
-centuriare, *Pseud.* 572; *al.*
-cessare,[10] *Asin.* 290
-clamitare, *Merc.* 47
-comitari,[11] *p. p. p., Mil.* 1108
-criminari, *Id.* 242
-curare, *Bacch.* 131
-custodire,[12] *Aul.* 724
-decere,[13] *Amph.* 722; *al.*

[1] Hartel, *l. l.*, p. 16, "Es scheint ihm bei diesen Bildungen, . . . nicht so sehr um einen präcisen Ausdruck des Verhältnisses der Gemeinsamkeit zu thun, als um den gewichtiger in das Ohr fallenden Klang." [2] Hartel, *l. l.* [3] Ph. Thielmann, ALL. VIII., p. 244; *conf. supra*, § 31, p. 123. [4] *Conf.* Stolz, Historiche Grammatik, I., p. 24. [5] Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr., II., p. 622, "Con ist nur im Italienischen und Spanisch-Portugiesischen produktiv geblieben, während die anderen Sprachen zwar eine Anzahl der lateinischen Bildungen bewahrt aber keine neuen geschaffen haben."

[6] Plaut.; *Apul. [7] SC. de Bacch.; Apul.; Vulg.; Auson. [8] Cato R. R. [9] M. Aurel. ap. Fronton. [10] Fronto; Tert. [11] Ven. Fort. [12] Inscrr. [13] Turpil. Com.; Pompon. Com.; Anthol. Epigr. Spec.; Vulg.

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con-decorare,[1] *Capt.* 878
-docere,[2] *p. p. p.*, *Poen.* 580
-dormiscere,[3] *Curc.* 360; *al.*
-duplicare,[4] *Pseud.* 1261
-fabulari,[5] *Merc.* 571; *al.*
-fore,[6] *Mil.* 941
-fulgere,[7] *Amph.* 1067
-geminare,[8] *Id.* 786
-gliscere, *Trin.* 678
-graecare, *Bacch.* 743
-gratulari,[9] *Men.* 132
-labascere, *Stich.* 522
-linere,[10] *Most.* 291
-lutulentare, *Trin.* 693
-mercari,[11] *Capt.* 27
-mereri,[12] *Aul.* 738
-metare,[13] (*meo*), *Capt.* 185
-metare, *Men.* 1019
-mingere,[14] *Pers.* 407
-minari,[15] *Aul.* 417
-pacisci,[16] *Pseud.* 543[a]; *al.*
-percere,[17] (*parcere*), *Poen.* 350
-placere,[18] *Rud.* 727; *al.*
-precari,[19] *Amph.* 740; *al.*
-quiniscere,[20] *Cist.* 657
-radere,[21] *Poen.* 1363
-scindere,[22] *Truc.* 52
-screari, *Pers.* 308
-silescere,[23] *Mil.* 583
-somniare, *Most.* 757
-spuere,[24] *Curc.* 503

con-stabilire,[25] *Capt.* 453
-suadere, *Merc.* 143; *al.*
-sudare,[26] *Pseud.* 666
-suere,[27] *Amph.* 368; *al.*
-tabefacere, *Pseud.* 21
-technari, *Id.* 1096
-tollere, *Aul.* 814
-tonare, *Amph.* 1094
-truncare,[28] *Bacch.* 975
-uadari, *Curc.* 162

ENNIVS.
con-cupere,[29] *Ann.* 80
-glomerare,[30] *Tr.* 408
-miserescere,[31] *Id.* 222

CATO.
con-deliquescere, *R. R.* 23, 3
-depsere,[32] *Id.* 40, 2; *al.*
-friare,[33] *Id.* 7, 5
-futare, (*fuo*), *ap. Paul. ex Fest.* 89, 3
-librare, *R. R*, 19, 2
-lucare,[34] *Id.* 139
-luere,[35] *Id.* 100
-madere, *Id.* 165, 5
-sarrire,[36] *Id.* 48, 1
-secere,[37] *Id.* 157
-sedare, *Oratt.* 1 *Fr.* 21

PACVVIVS.
con-tremere,[38] *Tr.* 413

[1] Enn.; Ter.; Vitr.; Sen.; Auct. Epigr. ap. Plin. [2] Augustin. [3] Gell. [4] Pacuu.; Ter.; Lucr.; Augustin. Ep.; Prisc. [5] Ter.; Varr. Fr.; Vulg. [6] Iuuenc.; Dict.; Symm.; Amm.; Cael. Aur.; Iulian. ap. Augustin. [7] Cinna ap. Isid. 19, 2. [8] Verg.; Apul. [9] Porc. Latro Decl. in Cat.; Liu.; Gell.; Vulg. [10] Hor.; Ou.; Gell. [11] Sall.; Afran. Com. [12] Ter.; Gell.; Arnob.; *uerb. act.*—Cic., &c. [13] Afran. Com.; Nou. Com.; Ter. [14] Catull.; Hor. Sat.; Dosith. [15] Auct. B. Afr.; Liu.; Suet.; Fronto; Apul.; Vlp. Dig.; Paul. Dig.; ICt. [16] *conf.* Charis. 197, 8. [17] Ter.; Turpil.; Fronto; Paul. ex Fest.; Pacat. Pan.; Solin. [18] Ter.; Col.; Nemes. Cyn.; Gell.; Apul.; Vulg. [19] Pacuu.; Ter.; Catull.; Ou.; Sen.; Plin. Ep.; Mar. Victorin. [20] Pompon. Com.; *conf.* Prisc. 10, 17. [21] Ter.; Lucr.; ICt. [22] Ter.; Cic. Ep. [23] Enn.; Gell.; Hier. [24] Hor. Sat.; Iuuen.; Petr.; Fur. Bibac. ap. Quint.; Apul.; Lact.; Hier.; Vulg. [25] Ter.; Tert.; Vulg. [26] Cato R. R.; Col. [27] Varr.; Vitr.; Plin.; Vlp. Dig.; Ps.-Apic.; Hier. [28] Lampr.; Apul. [29] Capit.; Commodian. [30] Pacuu.; Lucr.; Cels. [31] Pacuu.; Turpil.; Ter. [32] Pompon. [33] Varr. R. R. [34] Col. [35] Ou.; Pers.; Plin.; Fronto; Pompon. Dig.; Ps.-Apic.; Cael. Aur. [36] Col. [37] Varr.; Ou.; Petr.; Plin. [38] Lucr.

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CAECILIVS.
com-moliri,[1] *Com.* 207

TERENTIVS.
*col-licere, *Hec.* 842 *Fl.*
-locupletare,[2] *Haut.* 258
-mitigare,[3] *Eun.* 1028
-mori,[4] *Ad. Prol.* 7
-suefacere,[5] *Id.* 414
-susurrere, *Haut.* 473
-uasare,[6] *Phorm.* 190

CASSIVS HEMINA.
com-putescere, *ap. Plin.* 13, 86

CAELIVS ANTIPATER.
con-genuclare,[7] *Hist.* 7, *Fr.* 44

ACCIVS.
co-inquinare,[8] *Tr.* 207

LVCILIVS.
com-manducari,[9] *Sat.* 4, 42; *al.*

AFRANIVS.
con-fouere,[10] *Com.* 144

NOVIVS.
con-quadruplare, *Com.* 63, 1

POMPONIVS.
con-forire, *Com.* 64

CLAVDIVS QVADRIGARIVS.
con-germanescere,[11] *Ann. Fr. Inc.* 93
-sermonari, *ap. Gell.* 17, 2, 17

VARRO.
con-densare,[12] *R. R.* 2, 3, 9
-fracescere, *Id.* 1, 13, 4
-gelare,[13] *Id.* 1, 2, 4
-liquescere,[14] *ap. Non.* 334, 27
-malaxare,[15] *Sat. Men.* 177
-pendere, *L. L.* 6, 183
-pluere,[16] *Id.* 5, 161
-quadrare,[17] *Sat. Men.* 96
-rixari, *Sent. No.* 47 *ed. Chap.*
-scribillare,[18] *Sat. Men.* 76
-tenebrascere,[19] *R. R.* 2, 2, 11

LVCRETIVS.
co-actare, 6, 1120 & 1159
-cruciare, 3, 148
-durare, 6, 668
-feruefacere, 6, 353
-fulcire, 2, 98
-laxari,[20] 6, 233
-meditari,[21] 6, 112
-putrescere,[22] 3, 343
*-spurcare,[23] 6, 22
-tingere, (*-tinguere*), 2, 755; *al.*

CICERO (Epistt.)
con-cerpere,[24] *ad Att.* 10, 12, 3
-sanescere,[25] *ad Fam.* 4, 6, 2
-sputare,[26] *ad Qu. Fr.* 2, 3, 2

LABERIVS.
con-curuare, *Com.* 118
-labellare, *Id.* 2

CATVLLVS.
con-futuere, 37, 5

[1] *Lucr.; Fauorin. ap. Gell. [2] Cornif. Rhet. [3] Augustin. [4] Sall.; Liu.; Val. Max.; Plin.; Flor.; Vulg. [5] Sall.; Varr.; Iul. Val. [6] Sidon. [7] Sisenn. [8] Col.; Val. Max.; Prud.; Arnob. [9] uerb. act. — Val. Max.; Plin.; Scrib.; Vulg. [10] Apul.; Hier.; Augustin.; Cod. Theod.; Isid.; Inscrr. [11] Apul. Met. [12] Auct. Bell. Afr.; Col.; *form -densere* — Lucr. [13] Cic. Ep.; Ou.; Vitr.; Col.; Plin.; Mart.; Scrib. [14] Col.; Fronto; Apul.; Boeth. [15] Pelag. Vet. [16] Solin.; Cypr.; Vulg.; Augustin. [17] Col.; Augustin.; Sidon. Ep. [18] Catull. [19] *form -tenebrescere* — Vulg.; Hier. [20] Cael. Aur. [21] Cornif. Rhet. [22] Cels.; Col.; Plin.; Cael. Aur. [23] Col.; Suet.; Tert. [24] Cael. ap. Cic. Ep.; Liu.; Plin.; Suet. [25] Cels.; Col. [26] Tert.

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AVCT. BELL. AFRIC.
con-uulnerare,[1] 5, 1; *al.*

HORATIVS.
con-feruescere,[2] *Sat.* 1, 2, 71
-rugare,[3] *Ep.* 1, 5, 23
-scire,[4] *Id.* 1, 1, 61

VITRVVIVS.
co-axare, 2, 8, 17; *al.*
-camerare,[5] 5, 11, 2
-crispare,[6] 4, 1, 7; *al.*
-fornicare, 5, 5, 2; *al.*
-solidare,[7] 2, 8, 7

CELSVS.
con-feruere,[8] 8, 10, 1

PHAEDRVS.
con-cacare,[9] 4, 18, 11

COLVMELLA.
co-aggerare,[10] 8, 6, 1
-figurare,[11] 4, 20, 1
*-frequentare,[12] 9, 13, 13
-maturescere, 12, 49, 7
-molere,[13] 12, 28, 1
-mundare,[14] 12, 18, 3
-sanare, 4, 24, 22; *al.*
-spissare,[15] 2, 17, 5; *al.*
-sudascere, 12, 48, 2

PETRONIVS.
com-pilare,[16] (= πιλέω), 62, 12
-spatiari, 7, 3

PLINIVS.
con-corporare,[17] 27, 112; *al.*
-ferruminare, 27, 69
-flectere, *p. p. p.*, 2, 115
-gignere,[18] *p. p. p.*, 11, 230; *al.*
-murmurare,[19] 10, 62
-purgare, 20, 127

FRONTO.
congarrire, *ad Amic.* 1, 12, *p.* 182, 3 *N.*
-stagnare, *p.* 2198 *P.*

GELLIVS.
con-celare, 11, 9, 2; *al.*
-creare,[20] 19, 5, *Lemm.*
-fabricari, 3, 19, 3
-flaccescere, 2, 30, 2
-gelascere,[21] 17, 8, *Lemm.*; *al.*
-germinare, 20, 8, 7
-misereri, 6, 5, 6; *al.*
-pauescere,[22] 1, 23, 9 *H.*
-pugnare,[23] 12, 5, 3; *al.*
-sarcinare,[24] 13, 25, 19
-sarcire,[25] 2, 23, 21 *H.*
-strepere,[26] 4, 1, 4
-uallare,[27] 12, 13, 20
-uelare,[28] 19, 9, 10; *al.*

APVLEIVS.
con-fluctuare, *Met.* 11, 3
-foedare, *Id.* 7, 28
-humidare, *Id.* 8, 9
-luminare,[29] *Deo Socr. p.* 45, 39
-masculare,[30] *Met.* 2, 23
-mentiri,[31] *Id.* 7

[1] Curt.; Cels.; Sen.; Plin. [2] Vitr.; Cels. [3] Col. [4] Tert.; Commodian. [5] Plin. [6] Amm. [7] Vulg.; Hier.; Augustin.; Ven. Fort.; ICt. [8] Pall. [9] Sen. Apoc.; Petr. [10] Seru. ad Verg. [11] Gell.; Tert.; Lact.; Vulg. [12] Prud.; Inscrr. [13] Hier.; Vulg.; Inscrr. [14] Vlp. Dig.; Iul. Obseq. [15] Plin.; Auct. de Diu. Fabr. Archit. 30, p. 312, 33 R. [16] Apul. Met. [17] Tert.; Amm.; Marc. Emp. [18] Eccl. [19] Sil.; *uerb. depon.* — Cic. *semel.*, (Pis. 61); Varr. Sat. Men. [20] Vulg.; *p. p. p.* — Claud. Mam. [21] Ambros.; Augustin.; Amm.; Macr. Sat. [22] Macr. Sat. [23] Veget.; Sulp. Seu. [24] Amm. [25] Intpr. Iren. [26] Apul. [27] Ps.-Tert.; Iul. Val.; *Amm. [28] Sulp. Seu. [29] Prud. [30] Macr. [31] Intpr. Iren.

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com-minare, *Id.* 7, 11
-mulcare,[1] *Id.* 8, 28
-partiri,[2] *Deo Socr. Prol.* p. 107, 7 *H.*
-pauire, *p. p. p.*, *Met.* 7, 21
-plexare,[3] *Id.* 10, 18
-ponderare,[4] *Ascl.* 22
-pulsare,[5] *Met.* 7, 21
-suauiare, *Id.* 16, 22
-temperare,[6] *Id.* 10
-uariare,[7] *Apol.* 50

TERTVLLIANVS.
co-adolescere,[8] *Anim.* 19, 16
-aetare, *Res. Carn.* 45
-carnare,[9] *Carn. Christ.* 20
-cinerare, *p. p. p.*, *Pudic.* 13
-dolere,[10] *Poen.* 10
-fermentare, *adu. Valent.* 13
-flabellare, *Spect.* 25
-gaudere,[11] *adu. Gnost.* 13
-gemiscere,[12] *Spect.* 13
-glorificare,[13] *Res. Carn.* 40
-laborare, [14] *Poen.* 10
-laetari,[15] *Idol.* 14
-nasci,[16] *adu. Valent.* 21
-pati,[17] *Res. Carn.* 40; *al.*
-pinguescere, *Anim.* 25
-pressare,[18] *Scorp.* 3
-recumbere, *Testim. Anim.* 4
-regnare,[19] *adu. Iud.* 8
-resuscitare,[20] *Res. Carn.* 23
-sepelire,[21] *Id.* 23; *al.*
-strictare, *adu. Marc.* 2, 16
-temporare, *Res. Carn.* 45
-tesserare, *adu. Haer.* 36
co-testificari, *Testim. Anim.* 1
-tribulare,[22] *adu. Iud.* 5
-uiscerare, *Carn. Christ.* 20
-uorare, *adu. Marc.* 1, 1

ARNOBIVS.
co-articulare, 1, 52
-ceptare,[23] 4, 21
-emendare, *p. p. p.*, 2, 18
-imbibere, 5, 30

CHALCIDIVS.
con-faecare, *p. p. p.*, *Tim.* 237
-uegetare, *Id.* 40 *A.*, 104, 297

IVLIVS VALERIVS.
con-splendescere, 2, 42
-uirescere, 3, 36

AMMIANVS.
con-cateruare, *p. p. p.*, 29, 5, 38; *al.*
-crustare, *p. p. p.*, 17, 7, 11
-marcere, 31, 12, 13
-marcescere, 17, 10, 1
-marginare, 31, 2, 2
*-togare, *p. p. p.*, 29, 2, 22
-torrere, 18, 7, 4
-turmare, 16, 12, 37

AMBROSIVS.
co-adorare,[24] *Spir. Sanct.* 3, 12
-crucifigere,[25] *Sacram.* 6, 2, 8
-descendere,[26] *Cant. Cantic.* 6, 9
-epulari, *Ep.* 19, 15
-macerare,[27] *in Luc.* 5, 6
-parturire, *de Hexaem.* 4, 8, 31; *al.*

[1] Gloss. Paris. [2] Vulg.; Augustin.; Gloss. Labb. [3] Coripp.; *uerb. depon.* — Vulg. Marc. 10, 16. [4] Pa.-Verg. ap. Class. Auct. 5, 85 sq. [5] Tert. [6] Apul.; Augustin.; Pa.-Apic.; Dracont.; Boeth.; Anthim. [7] Cael. Aur. [8] Eccl. [9] Veget. [10] Cypr. Ep.; Vulg.; Hier.; Augustin.; Iordan. [11] Alcim. Auit.; Cypr. Ep.; Iordan.; Greg. Tur. [12] Hier.; Augustin.; Cod. Theod. [13] Hier. [14] Vulg.; Hier. [15] Eccl. [16] Cassiod.; Inscrr. [17] Cypr.; Vulg.; Hier.; Augustin.; Sulp. Seu.; Cael. Aur.; Cass. Fel.; Alcim. Auit. [18] Porphyr. [19] Paul. Nol. [20] Vulg.; Hier. [21] Ambros.; Hier.; Hilar. [22] Hier.; Vulg.; Schol. German. Arat. [23] Amm. [24] Cod. Iust. [25] Sidon. [26] Cassiod. [27] Heges.; Marc. Emp.

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co-plantare,[1] *de Abrah.* 2, 11, 80; *al.*

HIERONYMVS.
co-adiuuare,[2] *Galat.* 6, 5
-aegrotare, *ad Iuuin.* 1, 47
-flere, *adu. Lucif.* 5
-spoliare, *Ep.* 93, 21 *extr.*

AVGVSTINVS.
con-cernere, *Conf.* 5, 10
-florere, *Id.* 4, 4
-gestare,[3] *de Peccat. Merit.* 1, 28

THEODORVS PRISCIANVS.
con-cingere, 4, 1
-frixare, 1, 6
-motare, 1, 8

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
con-crassare, *Chron.* 4, 3, 62
-flammare, *Id.* 4, 7, 98
-peccare, *Acut.* 2, 12, 84; *al.*
-saluare, *p. p. p.*, *Chron.* 4, 3, 39; *al.*
-terebrare, *Id.* 2, 3, 65
-tumescere, *Id.* 2, 4, 71
-uitiare, *Id.* 1, 4, 22

§ 67. VERBS COMPOUNDED WITH **de-**: The authorities on this class of verbs have already been cited, in the section on verbs compounded with **ad-**.[4] They occur in large numbers at all periods of the *sermo plebeius*, but as in the case of the prepositions already considered, the later compounds are chiefly denominative. This tendency has continued in the Romance languages, in which, with the exception of French, **de-** is actively employed in forming new verbs from substantives, but seldom enters into composition with existing verbs.[5]

NAEVIVS.
de-puuire,[6] *Com.* 134

PLAVTVS.
de-amare,[7] *Epid.* 219; *al.*
-artuare, *Capt.* 641; *al.*
-asciare,[8] *Mil.* 884
-blaterare,[9] *Aul.* 268
-charmidare, *Trin.* 977
-colare,[10] *Capt.* 497; *al.*
de-conciliare, *Fr. Fab. Inc.* 33
-crescere,[11] *Curc.* 219
-dolare,[12] *Men.* 859
-errare,[13] *Id.* 1113
-faecare,[14] *Aul.* 79; *al.*
-fieri,[15] *Men.* 221
-floccare, *Epid.* 616; *al.*
-gerere,[16] *Men.* 804; *al.*
-glubere,[17] *Poen.* 1312
-gunere,[18] *ap. Fest.* 71, 21

[1] Vulg. [2] Augustin.; Rustic. [3] Commodian.
[4] *Conf.* authorities cited *supra*, p. 258, *not.* 15. [5] Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Roman. Spr., II., p. 623.
[6] Lucil. Sat. [7] Afran.; Ter.; Laber. [8] Prud.; Inscrr. [9] Lucil. Sat.; Gell. [10] Varr. R. R. [11] Lucr.; *Cic., *semel*, (de Diu. 2, 14, 33); Hor.; Ou.; Cels.; Plin.; Stat.; Plin. Ep.; Sil.; Claud. [12] Col.; Plin.; Mart.; Apul.; Tert.; Hier. Ep. [13] Lucr.; Cornif. Rhet.; Cic., *semel*, (Fragm. ap. Lact. 624.); Auct. B. Afr.; Sall., *semel*; Verg.; Sen.; Col.; Vell.; Plin.; Quint.; Tac. [14] Col.; Plin.; Ambros.; Augustin.; Schol. Bern. ad Verg. Ge. [15] Enn. Tr.; Acc. Tr.; Verg.; Prop.; Liu.; Vitr.; Sen.; Auct. Priap.; Gell. [16] Cato R. R. [17] Varr. R. R.; Suet.; Auson.; Marc. Emp.; *form -glubare* — Tert.; Gloss. Labb. [18] Gloss. Labb.

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de-hibere, *Trin.* 426
-ierare,[1] *Rud.* 1336; *al.*
-iuuare, *Trin.* 344
*-lacerare, *Capt.* 672
-lassare,[2] *Asin.* 872
-lingere,[3] *Pers.* 430; *al.*
-liquare,[4] *Mil.* 853
-luctare, *Trin.* 839; *al.*
-ludificare, *Rud.* 147
-merere,[5] *Pseud.* 1186
(-mutare,[6] *Trin.* 73; *al.*)
-nasare, *Capt.* 604
-numerare,[7] *Asin.* 453; *al.*
-osculari,[8] *Cas.* 136
*-polire,[9] *Epid.* 93
-properare,[10] *Cas.* 745; *al.*
-pulsare, *Stich.* 286
-purgare,[11] *Id. ib.*
-putare,[12] (2) *Amph.* 158; *al.*
-runcinare, *Capt.* 641; *al.*
-siccare,[13] *Truc.* 585
-spuere,[14] *Asin.* 38
-squamare,[15] *Aul.* 398
-sudascere,[16] *Bacch.* 66
-terere,[17] *Merc.* 952
-tondere,[18] *Bacch.* 1128
-uellere,[19] *Poen.* 872
-ungere, *Pseud.* 222

ENNIVS.
de-grumare,[20] *Ann.* 430
-spernere,[21] *Id.* 213

CATO.
de-acinare, *p. p. p.*, *R. R.* 26
-ambulare,[22] *Id.* 127; *fin.*
-feruefacere,[23] *Id.* 157, 9
-fingere,[24] *Id.* 74; *al.*
-frutare,[25] *Id.* 24, 4
-haurire,[26] *Id.* 66
-lapidare,[27] *Id.* 46, 1
-lutare,[28] *Id.* 128
-plere,[29] *Id.* 64
-putare,[30] (1) *Id.* 49, 1; *al.*
-radere,[31] *Id.* 121
-suere, *Id.* 21, 3

PACVVIVS.
de-iugare, *Tr.* 110

CAECILIVS.
de-collare,[32] *Com.* 116
-integrare, *Id.* 255
-uomere, *Id.* 162

TERENTIVS.
de-bacchari,[33] *Adelph.* 185
-mulcere,[34] *Haut.* 762
*-munerari, *Id.* 300 *Fl.*
-narrare,[35] *Phorm.* 944
-uerberare, *Phorm.* 327

TITINIVS.
de-licere,[36] (*lacio*), *Com.* 190

[1] Ter.; Lucil.; Cornif. Rhet.; Nep.; Gell.; Tert.; Lact.; Mela; *ub. depon.* — Apul. Met. [2] Hor. Sat.; Mart. [3] Lucil.; Cels.; Tert.; Lampr. [4] Caecil.; Acc.; Titin.; Varr.; Cels.; Col. [5] Turpil.; Ou.; Sen.; Suet.; Gell.; *ub. depon.* — Liu.; Sen.; Col.; Quint.; Tac.; Plin. Ep.; Vell.; Tert. [6] Cato R. R.; Tac.; Gell.; Apul.; Iul. Val. [7] Pa.-Cypr. [8] Val. Max.; Apul. [9] Plin.; Pa.-Apic.; (Plant. Epid. 93, ed. Goetz — *dispoliet.*) [10] Hor., *semel*, (*Carm. 2, 7, 24); Sil.; Mart. [11] Cato; Vitr.; Col.; Cael. Aur.; Commodian. [12] Ou.; Col.; Glosa. Placid. [13] Apul. Herb.; Ser. Samm.; Gromat. Vet. [14] Varr.; Catull.; Liu.; Tibull.; Sen. Ep.; Pers.; Plin.; Gell.; Claud.; Mart. Cap. [15] Plin.; Lucil.; Apul. [16] Glosa. Labb. [17] Lucr.; Hor.; Prop.; Tibull.; Phaedr.; Sen.; Col.; Plin.; Quint.; Tac.; Gell. [18] Enn.; Cato; Lucil.; Ou.; Curt.; Sen.; Col.; Pers.; Plin. Ep.; Nemes.; Tert. [19] Catull.; Ou.; Suet.; Capit.; Pall. [20] Lucil. [21] Col. Poet. [22] Ter.; Suet.; Gell.; Vulg.; Augustin. [23] Varr. Fr.; Vitr.; Plin. [24] Hor. Sat. [25] Col. [26] Tert. [27] *Alto sensu* — Paul. ex Fest.; Gloss. Labb. [28] Dict. [29] Plin.; Stat.; Manil.; Pelag. Vet.; Veg. Vet. [30] Ou.; Col.; Placid. Gloss. [31] Plin. Ep.; Gell. [32] Lucil.; Fenestell. ap. Diom.; Sen. Apoc.; Petr.; Scrib.; Suet.; Vopisc.; Aur. Vict.; Schol. Iuuen. [33] Hor.; Capit.; Hier. [34] Liu.; Gell.; Lact. [35] Hor. Sat.; Gell. [36] Lucil.

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TVRPILIVS.
de-gulare,[1] *Com.* 217

CASSIVS HEMINA.
de-nasci,[2] *Ann.* 2 *Fr.* 24

LVCILIVS.
de-argentare,[3] *Sat.* 26, 71
-calauticare, *Id.* 26, 72
-pilare,[4] *Id.* 29, 40
-poculare, *Id.* 26, 71
-uerrere,[5] *Id.* 27, 58

AFRANIVS.
de-laborare, *Com.* 11

VARRO.
de-flare,[6] *R. R.* 1, 64, 1
-iungere,[7] *L. L.* 10, 3, 45
-nigrare,[8] *R. R.* 1, 55 *fin.*
-pinnare, *p. p. p.*, *ap. Fulg. Exp. Serm. Ant. No.* 12, *p.* 562, 12 *M.*
-plantare,[9] *R. R.* 1, 40, 4
-pontare, *Sat. Men.* 493
-repere,[10] *Id.* 115
-scobinare,[11] *Id.* 89
-serere, (*-situm*) *R. R.* 1, 23, 6
-subulare, *Sat. Men.* 483
-uirginare,[12] *Id.* 409

LVCRETIVS.
de-cellere, 2, 219
-pangere,[13] 2, 1087
-surgere,[14] 5, 701

CICERO (EPISTT.).
de-mitigare, *ad Att.* 1, 13, 3
-ruere,[15] *Id.* 16, 11, 2

LABERIVS.
de-pudicare, *Inc. Fab.* 17

AVCT. BELL. HISP.
de-postulare,[16] 1, 5

VITRVVIVS.
de-feruere,[17] 7, 2, 1

PHAEDRVS.
de-grunnire, 5, 5, 27

COLVMELLA.
de-cacuminare, 4, 7, 3; *al.*
-florere,[18] 5, 6, 36
-frigescere, 12, 20, 4; *al.*
-lacrimare, 4, 9, 2
-lēuare, *Arb.* 6, 4
-mutilare, *Id.* 11, 2

PERSIVS.
de-mordere,[19] 1, 106
*-pungere, 6, 79
-stertere, 6, 10

PETRONIVS.
de-battuere, 69, 3
-ponderare,[20] *Poet. Fr.* 26, 3
-tumescere,[21] 17, 3; *al.*

PLINIVS.
de-caulescere, 19, 121
-corticare,[22] 16, 188
-culcare,[23] 17, 61
*-gemere, 21, 9 *D.*
-glutinare, 25, 163
-limare, 34, 111
-occare, 18, 137
-sacrare,[24] 28, 112

[1] Afran. Com. [2] Varr. L. L. [3] Hier.; Oros. [4] Sen.; Mart.; Tert.; Ps.-Apic.; Pall.; Vulg. [5] Varr. Fr.; Col. [6] Plin.; Arnob.; Ambros. Ep. [7] Tac. [8] Vitr.; Plin.; Scrib.; Ps.-Augustin.; Vulg.; Firm. Math. [9] Col.; Plin.; *conf.* Verg. Ge. 2, 65. [10] Phaedr.; Plin.; Apul. Met. [11] Arnob. [12] Petr.; Paul. Dig.; Hyg. Fab.; Vulg.; Prisc.; Schol. Iuuen. [13] Col.; Plin. [14] Hor. Sat.; Plin.; Scrib. [15] Sen.; Apul. Met. [16] Tert. [17] Plin.; Ps.-Apic. [18] Inscrr. [19] Plin. [20] Augustin. [21] Stat.; Augustin. [22] Vulg.; Ps.-Ascon. [23] Stat.; Tert. [24] Stat.

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de-tornare,[1] 13, 62
-turpare,[2] 15, 59

GELLIVS.
de-luere,[3] 15, 2, 8
-uenustare,[4] 12, 1, 8
-uersitare, 17, 20, 6

APVLEIVS.
de-contari, *Met.* 7, 24
-flammare, *Id.* 5, 30
-lustrare, *Herb.* 84
-meare,[5] *Met.* 10, 31
-morsitare, *Id.* 2, 22; *al.*
-mussare,[6] *p. p. p.*, *Id.* 3, 26
-pudescere,[7] *Id.* 10, 29
-tundere, *Id.* 2, 32
-uergere,[8] *Deo Socr.* 9
-uestire, *Met.* 4, 7; *al.*

TERTVLLIANVS.
de-aurare,[9] *Idol.* 8
-bucinare, *Virg. Vel.* 13
-cachinnare, *Apol.* 47; *al.*
-cinerare, *p. p. p.*, *adu. Valent.* 32
-cinerescere, *Apol.* 48 *extr.*
-coriare,[10] *Anim.* 33
-cremare, (*Ps.-Tert.?*), *Poet. adu. Marc.* 2, 101
-cutire, (*de-cutis*), *ad Nat.* 1, 14
-damnare, *Pudic.* 15
-farinare, *p. p. p.*, *adu. Valent.* 31
-minorare, *Anim.* 33
-pālare,[11] *Apol.* 10; *al.*
-petere, *adu. Marc.* 4, 20
-scrobare, *Res. Carn.* 7
-sorbere,[12] *Idol.* 24
-sultare, *Anim.* 32
-uigescere, *Id.* 27

ARNOBIVS.
de-fanare,[13] *p. p. p.*, 4, 37

CHALCIDIVS.
de-praesentare, *Tim.* 159

PELAGONIVS.
de-brachiolare, 291
-pectorare, 6
-spicare, (*de-spica*), 88
-temporare, 6

PALLADIVS.
de-sugere, 1, 9, 4; *al.*

AMMIANVS.
de-frustrare,[14] 31, 2, 5; *al.*

VEGETIVS.
de-carnare,[15] *Mil.* 2, 27, 2
-matricare, *Id.* 6, 7, 3
-sternere,[16] *Mil.* 3, 10

HIERONYMVS,
de-pompare, *in Nahum c.* 3

AVGVSTINVS.
de-suadere,[17] *Serm.* 171, 2 *ed. Mai.*

MARTIANVS CAPELLA.
de-mersare, 8, 846
-mulcare, *p. p. p.*, 8, 807

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
de-ceruicare, *p. p. p.*, *Ep.* 3, 3, 7
-tepescere, *Id.* 5, 17, 4
-torrere, *Id.* 1, 7, 1

[1] Gell. [2] Suet. [3] Augustin. [4] Mamert.; Auson.; Sidon. Ep. [5] Mart. Cap. [6] Amm. [7] Gloss. Placid. [8] Gromat. Vet.; Tert. [9] Augustin.; Cod. Theod. [10] Pall.; Eccl. [11] Inscrr. [12] Mart. Cap. [13] Inscrr. [14] Sidon. [15] Ps.-Apic. [16] Vulg. [17] Gloss. Labb.

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§ 68. VERBS COMPOUNDED WITH **dis-**: Unlike the verbs compounded with **ad-**, **con-**, **de-**, verbs of this class have maintained their prefix unweakened: nevertheless it is now recognized that they belong almost exclusively to the *sermo plebeius.*[1] Lorenz was the first to point out the frequent occurrence in Early Comedy of **dis-** with an intensive force,[2] in such forms as *discupere, dispudere, distaedere,* and Landgraf, maintaining the vulgar nature of such compounds, censures Opitz for discussing under the separate heads of Syntax and Phraseology the two forms *discruciare* and *discupere,* which occur in the *Epistt.* of Cic., instead of grouping them together under Word-formation.[3] Recently Hauschild[4] has attempted to draw a sharp distinction, specifically limiting the list of plebeian forms to those with **dis-** intensive, and criticises Schulze for confusing them with the forms where **dis-** has a separative force, as in *difflare, diffugare,* etc. Such a distinction is somewhat difficult to maintain, as the two classes merge into one another. In such forms as *dispuluerare,* to grind to atoms, to pulverize completely, *discoquere,* to cook to pieces, to cook thoroughly, etc., where the two meanings of **dis-** seem to coincide, it is easy to see how the intensive force developed out of the earlier idea of separation. It is true that a larger proportion of the compounds with **dis-** intensive are confined to the colloquial language, especially in the early period; but few of either class found their way into classic Latin, while in the Romance languages, where **dis-** remained one of the most pro-

[1] Schmalz, Stilist., p. 552, "Besonders scheinen Kompos. mit *dis*, *de*, und *con* in der Volkssprache beliebt gewesen zu sein, während die ersteren in der klassichen Sprache so gut wie keine Aufnahme fanden," citing "discrucior bei Cic. Att., sonst nicht;" *conf.* Id., üb. d. Sprachgebr. der nichtciceron. Briefe i. d. ciceron. Briefsammlgg., Zeitschr. f. d. Gymn. wes. XXX. (1881), p. 87; Schmilinsky, p. 42; Landgraf, Cic. Epp., p. 321, "Mit besserem Erfolge (als de) hat die Präposition dis in Zusammensetzungen ihre steigernde Kraft erhalten; doch gehören auch diese Komposita vorzüglich dem Umgangstone an;" Schulze, Symm., Diss. Hal. VI., p. 218. [2] Lorenz ad Pseud. 1201, adding "ganz verschieden sind natürlich Bildungen wie disconducit, Trin. 930, disconuenit, Hor. Epist. 1, 14, 18 und ähnliche." [3] Landgraf, *l. l.*, p. 277, citing E. Opitz, quo sermone ei qui ad Cic. litteras dederunt usi sint, Naumb., 1879. [4] Hauschild, Diss. Hal. VI., p. 261, "praecipue sermoni cotidiano et plebeio uindicanda esse uidentur uerba composita praepositione *dis-* effecta, ita ut *dis-* non habeat uim segregandi, sed potius corroborandi. . . . cf. Schlz., p. 106, qui quidem in eo mihi displicet, quod non seiunxit notiones segregandi et corroborandi," citing Wagner ad Plaut. Aul., p. 108, "all these expressions belong to every-day life, which is always fond of exaggeration."

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ductive prefixes, and has to a large extent replaced **de-**, it regularly has a separative or negative force, as in **Ital.**, *disabbellire, dischiavare, discolorare;* **Fr.**, *déborder, déboutonner, décharger*, etc.[1]

NAEVIVS.
dis-puluerare, *Com.* 57

PLAVTVS.
dis-conducere, *Trin.* 930
-cupere,[2] *Id.* 932
-flare,[3] *Mil.* 17
-fringere,[4] *Asin.* 474
-pandere,[5] (-pennere), *Mil.* 407; *al.*
-percutere, *Cas.* 644
-pudere,[6] *Bacch.* 481; *al.*
-stimulare, *Id.* 64
-taedere,[7] *Amph.* 503
-truncare, *Truc.* 614

CATO.
dis-hiascere, *R. R.* 12
-tabescere,[8] *Id.* 24
-terere,[9] *Id.* 75
-uaricare,[10] *Id.* 45, 3

CAECILIVS.
di-balare, *Com.* 249

TERENTIVS.
di-lapidare,[11] *Phorm.* 898

SISENNA.
dis-palari,[12] *Hist.* 3, *Fr.* 35

VARRO.
dis-pendere,[13] *L. L.* 5, 183
-planare, *Sat. Men.* 291
-plicare, *R. R.* 3, 16, 7
-plodere,[14] *Id.* 2, 9, 4; *al.*
-saepire,[15] *L. L.* 5, 162

LVCRETIVS.
dis-cidere, 3, 659; *al.*
-madescere, 6, 479
-serpere, 6, 547

CICERO (EPISTT.).
di-laudare, *ad Att.* 6, 2, 9; *al.*

CATVLLVS.
dif-futuere, *p. p. p.*, 29, 14

HORATIVS.
dis-conuenire,[16] *Ep.* 1, 1, 99; *al.*
-quirere,[17] *Sat.* 2, 2, 7

VITRVVIVS.
dis-sonare,[18] 5, 8, 1

CELSVS.
dis-coquere,[19] 6, 9

PHAEDRVS.
di-grunnire, 5, 5, 27

[1] Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr., II., p. 624, "Das Präfix ist sehr beliebt und verdrängt im Französischen völlig, im Spanischen fast völlig das alte de. Mit der Trennung verbindet sich der Begriff des Wegnehmens, Auflösens und dann geradezu der Negation einer Thätigkeit."

[2] Cael. ap. Cic. Ep.; Catull. [3] Lucil.; Amm.; Auson.; Prud. [4] Vitr.; Suet. [5] Lucr.; Plin.; Suet.; Verus ap. Fronton. [6] Ter.; Apul. [7] Ter. [8] Veg. Vet.; Augustin. [9] Petr. [10] Varr.; Cic., *semel*, (Verr. 2, 4, 40); Vitr.; Amm.; Prud. [11] Col.; Firm. Math. [12] Nep.; *Ps.-Sall.; Gell.; Amm. [13] Prud. [14] Lucr.; Hor. Sat.; Arnob. [15] Lucr.; Cic., *semel*, (Rep. 4, 4); Ou.; Sen.; Stat. [16] Lact. [17] Claud.; Lampr.; Vulg. [18] Col.; Amm.; Ambros. [19] Plin.; Vulg.

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COLVMELLA.
dif-fluuiare, *Arb.* 7, 5
-rarare,[1] 4, 32, 4; *al.*

PLINIVS.
*dis-cuneare, *p. p. p.*, 9, 90
-secare,[2] 9, 121; *al.*
-serenare,[3] 18, 356

APVLEIVS.
dis-capedinare, *Flor.* 3
-sternere, *Met.* 10, 34; *al.*

TERTVLLIANVS.
di-lucidare,[4] *adu. Iud.* 1
-uentilare, *Anim.* 5

COMMODIANVS.
dis-credere,[5] *Praef.* 3; *al.*

ARNOBIVS.
di-iugare, 5, 9
-scobinare, 6, 14
-uastare, 5, 5

AMMIANVS.
di-uoluere, 26, 4, 3

HIERONYMVS.
dis-glutinare, *Ep.* 66, 12
-tentare, *in Iesai.* 15, *ad* 54, 2

AVGVSTINVS.
dif-fugare,[6] 41, 10

THEODORVS PRISCIANVS.
dif-fumigare, 4, 1

MARTIANVS CAPELLA.
dis-gregare, 3, 289; *al.*

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
dif-fulgurare, *Carm.* 11, 20

CASSIODORVS.
dis-parere,[7] *in Ps.* 106, 29

§ 69. VERBS COMPOUNDED WITH **ex-**: Compounds of this class are cited much less frequently, by authorities on plebeian Latin, than those with **ad-**, **con-**, **de-**. They are deserving of more careful consideration, since statistics show that they were favorite formations with all plebeian writers. They were not only prevalent in Early Comedy and again in Silver Latin, notably in the rustic writer Col., but hold a prominent place among the neologisms of Apul., Tert., and other African writers. Like the prepositions previously considered, **ex-** frequently shows a loss of force, as is well pointed out by Köhler,[8] who cites from the Auct. Bell. Hisp. 30, 5, the substitution of *efficere* for the simple verb, in the formulaic expression *potestatem sui facere*. Kraut[9] similarly cites among the vulgarisms of Sall. the use of *exaequare* in the phrase *exaequare facta dictis*, *Cat.* 3, 2, etc., comparing *aequare dictis*, Liu. 6, 20, 8, and *dicendo*, Plin. *Ep.*, 8, 4, 3. In late Latin such weakening

[1] Cael. Aur. [2] Suet.; Apul. Met.; Vulg. [3] Augustin.; Cassiod. [4] Hier.; Vigil. Tapa.; Cassiod.; Eccl. [5] Iul. Val. [6] Marcel. Com. Chron. [7] Baeda; Thes. Non. Lat.
[8] Köhler, p. 20. [9] Kraut, Sall., p. 6.

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becomes more apparent. Schulze[1] cites from Symm., *efflagitare, emittere, exambire, exasperare, exaugere*, etc., used in place of the simple verbs, and the same phenomenon is pointed out by Bonnet,[2] in Greg. Turon.; *conf. abbatem exorant ut . . egrederetur, Hist. Fr.* 2, 37, where *exorant=orant*, as the abbot is not prevailed upon.

In the Romance languages **ex-** is chiefly important in Ruman. and Ital. In the latter its prevalence is remarkable, and it frequently shows the same weakening as in the *sermo plebeius;* compare the parallel forms *sbiasire, basire; scommetere, commetere; sfendere, fendere; snudare, nudare*, etc. The same tendency is also seen in Ital. adjectives: *sbiescio, biescio*, etc.[3]

PLAVTVS.

ex-anclare,[4] *Stich.* 273.
-asciare, *p. p. p., Asin.* 360
-augere,[5] *Stich.* 304
-balistare, *Pseud.* 585; *al.*
-bibere,[6] *Amph.* 631; *al.*
-concinnare, *Cist.* 312
-curare, *p. p. p., Pseud.* 1253; *al.*
-dentare,[7] *Rud.* 662
-dictare, *Amph.* 816; *al.*
-dissertare,[8] *Id.* 600
-dormiscere,[9] *Id.* 697
-dorsuare,[10] *Aul.* 399; *al.*
-enterare,[11] *Epid.* 320; *al.*
-fligere,[12] *Asin.* 818
-gurgitare, *Epid.* 582
ex-lauare,[13] *Rud.* 537; *al.*
-lectare, *Asin.* 295; *al.*
-linguare,[14] *Aul.* 250
-moliri,[15] *Bacch.* 762
-mungere,[16] *Most.* 1109; *al.*
-obsecrare, *Asin.* 246
-oculare,[17] *Rud.* 731
-ossare,[18] *Amph.* 320; *al.*
-palliare, *p. p. p., Cas.* 945
-palpare,[19] *Poen.* 357
-peculiare, *p. p. p., Id.* 843
-petessere, *Rud.* 258; *al.*
-putare,[20] (2. *putare*), *Trin.* 234
-putescere, *Curc.* 242
-rogitare,[21] *Capt.* 952
*-scissare, *p. p. p., Cist.* 383.
-sculpere,[22] *Id.* 541

[1] Schulze, Diss. Hal., VI., p. 210. [2] Bonnet, p. 231. [3] Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Roman. Spr., II., p. 626, "Wie man sieht, wird s- oft zu einem fast bedeutungslosen Vorschlag, was sich aus Fällen wie nudare und snudare leicht erklärt;" *conf.* Id., Gramm. Ital., p. 318.

[4] Pacuu.; Enn.; Acc.; Lucil.; Cic. (four times, but archaic acc. to Quint. 1, 6, 40). [5] Ter.; Enn.; Lucr.; Cornif. Rhet. [6] Cato; Ter.; Hor. Sat.; Ou.; Phaedr.; Mela; Plin.; Gell.; Iul. Val.; Vulg.; Augustin.; Sidon. [7] Macr. Sat. [8] *Liu.; Tert.; Arnob.; Fest. [9] Ter. [10] Apul.; *conf.* Non. 27, 29. [11] Lucil.; Hyg. Fab.; Petr.; Plin.; Iustin.; Vulg.; Ps.-Apic. [12] Cic. Ep.; Sen.; Gell.; Apul.; Macr. [13] Cels.; Col. [14] Tert. [15] Sen.; Cels.; Col. [16] Poet. ap. Cic.; Cornif. Rhet.; Varr.; Hor.; Phaedr.; Quint.; Iuuen. [17] Apul. Met. [18] Ter.; Lucr.; Pers.; Vulg.; Ps.-Apic. [19] Pompon. Com. [20] Trag. Inc. Fr.; Planc. ap. Cic. Ep. [21] Acc.; Sil. [22] Ter.; Cato; Lucil.; Varr.; Cic. Ep.; Nep.; Quint.; Apul.; Treb. Poll.

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ex-signare,[1] *Trin.* 655.
*-spernere, *p. p. p.*, *Bacch.* 446
-sugere,[2] *Poen.* 614
-tentare, *Most.* 594
-texere, *Bacch.* 239
-tumere, *Truc.* 200
-ungere, *Trin.* 406; *al.*
-urgere,[3] *Rud.* 1008

ENNIVS.
e-dolare,[4] *ap. Varr. Sat. Men.* 59
-liminare,[5] *Tr.* 215
-pectorare,[6] *Id.* 43

CATO,
ex-augurare,[7] *R. R.* 2, 4

TITINIVS.
*ex-cratire, *Com.* 47
-uallare,[8] *Id.* 76

ACCIVS.
ex-pergere,[9] *Tr.* 140

LVCILIVS.
*e-linire, *Sat. Fr. ap Non.* 103, 30

AFRANIVS.
ex-peiurare, *Com.* 192

VARRO.
ex-calciari,[10] *Sat. Men.* 439
-candifacere, *R. R.* 3, 4, 1; *al.*
-curiare, *Sat. Men.* 221
-liquescere,[11] *R. R.* 1, 55, 4
-promittere,[12] *Id.* 2, 2, 5
ex-ruderare,[13] *Id.* 2, 2, 7
-uirare,[14] *ap. Non.* 46, 12
-uirescere, Sat. Men. 425

LVCRETIVS.
e-gignere, 2, 703
-tentare,[15] (*tendere*), 3, 488

CICERO (EPISTT.).
ex-hilarare,[16] *ad Fam.* 9, 26, 1
*-monere, *Id.* 1, 7, 9

LABERIVS.
e-lucificare, *Com.* 78
-lutriare,[17] *Inc. Fab.* 17

CATVLLVS.
ef-futuere,[18] 6, 13
-mulgere,[19] 80, 8; *al.*

HORATIVS.
e-latrare,[20] *Ep.* 1, 18, 18
-metere,[21] *Id.* 1, 6, 21
-surdare,[22] *Sat.* 2, 8, 38

VITRVVIVS.
ex-clarare, 1, 2, 7
-sanguinare, *p. p. p.*, 8, *Praef.* 3
-scalpere,[23] 1, 6, 4; *al.*
-siccescere, 2, 9, 3

CELSVS.
ex-crescere,[24]
-macrescere, 2, 4, 5
-saniare,[25] 5, 27

[1] Liu. [2] Cato; Varr.; Vitr.; Sen.; Col.; Iuuen.; Plin.; Gell.; Amm. [3] Paul. ex Fest. [4] Varr. Sat. Men.; Cic. Ep.; Cels.; Col. [5] Pacuu.; Pompon. Com.; Acc. Tr.; Poet. ap. Quint.; Hor. Ep. [6] Acc. Tr. [7] Liu.; Gell. [8] Varr. Sat. Men.; Gargil. [9] Santra Tr.; Gell. [10] *uerb. act.* — Sen.; Suet.; Mart.; Vell. [11] Solin. [12] Dig. Iust.; ICt. [13] Vitr.; Ambros.; Sidon. Ep. [14] Catull.; Mart.; Arnob.; Veget.; Cael. Aur.; Schol. Pers. [15] Amm.; *p.p.p.* — Hor.; Sil.; Liu.; Plin.; Solin. [16] Col.; Mart.; Plin.; Vulg. [17] Plin. [18] Auct. Priap.; Poet. ap. Suet. [19] Col.; Seru. ad Verg. [20] Tert. [21] Manil. [22] Val. Max.; Sen.; Plin.; Marc. Emp. [23] Auson. [24] Sen.; Col.; Frontin.; Plin.; Quint.; Lucan.; Suet.; Augustin.; *p. p. p.* — Lact. [25] Sen.; Col.

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ex-spumare, 6, 7, 8
-torrere, 3, 7, 2
-tussire,[1] 2, 8 *med.*

COLVMELLA.
ex-acescere, 12, 17, 1
*-altare, 3, 13, 4; *al.*
-durare,[2] 11, 1, 7
-germinare, 4, 17, 4; *al.*
-herbare, 11, 3, 11
-horrere,[3] *Poet.* 10, 154
-luxuriari, *Arbr.* 3, 2
-maciare, 2, 10, 1; *al.*
-mitescere, 9, 14, 10
-muscare, 11, 2, 41
*-plantare, 4, 14, 1
-putare, (l. *putare*), 3, 15, 3; *al.*
-runcare, 2, 11, 5; *al.*
-uentilare,[4] 1, 6, 23
-uolitare, 8, 8 *in.*

PERSIVS.
e-largiri,[5] 3, 71
-molere,[6] 6, 26

PETRONIVS.
e-legare,[7] 43, 5
-opinissere, 62 *fin.*
-pudorare, *p. p. p.*, 39, 5

PLINIVS.
ex-aluminare, *p. p. p.*, 9, 113
-alburnare, *p. p. p.*, 16, 204
-arefieri, 26, 103
-arenare, 33, 65
-fascinare,[8] 7, 16
-iuncescere, 17, 182
*-lactescere, 16, 98 *D.*
-lapidare, 17, 30; *al.*

ex-maculare,[9] 21, 129
-marginare, 28, 147
-medullare,[10] *p. p. p.*, 22, 87
-pauere,[11] 34, 151
*-riuare, 17, 249
-rugare, 13, 82; *al.*
-uacuare,[12] 20, 52
-uallere, (*uallus*), 18, 98

GELLIVS.
ex-pergificare, 17, 12, 1
-sordescere, 9, 2, 11
-uibrare,[13] 1, 11, 1

APVLEIVS.
ex-acerbescere,[14] *Apol.* 85
-amurcare, *Met.* 4, 14
-aptare, *Id.* 11, 27
-comedere,[15] *Herb.* 2, 1
*-coriare,[16] *Met.* 10, 21
-cuneare, *p. p. p.*, *Flor.* 16, *p.* 21, 10 *Kr.*
-faecare, *p. p. p.*, *Dogm. Plat.* 2, 20
-masculare,[17] *Met.* 7, 23
-obruere, *p. p. p.*, *Id.* 9, 6
-tumescere,[18] *Apol.* 78

TERTVLLIANVS.
ex-albare,[19] *adu. Marc.* 4, 8; *al.*
-cerebrare,[20] *Id.* 4, 11
-condere, *Id.* 5, 18
-cremare, *ad Nat.* 1, 10
-educere, *p. p. p.*, *Pall.* 4
-florere,[21] *Iudic. Dom.* 8
-fruticare, *Anim.* 27; *al.*
-fumigare, *ad Martyr.* 1
-limare,[22] (*limus*), *Poen.* 11
-nundinare, *Idol.* 9

[1] Plin.; Cael. Aur. [2] Tac.; Gell. [3] Augustin. [4] Plin.; Iustin.; Hier.; Sidon. Ep. [5] Firm. Math. [6] Veget.; Ambros. [7] Gai. Inst. [8] Gell. [9] Gell.; Apul.; Amm.; Macr [10] Sidon. Ep. [11] Stat.; Mart. Cap. [12] Vulg.; Cod. Iust.; Augustin.; Cael. Aur. [13] Amm. [14] Sidon. [15] Hier. Ep. [16] Hier.; Vulg.; Cassiod.; Gloss. Labb. [17] Serv. ad Verg. [18] Euanth. de Trag. Com. [19] Itala. [20] Vulg. [21] Ambros.; Vulg. [22] Macr.

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ex-nubilare,[1] *Apol.* 35
-odorare, *p. p. p.*, *Pall.* 4
-orbitare,[2] *adu. Marc.* 3, 2
-pumicare, *adu. Valent.* 16
-solescere, *Virg. Vel.* 17
-sufflare,[3] *Idol.* 11; *fin.*
-uigescere, *Anim.* 38
-uigorare, *Pall.* 4; *al.*

ARNOBIVS.
e-uideri, 2, 52

VOPISCVS.
ef-fecundare, *Prob.* 21, 2
-frondescere, *Id.* 19, 3

CHALCIDIVS.
e-uenustare, *Tim.* 40 *a.*

PALLADIVS.
ex-colare,[4] 8, 8, 1

AMMIANVS.
ex-abuti, 25, 7, 8
-ferascere,[5] 18, 7, 5
-laqueare,[6] 30, 1, 11
-meare,[7] 29, 5, 5

VEGETIVS.
e-limpidare, 1, 26, 2; *al.*
-pausare, *p. p. p.*, 2, 10, 9
-ungulare, 2, 57 *in.*

AMBROSIVS.
ef-fluescere, *de Off.* 2, 21, 109
-longinquare, *Enarr. in Ps.* 43, 45
-longare,[8] *in Luc.* 3, 32
-mulcere, *in Ps.* 118, 7

HIERONYMVS.
*ex-anhelare, *in Iob.* 15, 41
-clamitare, *Ep.* 39, 5
*-strangulare, *in Iob.* 30

AVGVSTINVS,
ex-alapare, *in Ps.* 49, 6
-corticare, *Quaest. in Genes. Qu.* 93
-foedare, *Serm.* 150, 2
-palmare,[9] *Id.* 103, 6; *al.*

MARCELLVS EMPIRICVS.
ex-salare, *p. p. p.*, 29, 54; *al.*

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
*e-durescere, *Acut.* 2, 34, 182
-gelare, *Id.* 3, 5, 58
-humorare, *Chron.* 4, 1, 12
-lentescere, *Acut.* 2, 18, 108

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
e-gelidare, *Ep.* 4, 1
-luminare, *p. p. p.*, *Id.* 8, 11

§ 70. VERBS COMPOUNDED WITH **ob-**: Verbs of this class belong largely to the category of archaisms. They are rare in the classic period and in Silver Latin, but abound in Plaut. and other early writers, and reappear in considerable numbers in the African Latinity. Schulze[10] includes them among the compounds which, while preserving the original force of the

[1] Paul. Carm. [2] Lact.; Firm. Math.; Augustin.; Sidon. Ep. [3] Pelag. Vet.; Ambros.; Augustin.; Hier.; Cael. Aur.; Sulp. Seu. [4] Vulg.; Rufin. [5] Heges. [6] Sidon. Ep.; Iulian. ap. Augustin.; Prud. [7] Augustin. [8] Vulg.; Hier. [9] Gloss. Gr. Lat.; Gloss. Isid.; Thom. Thes.

[10] Schulze, Diss. Hal., VI., p. 218.

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preposition, are much more numerous in the *sermo cotidianus* than in the classic speech, and cites from Symm. a number of examples, such as *obgannire, obnixe, obtundere,* as borrowed from the archaic speech. The best evidence of the archaic nature of compounds of this class is that they are wanting in the Romance languages, **ob-** being largely replaced by **a-**, as *obdurare,* **Prov.** *abdurar,* **O. Fr.** *adurer,* etc.[1] This view is further confirmed by the following list:

PLAVTVS.
ob-ambulare,[2] *Trin.* 315
-cedere,[3] *Id.* 1138; *al.*
-centare,[4] *Curc.* 145; *al.*
-cipere,[5] *Cist.* 68; *al.*
-clamitare, *Curc.* 183; *al.*
-cubare,[6] *Mil.* 212
-figere,[7] *Most.* 360
-flectere, *Rud.* 1013
-gannire,[8] *Asin.* 422
-gerere,[9] *Truc.* 103; *al.*
-ludere,[10] *Id.* 107
-olere,[11] *Men.* 384; *al.*
-pectere, *Pers.* 111
-pingere, *Curc.* 60
-probrare,[12] *Most.* 301; *al.*
-pugnare, (*pugnus*), *Cas.* 303
-rodere,[13] *Amph.* 724
-scaeuare, *Asin.* 266
-sipare, *Cist.* 309
-sonare, *Pseud.* 205
-sorbere,[14] *Mil.* 834; *al.*
*-taedescere, (*vb. impers.*), Stich. 732 *Fl.*
-trudere,[15] *Curc.* 366; *al.*
-truncare,[16] *Amph.* 415
ob-tueri,[17] *Most.* 840; *al.*
-uagire, *Poen.* 31
-uigilare, *Bacch.* 398

ENNIVS.
ob-agitare, *ap. Non.* 147, 9
-strigillare,[18] *Sat.* 5
-uarare, *Tr.* 3

CATO.
oc-culcare,[19] *R. R.* 49, 2
-mouere, *Id.* 134; *al.*
-picare, *Id.* 120
-pilare,[20] *Id.* 100

TERENTIVS.
ob-saturare, *Haut.* 869
-serare,[21] *Eun.* 763
-ticere, *Id.* 820

LVCILIVS.
ob-sidere,[22] *Sat.* 7, 15

POMPONIVS.
oc-quiniscere, *Com.* 126 & 149

[1] Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Roman. Spr., II., p. 617; *conf. supra*, § 61, p. 249.

[2] Ou.; Liu.; Suet. [3] Varr. [4] Pers.; Fest.; Amm.; Legg. XII. Tabb. [5] Ter.; Lucr.; Sall. Fr.; Liu.; Tac. [6] Verg.; Liu.; Sen. Poet. [7] Cato; Liu.; Apul. [8] Ter.; Apul. [9] Aur. Vict. [10] Prud. [11] Suet.; Apul. [12] Gell.; Porphyr.; *uerb. depon.* — Auct. Inc. de Idiom. Cas. 567, 8 K. [13] Tert.; Ambr. [14] Plin.; Hyg.; Lact. [15] Ter.; Ou.; Apul.; Prud.; Cael. Aur. [16] Trag. Inc. Fr.; Sisenn.; Sall. Fr.; Verg.; Liv.; Col. [17] Acc. Tr. [18] Varr. Sat. Men.; Sen. Ep.; Isid. [19] Varr.; Liu. [20] Varr.; Lucr.; Cic., *semel*, (Phil. 2, 21); Vulg.; Augustin. [21] Catull.; Hor.; Liu.; Suet.; Amm.; Augustin. [22] Lucr.; Sall.; Verg.; Tibull.

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VARRO.
of-fringere,[1] *R. R.* 1, 29, 2

LVCRETIVS.
ob-brutescere,[2] 3, 543

CICERO (EPISTT.).
ob-languescere, *ad Fam.* 16, 10, 2

HORATIVS.
op-pedere,[3] *Sat.* 1, 9, 70

VITRVVIVS.
ob-solidare, *p. p. p.*, 2, 3, 2

COLVMELLA.
ob-laqueare,[4] (*lacus*), 2, 14, 3

PLINIVS.
ob-atrare, *p. p. p.*, 18, 349
-putare, 17, 156

INSCRR. POMPEIAN.
ob-lingere, *C. I. L. IV*, 760

APVLEIVS.
ob-audire,[5] *Met.* 3, 15
-aurare, *p. p. p.*, *Id.* 11, 8
-cantare,[6] *Apol.* 84
-fulcire, *Met.* 1, 13; *al.*
-ructare, *p. pr. a.*, *de Mund.* 59
-sibilare, *Met.* 11, 7
-sternere, *Apol.* 97
-tinnire, *Id.* 48
-ungere, *p. p. p.*, *Met.* 2, 9; *al.*
-uerberare, *Id.* 7, 25; *al.*

TERTVLLIANVS.
ob-aemulari,[7] *adu. Marc.* 4, 31
-fuscare,[8] *Id.* 2, 12; *al.*
-humare, *Pall.* 2
-laqueare,[9] (*laqueus*), *Res. Carn.* 7
-mussare, *Anim.* 18
-trahere, *Virg. Vel.* 15

SOLINVS.
oc-clarescere, 2, 54
-raucare, 10, 13

LACTANTIVS.
ob-arescere, *Opif.* 10, 3

LAMPRIDIVS.
ob-stuprare, *Comm.* 3, 4

FIRMICVS MATERNVS.
ob-atrescere, *Praef. p.* 1, *ed. Basil.*

PALLADIVS.
ob-uiare,[10] 1, 35, 14; *al.*

VEGETIVS.
ob-uolutare, *p. p. p.*, 3, 4

AVGVSTINVS.
oc-crescere, *Ciu. Dei* 2, 3, *Lemm.*
-dulcescere,[11] *Conf.* 7, 20, 2
-rubescere, *Serm.* 107, 7
-sericare, *p. p. p.*, *Serm.* 61, 8
-surdare, *p. p. p.*, *in Ps.* 57, 15

CASSIODORVS.
ob-uelare, *Hist. Eccl.* 10, 26

§ 71. VERBS COMPOUNDED WITH **per-**: These compounds seem to have been popular in the earlier period of the *sermo ple-*

[1] Col.; Paul. ex Fest. [2] Paul. ex Fest.; Prud. [3] "Ausdr. des gemeinen Lebens," Georges Wörterbuch, *s. u.* [4] Isid. [5] Tert.; Ambros.; Vulg. [6] Paul. Sent. [7] Vulg.; Cael. Aur. [8] Intpr. Iren.; Herm. Past.; Arnob.; Ambros.; Vulg. [9] Ps.-Tert. de Iona. [10] Veget.; Hier.; Vulg.; Macr.; Iul. Val. [11] Gloss. Philox.

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beius.[1] Out of a total of 351 forms,[2] the great majority of which belong to ante-Hadrian literature, Cicero uses barely 75, and most of these occur in Plaut. or other early writers. Silver Latin adds only 46, the Spaniard Col. taking the lead with 8. Among the scanty additions of later writers, African Latin is well represented, Tert. giving 6, Apul. and Augustin. 2 each. This form of composition, accordingly, seems to have reached its greatest height in archaic times, and was never popular in classic Latin. Even in the *sermo plebeius* it seems to have died out in Italy at a comparatively early date,[3] although it survived to some extent in the provinces. This view is confirmed by the Romance languages. The prefix is nowhere especially productive, yet a few new forms occur in all the branches of the Romance group outside of Italy, even in Rumanian, which represents the latest form of the *sermo plebeius* in the provinces. In Italian, however, this method of formation has been lost; the form *perdonare*, which is sometimes cited, undoubtedly goes back to the Vulg. Lat. **perdonare*, as is proved by **Fr.** *pardonner*, **Span.** *perdonar*, **Port.** *perdoar*, while *permischiare*, *perseguitare* are but developments of Lat. *permiscere*, *persequi*.[4]

LIVIVS ANDRONICVS.
per-bitere,[5] *Tr.* 27

PLAVTVS.
per-acescere, *Bacch.* 1099; *al.*
-ambulare,[6] *Most.* 809
-bibere,[7] *Stich.* 340
-cidere,[8] *Pers.* 283; *al.*
-coquere,[9] *Rud.* 902
per-cruciare, *Bacch.* 1099
-cupere,[10] *Asin.* 76
-dormiscere, *Men.* 928
-ductare, *Most.* 847
-fabricare, *Pers.* 781
-frigefacere, *Pseud.* 1215
-graecari,[11] *Most.* 22; *al.*
-haurire,[12] *Mil.* 34
*-lauare,[13] *Most.* 111 *R.*

[1] Wölfflin, Philol., 34, p. 165; *conf.* Stinner, p. 17; Landgraf, Epp. Cic., p. 331; Hellmuth, Prior. Cic. Oratt., p. 28; Köhler, p. 21; Schulze, Diss. Hal., VI., p. 215; Lorenz ad Plaut. Pseud., 1198; Stuenkel, p. 72. [2] Paucker, Materialien, I., p. 22. [3] Wölfflin, *l. l.* (commenting on the lack of examples in Italian, etc.), "es macht übrigens den Eindruck, als ob die Bildungen mit per- in der Volkssprache der römischen Kaiserzeit selbst schon zurückgetreten seien." [4] Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Roman. Spr., II., p. 631, "Per . . . ist übrigens nicht sonderlich fruchtbar, namentlich dürfte es dem Italienischen ganz abzusprechen sein," et sq.

[5] Plaut.; Enn.; Pacuu. [6] Varr.; Lucr.; Catull.; Hor. Ep.; Phaedr.; Sen.; Plin. Ep.; Vulg. [7] Cato R. R.; Ou.; Col.; Sen.; Quint.; Lact. [8] Sen.; Mart. [9] Cato; Lucr.; Ou.; Vitr.; Sen.; Col.; Plin.; Plin. Ep. [10] Ter.; Gell.; Augustin. [11] Titin. Com.; Paul. ex Fest. [12] Apul.; Tert. [13] Tert.; Pelag. Vet.

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per-lubere, *Capt.* 833; *al.*
-madefacere, *Most.* 143
-manascere, *Trin.* 155
-numerare,[1] *Epid.* 632
-pauefacere, *Stich.* 85
-placere,[2] *Most.* 907
-pluere,[3] *Id.* 164
-pruriscere,[4] *Stich.* 761
-putare, *Cist.* 155
-reptare,[5] *Amph.* 1011
*-sectari,[6] *Mil.* 430 *ed. Brix.*
-sentiscere,[7] *Merc.* 687
-tegere,[8] *Rud.* 123
-tundere,[9] *Pseud.* 170
-uenari, *Merc.* 818
-uiuere,[10] *Capt.* 742

ENNIVS.
per-macere, *Ann.* 524

CATO.
per-spergere,[11] *R. R.* 130
-spirare,[12] *Id.* 157, 7
-taedescere,[13] 156, 6

TERENTIVS.
per-dolere,[14] *Eun.* 154
-fluere,[15] *Id.* 105

ACCIVS.
per-fremere, *Tr.* 403
-grandescere, *Id.* 440
-pedire, *Id.* 279
-tolerare,[16] *Id.* 91

LVCILIVS.
per-crepare,[17] *Sat.* 26, 57
per-mingere,[18] *Id.* 3, 55
-olere,[19] *Id.* 30, 131
*-serpere,[20] *Id. Fr.* 165 *Lachm.*

AFRANIVS.
per-torquere,[21] *Com.* 1

VARRO.
per-arescere,[22] *R. R.* 1, 49, 1
-calefacere,[23] *Id.* 1, 27
-cumbere, *L. L.* 9, 49
*-feruefieri, *R. R.* 1, 9, 2
-inungere, *R. R.* 2, 11, 7
-pascere,[24] *L. L.* 5, 95
-serere, *R. R.* 1, 41, 5

LVCRETIVS.
per-calescere,[25] 6, 281
-figere, 6, 350; *al.*
-fluctuare, 3, 719
-scindere,[26] 6, 111; *al.*
-sidere,[27] 1, 307; *al.*

CICERO (EPISTT.).
per-gaudere, *ad Qu. Fr.* 3, 1, 3, § 9

CATVLLVS.
per-depsere, 74, 3

HORATIVS.
per-molere,[28] *Sat.* 1, 2, 35

VITRVVIVS.
per-aequare,[29] 7, 9, 3; *al.*
-candefacere, 8, 3, 1
-dolare,[30] 2, 9, 7; *al.*

[1] Liu.; Mart.; Vlp. Dig. [2] Cic. Ep.; Nebrid. ap. Augustin. Ep. [3] Cato R. R.; Vitr.; Fest.; Quint.; Apul. Met. [4] Apul. Met. [5] Ter. [6] Lucr.; Frontin. [7] Ter.; Lucr.; Solin.; Augustin. [8] Varr. Sat. Men.; Vitr.; Cael. Aur. [9] Cato; Lucr.; Catull.; Liu.; Sen.; Scrib.; Pers.; Iuuen. [10] Acc. Tr. [11] Cic., *semel*, (Or. 1, 159); Tac.; Solin. [12] Plin. [13] Gell. [14] Cl. Quadrig. [15] Lucr.; Tibull.; Petr.; Plin.; Mela; Apul.; Arnob. [16] Lucr. [17] Cic., *semel*, (Verr. 5, 31). [18] Hor. Sat. [19] Lucr. [20] Fulg. Verg. Cont. [21] Lucr. [22] Col. [23] Lucr.; Vitr.; Val. Max. [24] Auct. Aetnae. [25] Ou. [26] Liu. [27] Verg. Ge. [28] Ser. Samm. [29] Solin.; Commodian. [30] Arnob.

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per-librare,[1] *p. p. p.*, 8, 6, 2
-limare, 5, 9, 5
-macerare, 7, 2, 1
-struere,[2] 7, 4, 1

CELSVS.
per-rodere,[3] 5, 28, 12

COLVMELLA.
per-aedificare,[4] 4, 3 *in.*
-cudere, 8, 5, 14
-friare, 12, 38, 5
-gliscere, 8, 7, 4
-hiemare, 11, 7, 4
-linere,[5] 7, 5, 4
-linire,[6] 9, 12, 2
-terere, 12, 38, 7; *al.*

PETRONIVS.
per-basiare, 41, 8
-colopare, 44, 5
*-uaporare, 73, 5, *coniect. Keller.*

PLINIVS.
per-cognoscere, 4, 98; *al.*
-nauigare, 2, 167
-sorbere, 31, 123
-transire,[7] 37, 68

MARTIALIS.
per-nere,[8] 1, 88, 9
-osculari, 8, 81, 5

APVLEIVS.
per-efflare, *Met.* 8, 14
-quiescere, *Id.* 8, 22

TERTVLLIANVS.
per-delere,[9] *adu. Iud.* 11
-formare, *Apol.* 1
-indigere, *adu. Gnost.* 13
-luminare, *Carn. Chr.* 4
*-pastinare, *p. pr. a.*, *Cult. Fem.*, 2, 9
-seruare, *de Patient.* 5; *al.*

INTPR. IREN.
per-exire,[10] 2, *Praef.* 1

AMMIANVS.
per-monstrare, 18, 6, 9

HIERONYMVS.
per-tremiscere, *in Iesai.* 3, 7, 2; *al.*

AVGVSTINVS.
per-necare, *Serm.* 17; *al.*
*-patere, *Id.* 100, 1 *Mai.*

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
per-stipare, *Acut.* 3, 8, 93

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
per-serere, (1), *Carm.* 7, 386

§ 72. VERBS COMPOUNDED WITH **sub-**: These verbs, like the preceding, are most abundant in the earlier period of the popular speech, down to the Augustan age, notably in Plaut. and Cic. Epistt.[11] They become less frequent in Silver Latin, but unlike the forms in **per-**, which gradually died out in Italy,

[1] Sen.; Col.; Sil. [2] Rufin. [3] Plin. [4] Vulg. [5] Apul.; Pall.; Amm. [6] Vulg. [7] Itala; Hier.; Vulg. [8] Sidon. Carm. [9] Veget. [10] Chalcid. Tim; Cassiod.

[11] Schulze, Diss. Hal., VI., p. 216, citing Wölfflin, Philol. 34, p. 165; Lorenz ad Plaut. Pseud. 401; Stuenkel, p. 74; Stinner, p. 18; Landgraf, Cic. Epistt., p. 321; *conf.* Schmilinsky, p. 42; Hauschild, Diss. Hal., VI., p. 62.

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are found to some extent in all periods of the language, and in later times are conspicuous in African Latinity. Accordingly their frequency in Apul. and Arnob. is not to be attributed to intentional archaism, as Lorenz seems to suggest.[1] The Romance languages have all retained **sub-** as a formative prefix, although only to a limited extent, and often replace it by **subtus-**. Instances of new formations are: **Ital.** *succhiudere, sugghignare, sugguardare;* **Span.** *sodormir, sofreir, sosañar,* etc.[2]

NAEVIVS.
sub-seruire,[3] *Com.* 112

PLAVTVS.
sub-blandiri,[4] *Asin.* 185; *al.*
-cernere,[5] *Poen.* 513
-domare, *Asin.* 702
-edere,[6] *Fr. Fab. Inc.* 26
-flare,[7] *Cas.* 582
-fulcire,[8] *Epid.* 83
-furari, *Truc.* 566; *al.*
-lectare, *Mil.* 1066
-linere,[9] *Merc.* 604; *al.*
-olere,[10] *Pseud.* 421; *al.*
-palpari,[11] *Mil.* 106
-parasitari, *Amph.* 993; *al.*
-pilare,[12] *Truc.* 566
-pingere,[13] (*pangere*), *Trin.* 720
-silire,[14] *Curc.* 151
-sultare,[15] *Capt.* 637; *al.*
-uentare, *Rud.* 231

CATO.
sub-radere,[16] *R. R.* 50, 2
sub-rectitare, *Oratt.* 57, *Fr.* 2
-tendere,[17] *R. R.* 10; *al.*
-tenere, *Id.* 25
-terere,[18] *Id.* 72; *al.*

TERENTIVS.
sub-monere,[19] *Eun.* 570
-sentire, *Haut.* 471
-stare,[20] *Andr.* 914

ACCIVS.
suc-cussare, *Tr.* 568

LVCILIVS.
suf-fercire,[21] *p. p. p., Sat.* 15, 37
-plantare,[22] *Id.* 29, 50
-pudere,[23] *Id. Fr. Inc.* 154

NOVIVS.
sub-labrare, *Com.* 13

VARRO.
sub-albicare, *p. pr. a., R. R.* 3, 9, 5

[1] Lorenz, *l. l.*, "Solche Zusammensetzungen mit *sub* . . . finden sich öfters in der Umgangssprache (und bei Archaisten). [2] Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr., II., p. 633.

[3] Plaut.; Ter.; M. Caes. ap. Fronton.; Apul; Pacat. Pan.; Augustin. Ep. [4] Ter.; Lucil. [5] Cato; Vitr.; Auct. Aetnae; Plin. [6] Ou.; Hier. [7] Cato; Varr.; Petr.; Pers.; Plin.; Mart.; Gell.; Vulg.; Marc. Emp. [8] Lucr.; Curt.; Mart.; Apul. [9] Cato; Plin. [10] *Form -olere* — Ter. Haut. 899. [11] Symm. Ep. [12] Pompon. Com. [13] Fronto; Symm. Ep. [14] Lucr.; Varr.; Prop.; Sen.; Apul. [15] Quint.; Tert.; Hier. [16] Pall.; Amm. [17] Gromat. Vet. [18] Col.; Plin. [19] Suet.; Donat. ad Ter. [20] Cels. [21] Suet. [22] * Cic., *semel*, (Off. 3, 10, 42); Vitr.; Sen.; Col.; Plin.; Pers.; Quint.; Ambros. [23] Cic. Ep.

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sub-cinere,[1] *Id.* 1, 2, 16
-collare,[2] *Id.* 3, 16, 8
-dealbare, *Sat. Men.* 171
-fumigare,[3] *R. R.* 3, 16, 36
-fundare, *Sat. Men.* 524
-secare,[4] *R. R.* 1, 23, 3; *al.*
-sipere, *L. L.* 5, 128

LVCRETIVS.
suc-cutere,[5] 6, 551
-oriri,[6] 1, 1036

CICERO (EPISTT.).
sub-accusare,[7] *ad Att.* 13, 46, 3; *al.*
-diffidere, *Id.* 15, 20, 2
-docere,[8] *Id.* 8, 4, 1
-dubitare, *Id.* 14, 15, 2; *al.*
-inuidere,[9] *ad Fam.* 7, 10, 1
-inuitare, *Id.* 7, 1, 6
-negare, *Id.* 7, 19 *in.*
-offendere, *ad Qu. Fr.* 2, 6, 5
-pedere, *ad Fam.* 9, 22, 4
-ringi, *ad Att.* 4, 5, 2
-uereri, *ad Fam.* 4, 10, 1

HORATIVS.
sub-suere,[10] *Sat.* 1, 2, 29

VITRVVIVS.
sub-arescere, *p. pr. a.*, 7, 3, 5
-cuneare, 6, 8, 2
-lidere,[11] *ib.*
-rotare, *p. p. p.*, 10, 13, 4

CELSVS.
suf-fricare,[12] 6, 6, 26

sub-lauare,[13] 6, 18, 10
-salire,[14] *p. p. p.*, 5, 12

COLVMELLA.
sub-admouere, 6, 36, 4
-iacere,[15] 1, 2, 3
-rumare,[16] 7, 4, 3
-serere,[17] (1), 4, 15, 1

PETRONIVS.
sub-aurare,[18] *p. p. p.*, 32, 3
-olfacere, 45, 10

PERSIVS.
sub-aerare, *p. p. p.*, 5, 106

PLINIVS.
sub-feruefacere, 18, 104; *al.*
-arare, 16, 116; *al.*

APVLEIVS.
sub-cubare, *Met.* 1, 12; *al.*
-feruere, *Herb.* 115
-neruare,[19] *Apol.* 84
-patere, *Met.* 8, 20; *al.*
-petiari, *Id.* 4, 10; *al.*
-serere,[20] (2), *Id.* 7, 28
-strepere, *Id.* 5, 18

TERTVLLIANVS.
sub-diuidere,[21] *adu. Iud.* 8, 11
-fermentare, *p. p. p.*, *adu. Valent.* 17
-intellegere,[22] *adu. Marc.* 5, 3
-intrare,[23] *Id.* 5, 3
-introire,[24] *Id.* 5, 13

[1] Hor. Ep.; Pers.; Petr.; Calp. Ecl. [2] Suet.; Commodian. [3] Cels.; Col.; Plin. Val.; Gargil. Mart. [4] Ou.; Cels.; Col. [5] Ou.; Sen.; Val. Max.; Apul. [6] Plin.; Arnob.; Boeth. [7] et Cic., *semel*, (Planc. 86). [8] Augustin. [9] *p. p. p.* — Cic., *semel*, (Rab. Post.). [10] Intpr. Iren. [11] Prud. [12] Col. [13] Capit. [14] Plin. [15] Plin.; Curt.; Quint.; Plin. Ep.; Apul.; Lact.; Vulg.; Cod. Iust. [16] Paul. ex Fest. [17] ICt. [18] Schol. Iuuen.; Inscrr. [19] Tert.; Vulg.; Gloss. [20] Amm. [21] Augustin.; Eccl. [22] Hier.; Augustin.; Greg. M. [23] Augustin. [24] Arnob.; Vulg.

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sub-ostendere,[1] *adu. Valent.* 1; *al.*
-parare, (*parare*), *Cult. Fem.* 2, 7; *al.*
-parare, (*par*), *adu. Valent.* 4
-radiare, *Res. Carn.* 29
-remanere,[2] *Anim.* 18
-residere, *ad Vxor.* 2, 1
-spargere, *Res. Carn.* 68
-tinnire, *de Pall.* 4

Arnobivs.
sub-aperire,[3] 2, 58
-exhibere, 6, 8
-explicare, 7, 46
-inflare,[4] 2, 46
-iugare,[5] 7, 24

Pelagonivs.
sub-siccare, *Vet.* 24; *al.*

Ammianvs.
sub-frendere, *p. pr. a.*, 15, 12, 1
-stridere, 16, 4, 2

Vegetivs.
sub-glutire, *Vet.* 3, 60

sub-lacrimare, *p. pr. a.*, *Id.* 1, 30
*-tussire, *Id.* 3, 25, 2

Ambrosivs.
sub-aemulari, *in Ps.* 36, 10

Hieronymvs.
suf-fumare,[6] *Ep.* 29, 1
-rutilare,[7] *in Iesai.* 15, 54, 12

Avgvstinvs.
sub-crepare, *Vit. Beat.* 3
-haerere, *de Trin.* 12, 3
-relinquere, *Ciu. Dei* 18, 33
-stomachari, *Conf.* 3, 12, 21
-uelare, *de Lib. Arb.* 2, 14, 38

Marcellvs Empiricvs.
sub-meiere, 8, 128

Caelivs Avrelianvs.
sub-assare,[8] *Chron.* 4, 3, 65; *al.*
-latere, *Signif. Diaet. Pass.* 136

Sidonivs Apollinaris.
sub-flammare, *Ep.* 4, 6, 4 *ed. Mohr.*

§ 73. Bi-Prepositional Verbs: The fondness of the *sermo plebeius* for prepositional compounds is best seen in the so-called *uerba decomposita*, or bi-prepositional verbs.[9] The tendency to combine two or more prepositions, either alone as adverbs,[10] or in composition with verbs and verbal derivatives, cannot properly be included among plebeian archaisms, as the great majority occur in late Latin. Nevertheless a sufficient number of both classes occur in archaic writers to indicate that Latin had inherited this form of composition, in

[1] Eccl. [2] Iul. Roman. ap. Charis. [3] Pseud.-Apic. [4] Cael. Aur. [5] Eutr.; Iul. Val.; Cl. Mam.; Lact.; Firm. Math.; Ascon. [6] Gloss. Labb. [7] Cl. Mam. [8] Pseud.-Apic.

[9] Schmalz, Stilist., p. 553, "in die Volkssprache begünstigt;" *conf.* Rönsch, pp. 206–213; Wölfflin, Cass. Fel., p. 414; Koffmanne, Kirchenlat., I., p. 140; Hamp, ALL., V., p. 326, *annot.*; *conf. supra*, § 61, p. 247. [10] *Conf.* Hamp, *l. l.* pp. 321–368.

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common with Greek[1] and Sanskrit, and did not owe its later development entirely to Grecian influence:[2] compare *circum-circa*, Plaut., Cato, etc., *praeter-propter*, Cato, Enn.; *dis-con-ducere*, **per-co-gnoscere*, Plaut., *con-de-liquescere*, Cato, etc. The classical writers on the other hand show little fondness for such formations.[3] Paucker[4] gives the entire number of these verbs as 490, of which only 142 are *uett.*, divided chiefly between archaic and Silver Latin; a very small proportion occur in the best period, principally in the Augustan poets, where they are directly attributable to the influence of the early Latin and Greek poets, who were their models. In Cic., aside from the *Epistt.*, I have found only the following forms:

abs-con-dere,	com-pre-hendere,	de-pre-hendere,
ap-pre-hendere,	con-su(r)-r(e)gere,	de-re-linquere,
ap-pro-mittere,	co-o-per-ire,	re-pre-hendere.
ad-su(r)-r(e)gere,	de-per-ire,	

As a general rule, therefore, classical Latin rarely allowed the addition of a second preposition, and only where the verb had ceased to be regarded as a compound, either because it had acquired a different meaning from that of the simple verb, as e.g. *ad-surgere*, (= *-sur-regere*), *con-surgere*, etc., or where the simple verb had gone out of use, as *co-o-perire*, Cato, *ad-implere*, Liu.[5] The same principle applies to the *sermo plebeius*, in which the retention and steady increase of these forms seem directly attributable to the popular weakening already observed in many of the prepositional prefixes,[6] notably **ad-**, **con-**, and **de-**, and a glance at the accompanying list shows that a majority of the forms from early plebeian sources are from verbs compounded with these prepositions.

With Liu. and Silver Latin such compounds become more frequent in literature, but until the time of Plin. they are largely confined to the combination **super-in-**;[7] compare Cels., who affords 5 examples. In the late language, however, and

[1] *Conf.* Brugmann, Griechische Grammatik, p. 218, § 199. [2] Draeger, Hist. Synt., I., p. 138, "(*uerba decompositta*) sind zwar nicht alle durch griechischen Einfluss enstanden; da sie jedoch in der alten Zeit äusserst selten vorkommen, dann aber, je weiter die Sprache vorschreitet, um so reichlicher gebildet werden, so ist die Mitwirkung des Griechischen bei diesem Bildungsprocess anzunehmen;" Schmalz, *l. l.*, "in der alten Komödie ziemlich zahlreich." [3] Schmalz, *l. l.*, "Man kann wohl sagen dass Decomposita der klassischen Sprache nicht besonders sympathisch sind." [4] Paucker, Materialien, I., p. 24. [5] Wölfflin, Cass. Fel., p. 414; *conf.* Schmalz, Stilist., p. 552. [6] *Conf. supra*, § 61, p. 247. [7] Schmalz, *l. l.*, p. 553.

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especially in African and Bible Latin,[1] where the Greek influence is always prominent, the compounding of prepositions was practically unrestrained, and many combinations were allowed which were unheard of in the earlier period. Such are **ab-re-** (3, all *recc.*), **ad-inter-** (1 *recc.*), **circum-con-** (1 *recc.*), **co-in-** (5, all *recc.*), **in-ad-** (3, all *recc.*), **per-de-** (5, all *recc.*), **per-ex-** (13, all *recc.*), **prae-inter-** (2 *recc.*), **re-ad-** (5, all *recc.*), **super-ab-** (2 *recc.*), **trans-per-** (1 *recc.*), and many others.[2] Reduplication of the prefix sometimes occurs, of which Paucker[3] cites examples in **ad-ad-**, **con-con-**, and **ex-e-**. Instances of the combination of more than two prepositions, such as *co-ad-im-plere*, *cor-re-sus-citare*, already cited, are confined to post-classical Latin.[4] Yet it is interesting to observe, in view of their plebeian origin, that in spite of the growing profusion of these compounds, they were, at a comparatively late period, still felt to be contrary to the best usage of the time: thus in regard to the verb *exsufflare*, we find in Sulp. Seu. *Dial.* 3, 8, 2, *quem eminus, ut uerbo . . . parum Latino loquamur, exsufflans.*[5]

This practice of combining prefixes is of great importance in the Romance languages, where the principle is carried to a much greater extent. Forms with **dis-**, and with **re-**, are very common, and instances of three and even four prepositions in combination may be cited; compare **Ital.** *r-in-con-vertire, in-com-in-ciare, r-in-com-in-ciare.* Reduplication is also more frequent than in Latin, showing a more general weakening of the prefix: *e. g.*, **Fr.** *con-cuellir* (*con-col-ligere*), **Span.** *con-comer* (*con-com-edere*), *cor-cusir* (*con-con-suere*), **Ital.** *sc-e-gliere*, (*ex-e-ligere*), etc.[6]

Plavtvs.

dis-con-ducere, *Trin.* 930
dis-per-cutere, *Cas.* 644
ex-ob-secrare, *Asin.* 246
*per-co-gnoscere,[7] *Truc.* 151 *Codd. C D L*
re-com-mentari, *Trin.* 915
re-com-minisci, *Id.* 912

[1] Ph. Thielmann, ALL. VIII., p. 525, "Bei ihrem Hang zu breiter, voluminöser Ausdrucksweise bevorzugen die Afrikaner die Dekomposita, die zum Teil schon aus früherer Zeit übernommen sind," citing *abscondere*, *derelinquere*, *deperire*, *disperdere*, etc.; *conf.* Wölfflin, *l. l.*; Rönsch, p. 474; Koffmanne, p. 102. [2] Paucker, *l. l.* [3] Paucker, *l. l.*, p. 25; *conf. supra*, § 61, p. 247. [4] Paucker, *l. l.*; Draeger accordingly errs, in saying (I., p. 138), "Eine dreifache Zusammensetzung, wie sie der Grieche z. B. mit υπεκπρο bei sieben Verbis schuf, hat das Latein nie gewagt." [5] *Conf.* ALL., VIII., p. 525, "über die Volkstümlichkeit des letzten Wortes (*exsufflo*) belehrt uns Sulpicius Seuerus." [6] Diez, p. 707; *conf.* Wölfflin, *l. l.*

[7] Plin.

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Cato.
ad-in-dere, *R. R.* 18, 9
co-ad-dere, *Id.* 40, 2
con-de-liquescere, *Id.* 23, 3

Terentivs.
*pro-de-ambulare, *Ad.* 766 *ed. Fleckh.*

Afranivs.
ex-per-iurare, *Com.* 192

Sisenna.
per-sub-horrescere, *Hist.* 4, *Fr.* 104

Varro.
ex-pro-mittere,[1] *R. R.* 2, 2, 5
per-in-ungere, *Id.* 2, 11, 7
sub-de-albare, *Sat. Men.* 171 *Codd.*

Lvcretivs.
re-con-flare, 4, 924

Cicero (Epistt.).
re-col-ligere,[2] *ad. Att.* 1, 5, 5
sub-dif-fidere, *Id.* 15, 20, 2
sub-in-uidere,[3] *ad Fam.* 7, 10, 1
sub-of-fendere,[4] *ad Qu. Fr.* 2, 6, 5

Catvllvs.
super-in-pendere, *p. pr. a.*, 64, 286

Horativs.
dis-con-uenire,[5] *Ep.* 1, 1, 99
in-e-mori, *Epod.* 5, 34

Vitrvvivs.
prae-ob-turare, 10, 7, 1

Celsvs.
super-ac-commodare, 8, 10, 1
super-de-ligare, 7, 7, 8
super-in-cidere, 7, 31
super-in-crescere, 8, 10, 7
super-in-fundere, 5, 25, 4; *al.*
super-in-linere,[6] 3, 19; *al.*
super-in-ungere,[7] 7, 7, 1; *al.*

Colvmella.
ad-ob-ruere,[8] 4, 15, 3; *al.*
sub-ad-mouere, 6, 36, 4
super-in-gredi, *Post.* 10, 344
super-in-struere,[9] 9, 7, 3

Petronivs.
ad-co-gnoscere,[10] 69
re-cor-rigere,[11] 43, 4
re-por-rigere, 51, 2

Plinivs.
ad-al-ligare, 17, 211; *al.*
ad-sub-rigere, 9, 88
circum-ad-spicere, 8, 121
circum-ob-ruere, 19, 83
per-trans-ire,[12] 37, 68
prae-oc-cidere, 18, 285
re-con-ducere,[13] 29, 22
super-e-mori, 10, 4
super-in-cernere, 17, 73
super-il-ligare, 18, 47

Gellivs.
per-ex-optare, *p. p. p.*, (*in tmesi*), 18, 4, 2

Apvleivs.
ad-sub-spirare, *Met.* 4, 25; *al.*
ex-com-edere, *Herb.* 8
ex-ob-ruere, *p. p. p.*, *Met.* 9, 6

[1] ICt. [2] Ou.; Sen.; Col.; Lucan.; Plin.; Iustin.; Plin. Ep. [3] *p. p. p.* — Cic., *semel*, (Rab. Post. 40). [4] Plano. ap. Cic. Ep.; Suet.; Vulg.; Boeth. [5] Lact.; Gromat. Vet. [6] Plin.; Apul. [7] Scrib. [8] Gargil. [9] Cod. Iust. [10] Quint.; Tert.; Vulg. [11] Tert.; Gromat. Vet.; Ter. Scaur. [12] Itala; Hier.; Vulg. [13] Quint.; Vlp. Dig.

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in-co-gnoscere, *Flor.* 19, p. 32, 20 *Kr.*
per-ef-flare, *Met.* 8, 14
super-in-curuare, *p. p. p.*, *Id.* 9, 7

Tertvllianvs.
ab-re-linquere, *p. p. p.*, *adu. Iud.* 1
ad-in-uenire,[1] *adu. Gnost.* 1; *al.*
co-ad-olescere, *Anim.* 19, 16
con-re-cumbere,[2] *Test. Anim.* 4
con-re-supinare, *p. p. p.*, *Anim.* 48
con-re-suscitare,[3] *Res. Carn.* 23
ex-con-dere, *adu. Marc.* 5, 18
ex-suf-flare,[4] *Idol.* 11
in-ac-crescere, *adu. Gnost.* 1
in-ob-audire,[5] *adu. Marc.* 3, 16
in-ob-lectari,[6] *adu. Hermog.* 18
per-de-lere,[7] *adu. Iud.* 11
per-ind-igere,[8] *adu. Gnost.* 13
re-con-cludere, *adu. Prax.* 16
re-com-pingere, *Res. Carn.* 30
re-con-signare, *Id.* 52
red-in-duere, *p. p. p.*, *Id.* 42
red-in-uenire, *Anim.* 46
sub-re-manere,[9] *Id.* 18
super-ex-tollere,[10] *Res. Carn.* 24
super-in-undare, *Id.* 63

Intpr. Iren.
circum-ob-seruari, 1, 13, 6
co-ab-ducere, 3, 25, 1
co-ob-audire, 2, 13, 9
per-ex-ire,[11] 2, *Praef.* 1

Arnobivs.
*sub-ex-hibere, 6, 195
sub-ex-plicare, 7, 46
sub-intro-ire,[12] 6, 12

Palladivs.
super-ad-icere,[13] 11, 14, 15

Plinivs Valerianvs.
super-ad-spergere,[14] 3, 12

Theodorvs Priscianvs.
super-ad-hibere, 2, 1

Avienvs.
super-ab-luere, *Perieg.* 881
super-at-trahere, *Phaenom.* 1250
super-in-uehere, *Id.* 1158

Avsonivs.
super-ex-ire, *Edyll.* 18, 1

Ammianvs.
ex-ab-uti, 25, 7, 8
praeter-in-quirere, 15, 5, 12

Ambrosivs.
con-de-scendere,[15] *Cant. Cantic.* 6, 9
re-con-uincere, *Parad.* 8, 39
red-o(b)-perire,[16] *de Noe et Arca* 20, 72; *al.*
super-ef-ficere, *in Ps.* 118, *Serm.* 14, *No.* 9
super-ef-fluere,[17] *Id. ib.*
super-e-gredi, *Ep.* 6

Hieronymvs.
co-ad-iuuare, *Galat.* 6, 5
dis-co-o-perire,[18] *in Iesai.* 7, 20, 16
re-ac-cendere, *Ep.* 5, 1
re-com-paginare, (*Ps.-Hier.*) *Ep.* 2, *ad Am. Aegr.* 7

[1] Intpr. Iren.; Vulg. [2] Vulg. [3] Hier. [4] Pelag. Vet.; Ambros.; Augustin.; Cael. Aur. [5] Intpr. Iren.; Vulg. [6] Vulg. [7] Veget. [8] Vulg. [9] Iul. Roman. ap. Charis. [10] Vulg. [11] Chalcid. Tim.; Cassiod. [12] Vulg. [13] Pa.-Apic.; Macr. [14] Veget.; Pa.-Apic.; Cael. Aur.; Isid. [15] Cassiod. [16] Hegea. [17] Vulg.; Cl. Mam.; Paul. Nol.; Inscrr. [18] Vulg.

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sub-intro-ducere,[1] *Ep.* 112, 6
super-cor-rigere, *Ep. ad Tit.* 1, 5

PAVLINVS NOLANVS.
co-ex-sultare, *Ep.* 14, 4

AVGVSTINVS.
ad-in-flare, *Ciu. Dei* 19, 23, 1
circum-ad-iacere, *Trinit.* 12, 15, 24
circum-au-ferre, *Quaest. in Leuit.* 59, 2; *al.*
circum-in-sidiari, *in Ps.* 139, 11
co-at-testari, *in Ep. ad Rom. Expos.* 18
ex-a-perire, *Conf.* 2, 10
prae-e-minere, *Id.* 6, 9
sub-e-ligere, (*Ps.-Aug.*) *ad Fratrr. Erem. Serm.* 39
sub-im-plere, *c. Epist. Manich.* 22, 24
sub-re-linquere, *Ciu. Dei* 18, 33 *extr.*
super-ex-cedere, (*Ps.-Aug.*) *Specul.* 6

MACROBIVS.
super-oc-cĭdere, *Somn. Scip.* 1, 18, 10

PSEVDO-APICIVS.
per-e-lixare, 7, 289
re-ex-inanire, 4, 135; *al.*
sub-in-stillare, 3, 95
*super-com-ponere, 4, 144

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
circum-pro-iicere, *Acut.* 2, 37, 193
prae-di-gerere, *p. p. p.*, *Chron.* 5, 2, 41
prae-in-fundere, *Acut.* 2, 24, 136
re-col-locare, *Chron.* 1, 1, 31
super-de-stillare, *Id.* 5, 1, 18

CASSIVS FELIX.
circum-in-cidere, 67, *p.* 164, 8 *R.*
sub-de-ducere, 71, *p.* 170, 2 *R.*
super-af-ferre, 75, *p.* 179, 19 *R.*
super-com-edere, 48, *p.* 124, 4 *R.*
super-pro-icere, 30, *p.* 60, 15 *R.*

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
per-ex-plicare, *p. p. p.*, *Carm.* 23, 285
prae-e-ligere, *Ep.* 7, 4, 3 *ed. Mohr.*
super-e-micare, *Carm.* 15, 75
super-in-spicere, *Ep.* 6, 1, 1 *ed. Mohr.*

BOETHIVS.
super-ad-nectere, *Inst. Mus.* 4, 17 *extr.*
super-ap-ponere, *Id.* 4, 9

FVLGENTIVS.
super-ap-parere, *Myth.* 2, 16

CASSIODORVS.
re-con-struere,[2] *Var.* 2, 39, 9, *p.* 69, 12 *ed. Momms.*

ALDHELMVS.
subter-in-serere, *Septen. col.* 219 *t.* 89 *M.*

§ 74. RECOMPOSITION: Although Recomposition, that is, the restoration in compounds of the original form of the simple stem, as *con-sacrare*, *suc-canere*, for *consecrare*, *succinere*, is usually considered under the head of Sound-Change, yet its im-

[1] Vulg.; Augustin. [2] Iordan.

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portance in relation to Word-Formation in the Romance languages is so great that a brief discussion here will not be out of place. It is a familiar fact that in the early Italic period the original Ind.-Germ. accent had already been largely replaced by a new system, in which the principal stress regularly fell upon the first syllable[1] and consequently the second, or accentless, syllable frequently exhibits a weakening of the stem-vowel, especially in verbs compounded with prepositions: e.g., *facere, con-ficere; habere, prae-hibere*, etc. Yet side by side with these forms, at all periods of the language, instances occur in which the original vowel has been restored; even the archaic period affords a few examples;[2] compare *conquaesiuei*, C.I.L., I., 551; *exaestumauerit*, Id., 198, 15, and others in the subjoined list. Such recomposition, which is now recognized as belonging mainly to the *sermo plebeius*,[3] is evidently the result of a sort of etymological reaction, and forms a good illustration of the important part played by etymology in popular speech. It has been aptly suggested by Stolz that the concurrent usage of the simple form of the verb, separated from its preposition by tmesis, as in the archaic phrases *ob uos sacro, sub uos placo*, cited by Fest. 218, from religious formulae, must have encouraged the employment of analogous forms such as *uos *obsacro, uos *subplaco*.[4] The prevalence of recomposition in the *sermo plebeius* may also have been due in a measure to Osco-Umbrian influence. Von Planta, who has pointed out several parallels between these dialects and ple-

[1] Brugmann, Grundriss, I., p. 548, "Nichts wiederstreitet der Annahme und vieles spricht für dieselbe, dass die uridg. Accentuation schon in der Periode der italischen Ureinheit eine völlige Umwälzung erfuhr. Die Anfangssilbe in mehrsilbigen Wörtern wurde Trägerin des Wortaccentes, und dieser war exspiratorisch;" *conf.* Stolz, Hist. Gramm., I., p. 95. [2] Stolz, *l. l.* p. 187, "Wir können solche recomponierte Formen bis in die älteste Literatur zurückverfolgen." [3] Pott, Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf., I., p. 335; Schuchardt, I., p. 36; Corssen, Krit. Beitr., p. 52, "In der spätlateinischen Volkssprache unterblieb die Vokalabschwächung im zweiten Gliede von Compositen häufig," citing from Monumentum Ancyranum several forms from *consacrare*, and from the Ms. Florent. of Pandects, *adspargere, detractare, infacere*, etc.; Rönsch, p. 406; Paucker, Subindenda, p. 411, *annot.* 4, "Sequior Latinitas -a- (uel diphth.) radicalem reseruare amat in uerbis cum praepositione compositis . . . deriuatisque inde nominibus;" Stolz, *l. l.* p. 187, "exaestimo verwirft Marius Victor. Gr. L., VI., 22, 7 K., woraus man neben anderen Gründen schliessen darf, dass die recomponierte Formen besonders volksthümlich waren:" *conf.* Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 199; Von Planta, I., p. 241, "Im Volkslatein war mehr als im classischen schon seit früher Zeit die Recomposition beliebt." [4] Stolz, *l. l.*, citing Brugmann, Grundriss, I., p. 551.

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beian Latin, cites numerous examples of recomposition in both Osc. and Umbr., e.g. **Osc.** *aamanaffed* (*conf.* Lat. *com-mendo*); *kumparakineis*, (*conf.* Lat. *comperco*); **Umbr.** *procanurent*, (*conf.* Lat. *occino*); *propartie*, (*conf.* Lat. *dispertior*), etc.[1]

In the transition from the Latin to the Romance epoch the great majority of Latin compounds were replaced by recomposition, and the regular practice of the modern languages is to attach the prefix directly to the unmodified verb:[2] thus we find **Ital.** *de-cadere, dis-piacere, tra-salire*; **Span.** *des-hacer, es-parcir*; **Fr.** *dé-faire, très-saillir*, etc., (*conf.* Lat. *decidere, reficere, transilire*, etc.).

In forming the following list I have been obliged to rely upon Georges, Lexicon der Lateinischen Wortformen, and upon the scanty collections made by Paucker, and for the early period, by Stolz.[3] An exhaustive collection has yet to be made, and affords a good field for special research.

NAEVIVS.
in-quaerere, *Com.* 12

PLAVTVS.
ex-aestimare, *Merc.* 566
re-quaerere, *Id.* 633

CATO.
per-emere, *ap. Fest.* 266

VARRO.
suc-canere, (*ap. Varr.*) *L. L.* 6, 75

CICERO (EPISTT.).
re-cadere,[4] *ad Att.* 4, 18, 4

VITRVVIVS
con-spargere,[5] 7, 11, 1

SALLVSTIVS.
de-tractare,[6] *Iug.* 53, 8 *D.*
oc-canere,[7] *Hist. Fr.* 1, 71

SENECA RHETOR.
ac-cadere, *p. pr. a.*, *Suas.* 6, 3

PLINIVS.
prae-canere,[8] 29, 69

TACITVS.
inter-iacere, *Ann.* 2, 10

FESTI PAVL. EPIT.
circum-caedere, 20, 3

AMPELIVS.
a(d)-spargere,[9] 8, 16

APVLEIVS.
ob-audire,[10] *Met.* 3, 15

TERTVLLIANVS.
di-spargere,[11] *adu. Marc.* 2, 20

[1] Von Planta, I., Einleit., p. 39; p. 241. [2] Stolz, *l. l.*; Diez, p. 707; Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr., II., p. 619. [3] Paucker, Subindenda, p. 411, *annot.* 4; Stolz, *l. l.* [4] Suet.; Gai. Inst.; ICt. [5] Apul. Met.; Plin. Val.; Marc. Emp. [6] Verg. Ge.; Frontin.; Flor.; Ser. Samm.; Lact. [7] Tac. Ann. [8] Tert. [9] Pa.-Apic.; Marc. Emp. [10] Tert.; Cypr.; Vulg.; *obaudiens* — Ambros. Ep. [11] Itala; *Conf.* Rönsch, p. 406.

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Cypriavs.
con-tractare, *Ep.* 65, 3

Commodiavs.
con-tangere, *Apol.* 556
*re-tacere, *Instr.* 1, 18, 10 *Cod. C.*

Solivs.
con-satus, 9, 18

Plivivs Valeriavs.
re-iactare, 4, 42
super-spargere, 1, 56; *al.*

Ammiavs.
in-causare, *p. pr. a.*, 22, 11, 5

Vegetivs.
prae-facere, *Mil.* 3, 6

Pseudo-Apicivs.
circum-spargere, 8, 406

Caelivs Aureliavs.
circum-claudere, *Chron.* 4, 7, 103

Cassivs Felix.
con-cadere, 51, *p.* 132, 1 *R.*

Macrobivs.
prae-carpere, *Sat.* 3, 19, 4

Venantivs Fortvnatvs.
re-claudere, *Carm.* 3, 2, 1; *al.*

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II.—NOMINAL COMPOSITION.

§ 75. Nominal Composition in General: It is a familiar fact that in the formation of nominal compounds the Italic group was far inferior to the remaining Ind.-Germ. languages.[1] The scanty remnants of the Osco-Umbrian inscriptions afford practically no examples,[2] while in Latin this kind of composition, as an active principle of word-formation, is confined within very narrow limits. This poverty of the language was recognized and regretted by the Romans themselves: *conf.* Liu. 27, 11, 5, *quos "androgynos" uulgus, ut pleraque, faciliore ad duplicanda uerba Graeco sermone, appellat;* and the familiar passage in which Quint. censures the attempts of the early poets to reproduce Greek compounds in Latin, Quint. 1, 5, 70, *Sed res tota magis Graecos decet, nobis minus succedit, nec id fieri natura puto, sed alienis fauemus; ideoque cum* κυρταύχενα *mirati simus, incuruiceruicum uix a risu defendimus;* Gellius also, in an interesting chapter on the difficulty of finding an equivalent for the Greek πολυπραγμοσύνη, plainly states the inferiority of Latin in this respect: *Noct. Att.* 11, 16, 1, *Adiecimus saepe animum ad uocabula rerum non paucissima, quae neque singulis uerbis, ut a Graecis, neque, si maxime pluribus eas res uerbis dicamus, tam dilucide tamque apte demonstrari Latina oratione possunt quam Graeci ea dicunt priuis uocibus,* and regrets his own *infacundia,* (*Id. ib.* 9), *qui ne pluribus quidem uerbis potuerim non obscurissime dicere, quod a Graecis perfectissime uerbo uno et planissime dicitur.*

There are indications, however, that in the archaic period this form of composition was not so foreign to the genius of the language. Among the names of localities, public festivals, and religious ceremonies, all of which go back to a remote

[1] *Conf.* Brugmann, Grundriss II., p. 54; Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 359. [2] Brugmann, *l. l.*, p. 58, "In den Denkmälern des Umbr.-samnitischen Zweiges ist diese Compositionsclasse nur äusserst dürftig vertreten."

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period, the large proportion of compounds is striking; thus *su-oui-taurilia*, *stru-fer(c)tarii*, the only two instances of co-ordinate compounds in Latin, both belong to religious terminology. Compare further *Aequi-melium*, *Caeli-montium*, *Septi-montium*, *Septi-zonium*; *Armi-lustrium*, *Capiti-lauium*, *Fordicidia*, *Popli-fugia*, *Regi-fugium*, *Selli-sternium*, *Tubu-lustrium*, etc. Many of these words, from the nature of the case, must have been as common in the popular speech as the names of our own national holidays and the nomenclature of our city streets are at the present day. That the *sermo plebeius* not only retained but favored such compounds is indicated by the proneness of popular etymology to attribute a compound origin to many words where none existed; e.g., *Argi-letum*, (*conf.* Mart. 2, 17, 3, *Argique letum*); *Capit-olium*, (*conf.* Arnob. 6, 7, *ex Oli capite Capitolium*).[1]

Again, while compounds were, at all periods of Latin literature, employed more freely in poetry than in prose, it has been pointed out by Stolz[2] that they are especially characteristic of early dramatic poetry (at a time when in other respects the Roman poets were furthest removed from their Greek models), and that the usage steadily declined, until in Verg. it is confined within narrow bounds. Thus the latter often uses periphrases like (*Auerna*) *sonantia siluis*, *Aen.* 3, 442, where an earlier poet would have coined a compound like **siluisonus*.[3] The early dramatic writers, in trying to force the unwieldy archaic Latin to assume the ease and grace of their Hellenic models, were glad to avail themselves of the greater freedom afforded by the popular speech,[4] and it is the latter,

[1] As further instances of compounds by popular etymology, compare the frequent modification, in Vulg. Lat., of foreign names, such as *Bi(s)-terrae* — *Baeterrae*, *Da-nubius* (*dare* + *nubes*) — *Danuuius*, *Porci-fera* — *Procobera*, *Tri-uicium* — *Tarutsium*, and others cited by Keller, Volksetymologie, pp. 7–25. The tendency was by no means confined to proper names; *conf. ali-pilus* — *aliptes*; *latro-nicium* (*necare*) — *latrocinium*, etc.; Keller, *l. l.*, p. 129 sq. [2] Stolz, Die Lat. Nominalcomposition in formaler Hinsicht, Innsbruck, 1877, p. 9. "Zwei Thatsachen ergeben sich für unsere Frage: (1) dass die altlateinische Volkssprache entschieden nicht dieselbe Abneigung gegen die Zusammensetzung hatte, wie die spätere Schriftsprache und dass (2) von den ersten scenischen Dichtern an, welche die Composition entschieden begünstigsten, dieselbe allmälig rückwärts geht und mit Vergil eine gewaltige Einförmigkeit erreicht." [3] Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 360, compares *silui-fragus*, Lucr. [4] *Conf.* Guericke, p. 37, "Sic iam Plautus audacia et temeritate componendi inter omnes scriptores poetasque praeditus est. Nam non permultas uoces hybridas solum et mirimodis multimodisque compositas ipse formauit sed etiam multis uocabulis, quae uulgi consuetudine uidentur composita usus est;" Schulze, Diss. Hal., VI., p. 280,

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quite as much as the example of Aristophanes or Menander, which is responsible for such ponderous compounds as *tolutiloquentia*,* Naeu.; *damnicupidus, munerigerulus, stultiloquentia, suauisauiatio, tragicomoedia, turpilucricupidus, uerbiuelitatio*, Plaut.; *incuruiceruicus, repandirostrum*, Pacuu.; *dulcioreloquus, subductisuperciliicarptor*, Laeu.; *scytalosagittipelliger*, Poet. Vet. ap. Tert., many of which are veritable literary curiosities. A language capable of producing such formations undoubtedly possessed a decided tendency for free development, but few will agree with Draeger that it deserved a better fate than that prepared for it by the spirit of classicism, which held this tendency in check.[1] The great proportion of Latin compounds are distinctly unmusical, and the more fastidious poets of the Augustan age rightly avoided the harshness of forms which followed the letter but missed the spirit of the Greek. It is true that certain classes of compounds, such as adjectives in **-fer** and **-ger**, which from their greater natural smoothness were better adapted to the exigencies of verse, were largely relegated to the poets. In the main, however, statistics show a preponderance of compounds in authors of inferior Latinity. An interesting array of examples is cited by Guericke[2] from Petr. and the Inscrr. Pompeian., while the Appendix Probi, which with the *Cena Trimalchionis* of Petr. is the most important source of the *sermo plebeius* preserved in Latin literature,[3] contains the significant admonition, *aquae ductus non aquiductus, terrae motus non terrimotium.* Schulze has observed that Cic., *Orat.* 49, 164, has stigmatized the use of this class of compounds as *asperitas*, yet in his correspondence does not hesitate to use such forms as *breuiloquens, leuidensis.*[4] A good example of the position occupied by them in classical Latin is afforded by the word *sanguisuga*,[5] of which Plin. says *s. uulgo coepisse appellari aduerto, N. H.* 8, 29.

"Puto poetas hanc licentiam ut alia sibi ex uulgari sermone assumpsisse cui re uera attribuenda est."

[1] Draeger, Hist. Synt., I., Einleit., p. XI., "Eine Sprache aber, die solche Gebilde hervorzubringen vermag, und sollten dieselben auch nur zu komischen Effecten verwendet werden, besass eine entschiedene Anlage zur freien Entwickelung und verdiente in dieser Beziehung ein besseres Schicksal als die nun bald auftretenden von griechischen Einfluss beherrschten Koryphäen des Klassicismus ihr bereitet haben." [2] Guericke, *l. l.* [3] *Conf.* Stolz, Lat. Gramm., I., p. 44. [4] Schulze, *l. l.*, citing Stinner, p. 17. [5] *Conf.* Cael. Aur. *Chron.* 3, 2, 25, *hirudinum appositio, quas uolgo sanguisugas appellant.*

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One notable feature, indicating that even in the Plautine period Latin composition was past its prime, is the large proportion of compounds which occur only in derivative forms. Thus no example of a primary co-ordinate compound has survived: *suouitaurilia*, *strufer(c)tarii*, above cited, are both derivatives. Other classes belong mainly to archaic Latin, as for instance compound present participles, the majority of which occur first in early writers, (although many became permanently fixed in the poetic vocabulary); *conf. arcitenens*, Naeu.; *caelipotens*, *multipotens*, *salsipotens*, *uīripotens*, Plaut.; *altitonans*, *altiuolans*, *sapientipotens*, *signitenens*, **ueliuolans*, Enn.; *armipotens*, Acc. On the contrary their derivatives in **-ntia** belong chiefly to Post-Hadrian Latin: *aequiparantia*, *multinubentia*, *multiuorantia*, *subtililoquentia*, Tert.; *honorificentia*, Capitol.; *suauifragrantia*, *suauiolentia*, Augustin.; *omnicognoscentia*, *omniintelligentia*, *omniuiuentia*, Mar. Victorin.; *aequisonantia*, Boeth.; and many others.[1] The most important class of substantives among nominal compounds, those in **-ium**, are derivatives, and the same is true of the largest class of verbs, those in **-ficare**, which, in theory at least, come from adjectives in **-ficus**.[2] Of course the majority of these forms are the result of analogy, and do not in each case imply the pre-existence of a primary form; but the large number of these compound derivatives does imply that at an earlier period of the language primary compounds were prevalent, and shows that the tendency of the language was away from composition and towards derivation.

Accordingly it is not surprising that composition should have survived most persistently in the most archaic branch of the language, the African Latin; the fondness shown for forms in **-ficus**, **-ficare**, **-ficantia**, has often been noticed,[3] while Thielmann[4] cites from the Book of Sirach such forms as *uituperare*, *alienigenus*, *pusillanimus*, *prauicordius*, *horripilatio*, etc., as characteristically African. Kübler[5] strengthens this view by an interesting collection of curious compounds from Afri-

[1] *Conf.* Paucker, Subindenda, p. 418, *annot.* 7. [2] *Conf.* Wölfflin, Cass. Fel., p. 410, "Verben auf *ficare*, welche dem Sinne nach blosse ableitungen sind." [3] *Conf. infra*, § 78. [4] Thielmann, ALL. VIII., p. 512; Id. ib. p. 243, "Von der archaischen Zeit her hat sich das afrikanische Latein auch eine grössere Fähigkeit in der Zusammensetzung, insbesondere in der Nominal-komposition, bewahrt." [5] Kübler, ALL. VIII., p. 170.

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can inscriptions, such as *florisapus*, *rudimaturus*, *unicuba*, *uniuira*, etc.

§ 76. DERIVATIVE COMPOUNDS IN **-ium**: These substantives constitute one of the most popular classes of compounds in Latin, and are of especial importance in the *sermo plebeius*. Simple derivatives in **-ium**, (excepting, of course, the lengthened forms **-ar-ium**, **-or-ium**),[1] are comparatively rare, and are no more characteristic of one department of Latin than another, but the compounds abound at all periods of the language, and many of them bear on their face the evidence of their popular origin. Thus in addition to the names of localities, public festivals, etc. cited in the preceding section, compare the numerous articles of every-day use, such as *auriscalpium*, *dentifricium*, *dentiscalpium*, *facitergium*, *manitergium*, *pannuuellium*, the various unmistakably rustic terms such as *fenisicium*, *mellificium*, *opificium*, **spicilegium*, cited from Varr. by Stuenkel,[2] and names of plants, *acrifolium*, Macr. Sat., *millefolium*, Plin., *nardifolium*, Id., *misereuiuium*, Apul. Herb., *solsequium*, Id., etc.; so also technical terminology, *e.g.* of architecture, as *aequipondium*, *interscalmium*, *intertignium*, *semifastigium*, *semimetopium*, etc., used by Vitr. Some of these compounds are unmistakably vulgar, such as *interfeminium*, Apul., **internatium*, Fronto, *lumbifragium*, Plaut., *triscurrium*, Iuuen. The numerous forms in **-ficium**, many of them denoting trades, are, like the adjectives in **-ficus** and verbs in **-ficare**, found chiefly in the popular speech.[3] The classic writers seem in general to have avoided such forms, although a few, such as *beneficium*, *municipium*, *sti(pi)pendium*, were in general use. Quint. 1, 6, 28, tells us that *ueriloquium*, *ipse Cicero, qui finxit, reformidat*, and the admonition of Prob. App. already cited, *terrae motus, non terrimotium*, is of special significance for this class of compounds. Modern authorities have rather strangely overlooked these words. Meyer-Lübke,[4] however, has recently devoted an interesting section to them, proving by the Romance languages that they must have been

[1] *Conf. supra*, §§ 19, 38 *fin.* [2] Stuenkel, p. 77, "Addo nonnulla substantiua composita, quae . . linguae rusticae omnino propria fuisse uideantur." [3] *Conf. infra*, § 78, p. 310. [4] Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr., II., p. 450, "Es scheint nun, dass in der Umgangssprache mehr solche Bildungen (auf -ium) bestanden haben als die Litteratur überliefert," *conf.* Gröbers Grundriss, I., p. 373, "-ium hat seine Stelle ursprünglich an zusammengesetzten Substantiven, die Vulgärsprache überschreitet die Grenze selten."

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common in the late *sermo plebeius*, and citing **accordium*, **concordium*, **discordium*, as evidenced by **Sicil.** *akkordiu*, **Sardin.** *kunkordiu*, **Ital.** *discordio*, **Prov.** *accordi*, *concordi*, *discordi*, and similarly **conuenium*, **Sardin.** *kumbeniu*, **Prov.** *coveni*, **O. Fr.** *covine*; **singluttium*, **Ital.** *singhiozzo*, **Span.** *sollozo*, etc.

As already observed, the words of this class are not formed by direct composition, but are properly speaking derivatives, such as *abluu-ium*, from *ab-luere*, *benefic-ium*, from *bene-ficus*, *fenisic-ium*, from *feni-sex*; in a large number of instances, however, the primary word does not occur. They are formed in a great variety of ways, a large proportion being prepositional compounds: but as the latter exhibit no distinctive features they are included in the following list. It is to be noticed, however, that the prevailing type of these forms is pentasyllabic, the first member having two syllables, and accordingly the dissyllabic prepositions, such as **inter-**, **super-**, are largely in the majority.

Plavtvs.

bi-clinium,[1] *Bacch.* 720; *al.*
centum-pondium,[2] *Asin.* 303
cor-dolium,[3] *Cist.* 65; *al.*
ferri-terium, *Most.* 744
lumbi-fragium, *Amph.* 454
*male-suadium, *Curc.* 508 *ed. Brix.*
multi-loquium,[4] *Merc.* 31
pro-scaenium,[5] *Amph.* 91
sacci-perium,[6] *Rud.* 548
stulti-loquium,[7] *Mil.* 296

Cato.

geli-cidium,[8] *R. R.* 65, 2
prae-furnium,[9] *Id.* 38
semi-funium, *Id.* 135, 5
stiri-cidium,[10] *Oratt. Fr.* 65

Titinivs.

tenti-pellium,[11] *Com.* 173

Accivs.

pro-lubium,[12] *Tr.* 106; *al.*

Varro.

alieni-loquium,[13] *Sent. Mor. No.* 51, *p.* 267 *R.*
ambi-uium, *Sat. Men.* 276
armi-lustrium,[14] *L. L.* 6, 22
assi-pondium, *Id.* 5, 169
bi-sellium,[15] *Id.* 5, 128
feni-sicium,[16] *R. R.* 1, 172
fordi-cidium,[17] *L. L.* 6, 15
inter-nodium,[18] *R. R.* 2, 9, 4
melli-ficium,[19] *Id.* 3, 16, 4

[1] Quint. [2] Cato R. R. [3] Apul. Met. [4] Ambros.; Hier.; Vulg.; Augustin. [5] Verg. Ge.; Liu.; Vitr.; Claud.; Ps.-Prosper. Aquit.; Inscrr. [6] *Form saxi-perium* — Ps.-Fulg. Serm. 74; *conf.* Itala 1 Reg. 17, 40. [7] Vulg.; Eccl.; Gl. Labb. [8] Varr.; Vitr.; Col. [9] Vitr.; Compend. Vitr. [10] *Conf.* Fest. 344, 13; Paul. ex Fest. 345, 3. [11] Afran. [12] Gell.; Apul. [13] Isid. [14] Paul. ex Fest. [15] Inscrr. [16] Col.; Plin.; Gloss. Labb. [17] Paul. ex Fest. [18] Ou.; Plin.; Calp. Ecl. [19] Col.

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opi-ficium,[1] *Id.* 3, 16, 20
pani-ficium,[2] *L. L.* 5, 105
pannu-uellium, *Id.* 5, 114
parti-cipium,[3] *Id.* 8, 58
prae-uerbium,[4] *L. L.* 6, 38; *al.*
Septi-montium,[5] *Id.* 5, 41; *al.*
spici-legium, *R. R.* 1, 53
tubi-lustrium,[6] *L. L.* 6, 14

LVCRETIVS.
post-scaenium, 4, 1178
pro-fluuium,[7] 6, 1205

CATVLLVS.
quadri-uium,[8] 58, 4
haru-spicium,[9] 90, 2

HORATIVS.
inter-lunium,[10] *Carm.* 1, 25, 11
di-ludium, *Ep.* 1, 19, 47

VITRVVIVS.
aequi-pondium,[11] 10, 3, 4
inter-scalmium, 1, 2, 4
inter-tignium, 4, 2, 4
inter-uenia,[12] orum, 2, 6, 1; *al.*
quadri-fluuium, 2, 9, 7
semi-laterium, 2, 3, 4

CELSVS.
mali-corium,[13] 2, 33; *al.*

COLVMELLA.
bi-pallium,[14] 11, 2, 17
inter-ordinium, 3, 13, 3; *al.*
lani-ficium,[15] 12, *Praef.* 9
pleni-lunium,[16] 11, 2, 85

SENECA (APOC.).
prae-putium,[17] *Apoc.* 8, 1

PETRONIVS.
*arci-sellium,[18] 75, 4
bi-saccium, 31, 9
galli-cinium,[19] 62, 3
ne-sapium, 50, 9
semi-cinctium,[20] 94, 8
*uesti-contuburnium, 11, 3

PLINIVS.
denti-fricium,[21] 28, 178
exti-spicium,[22] 7, 203
melo-folium, 15, 52
mille-folium,[23] 25, 42
tri-folium, 21, 54; *al.*
uati-cinium,[24] 7, 178

IVVENALIS.
tri-scurrium,[25] 8, 190

MARTIALIS.
auri-scalpium,[26] 14, 23, *Lemm.*
denti-scalpium, 7, 53
domi-cenium, 5, 78; *al.*

FRONTO.
*inter-natium, *ad Amic.* 1, 17 *N.*

GELLIVS.
pro-luuium,[27] 4, 11, 10

APVLEIVS.
ante-cenium,[28] *Met.* 2, 15
ante-ludium, *Id.* 11, 8
asse-folium, *Herb.* 77
fati-loquium, *Deo Socr.* 7
inter-feminium, *Apol.* 33; *al.*

[1] Apul.; Lact.; Chalcid. Tim.; Augustin. [2] Cels.; Suet.; Iustin. [3] Quint.; Cod. Iust. [4] Gell.; Charis. [5] Fest.; Tert.; Pall.; Seru. ad Aen. [6] Ou. Fast.; Verr. Fl. [7] Cels.; Col.; Plin.; Arnob.; Aur. Vict.; Eutr. [8] Iuuen.; Boeth.; Schol. Vindob. ad Hor. [9] Suet.; Censorin.; Auson. [10] Plin.; Veg. Mil.; Not. Tir. [11] Augustin. [12] Pall. [13] Plin.; Petr. [14] Plin.; Scriptt. R. R. [15] Plin.; Suet.; Aur. Vict.; Iustin.; Paul. ex Fest.; Apul. Met.; Augustin.; Inscrr. [16] Plin.; Amm. [17] Iuuen.; Lact.; Vulg.; Not. Tir. [18] Not. Tir.; Not. Bern. [19] Apul.; Censorin.; Amm.; Macr.; Seru.; Placid. Gloss. [20] Mart.; Vulg.; Isid. [21] Scrib.; Mart.; Apul. [22] Suet.; Apul. [23] Ser. Samm. [24] Gell.; Not. Tir. [25] Prisc. [26] Scrib. [27] Seru. ad Verg. [28] Isid.

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lori-ficium, *Met.* 9, 40 *H.*
mani-folium, *Herb.* 36
misere-uiuium, *Id.* 18
nidi-ficium, *Met.* 8, 22
ori-ficium,[1] *Id.* 2, 15; *al.*
parci-loquium, *Id.* 5, 13
prae-rupium,[2] *Apol.* 8
semper-forium, *Herb.* 123
sol-sequium,[3] *Id.* 49
sub-labium, *Id.* 96
super-pondium, *Met.* 7, 18
tri-furcium, *Herb.* 77
uerti-pedium, *Id.* 4

Tertvllianvs.
aqui-licium, *Apol.* 40
as-sacri-ficium, *Idol.* 16
fratri-cidium,[4] *Monog.* 4
infanti-cidium, *Apol.* 2
inter-spatium, *Orat.* 20 *in.*
mali-loquium,[5] *Apol.* 45
minuti-loquium,[6] *Anim.* 6
risi-loquium, *de Poen.* 10
sancti-ficium,[7] *Res. Carn.* 47
spurci-loquium, *Id.* 4
turpi-loquium,[8] *de Pudic.* 17
uiui-comburium, *Anim.* 33; *al.*

Intpr. Iren.
portenti-loquium, 2, 16, 4; *al.*

Vlpianvs.
inter-usurium,[9] *Dig.* 35, 2, 66; *al.*

Solinvs.
boui-cidium, 1, 10
col-limitium,[10] 49, 6
col-ludium,[11] 9, 17

Arnobivs.
con-spolium, 7, 24

Chalcidivs.
di-iugium, *Tim.* 198; *al.*

Avct. Itin. Alex.
cor-riuium, 8, (19)

Palladivs.
per-pluuium, 1, 11

Avsonivs.
tri-horium, *Edyll.* 10, 87; *al.*

Symmachvs.
tri-cinium, *Ep.* 1, 41

Ammianvs.
pro-ludium, 28, 1, 10; *al.*

Vegetivs.
circum-cisorium, *Vet.* 1, 26, 2

Hieronymvs.
morti-cinium, *in Ezech.* 1, *ad* 4, 13
soli-loquium,[12] *Ep.* 105, 5

Avgvstinvs.
blandi-loquium, *Ep.* 3, 1; *al.*
falsi-loquium, *Lib. Retract. Proem. extr.*
uani-loquium, *Ep.* 134, 4; *al.*

Marcellvs Empiricvs.
bi-sextium, 29, 41
inter-digitia, orum, 34, 26; *al.*

Caelivs Aureliavs.
manu-tigium, *Chron.* 1, 4, 121

Isidorvs.
inter-necium,[13] 5, 26, 17
sub-linguium, 11, 1, 59

[1] Veget.; Th. Prisc.; Plin. Val. [2] Tert.; Seru. ad Verg. [3] Isid. [4] Hier.; Salu.; Fulg. [5] Eccl. [6] Intpr. Iren. [7] Hier. Ep.; Vulg. [8] Ambros.; Hier. [9] ICt. [10] Amm. [11] Amm.; Symm. Ep. [12] Augustin. [13] Not. Tir.

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§ 77. COMPOUND VERBAL ADJECTIVES IN **-us, -a, -um**: The compound adjectives of the 1st and 2d declensions fall naturally into two classes, according as their second member is formed from a nominal or verbal stem. The former, such as *angui-manus*, Lucr., *auri-comus*, Verg., are fewer in number and found mainly in poetry. The latter, on the contrary, especially compounds with **-dicus, -ficus**, and **-loquus**, belong largely to the popular speech, which here again shows its fondness for verbal derivatives. They were naturally numerous in early poetry, especially in Plaut., who shows a partiality for forms in **-loquus**, many of which are distinctly archaic.[1] The classic poets retained a number of these forms, in imitation of their predecessors, but are moderate in their use: Lucr. is the last to coin them with any freedom. In the poetry of the Golden and Silver periods I have noted only the following neologisms:

aeri-sonus, *Sil.; Stat.; Val. Fl.; et Al.*
armi-sonus, *Verg.; Sil.; Claud.; et Al.*
casti-ficus, *Sen. Tr.*
fluctí-sonus, *Sil.; Sen. Poet.*
incesti-ficus, *Sen. Tr.*
lani-ficus, *Ou.; Tibull.; et Al.*
lucti-sonus, *Ou.*
magni-loquus, *Ou.; Stat.; Mart.; et Al.*
multi-fidus, *Ou.; Plin.; Mart.; et Al.*
miti-ficus, *Sil.*
nidi-ficus, *Sen. Tr.*
portenti-ficus, *Ou.*
quadri-fidus, *Verg.*
rori-fluus, *Ps.-Verg. Catal.*
sacri-ficus, *Ou.; Sil.; Sen. Poet.*
saxi-ficus, *Ou.; Sen. Poet.*
septem-fluus, *Ou.*
superbi-ficus, *Sen. Tr.*
undi-sonus, *Stat.; Val. Fl.*
uulni-ficus, *Verg.; Ou.*

In classical prose they are still rarer: in the prose of Cic. I have found only the following 17, although others occur in the lines of poetry which he was so fond of interspersing through his writings:

bene-ficus,	hosti-ficus,	muni-ficus,
falaci-loquus,	magni-ficus,	nau-fragus,
fati-dicus,	male-dicus,	paci-ficus,
flexi-loquus,	male-ficus,	tabi-ficus,
foedi-fragus,	male-uolus,	ueri-dicus.
grandi-loquus,	miri-ficus,	

[1] Paucker, Add. Lex. Lat., p. 94, *annot.* 78, "Composita cum -loquus inter ueteres Plauto imprimis familiaris sunt;" Knapp, p. 158, citing Munro, Lucr.[4] II., pp. 16, 17; Paucker, (*l. l.*) however, cites 15 forms from late Latin.

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In post-classical writers, on the contrary, they are abundant, and notably in African writers; the appended list shows a surprising number of new forms due to Apul., Mart. Cap., and Cael. Aur. Among these, forms in **-ficus** are prominent, whose plebeian character has often been noticed, and which Wölfflin has included among the characteristics of African Latin.[1]

Plavtvs.
blandi-dicus, *Poen.* 138
blandi-loquus,[2] *Bacch.* 1173
busti-rapus, *Pseud.* 361
confidenti-loquus, *Trin.* 201
damni-ficus,[3] *Cist.* 728
deleni-ficus,[4] *Mil.* 192
falsi-dicus,[5] *Trin.* 770
falsi-ficus, *Mil.* 191
falsi-loquus,[6] *Capt.* 264
fumi-ficus,[7] *Fr. Fab. Inc.* 1
furti-ficus, *Pseud.* 887
inani-loquus,[8] *Id.* 256
largi-loquus, *Mil.* 318; *al.*
*lucri-ferus, *Pers.* 515
magni-dicus,[9] *Rud.* 515; *al.*
male-suadus,[10] *Most.* 213
mendaci-loquus,[11] *Trin.* 200
multi-loquus,[12] *Pseud.* 79; *al.*
*nugi-uendus, *ap. Non.* 144, 30
noctu-uigilus, *Curc.* 196
plani-loquus, *Truc.* 864
scrofi-pascus, *Capt.* 807
socio-fraudus, *Pseud.* 362
spurci-dicus, *Capt.* 56
spurci-ficus, *Trin.* 826
stulti-loquus, *Pers.* 514
stulti-uidus, *Mil.* 335
uani-dicus,[13] *Trin.* 275
uani-loquus,[14] *Amph.* 379
uesti-plicus,[15] *Trin.* 252
urbi-capus,[16] *Mil.* 1055

Ennivs.
alti-sonus,[17] *Ann.* 561
docti-loquus,[18] *Id.* 568
laeti-ficus,[19] *Id.* 451; *al.*
regi-fice,[20] *Tr.* 122
saxi-fragus,[21] *Ann.* 564

Pacvvivs.
*flexi-loquus,[22] *Tr.* 152
largi-ficus,[23] *Id.* 414
tardi-gradus,[24] *Id.* 2

Terentivs.
saeui-dicus, *Phorm.* 213

Acciivs.
fallaci-loquus,[25] *Fr. ap. Cic. Fin.* 4, 68
hosti-ficus,[26] *Tr.* 80
ingrati-ficus, *Id.* 364

Lvcilivs.
contemni-ficus, *Sat.* 26, 41

[1] *Conf.* Schulze, Diss. Hal., VI., p. 228, and authorities cited; Wölfflin, Cass. Fel., p. 410.

[2] Sen. Tr. [3] Pall. [4] Comic. Vet. ap. Fulg.; *Turpil. Com.; Fronto; Auson.; Symm.; Ennod. [5] Acc.; Auson.; Eccl. [6] Vulg.; Prud.; Cl. Mam. [7] Ou. Met.; Prud. [8] Gloss. [9] Amm. [10] Verg.; Sidon.; Paul. Nol. [11] Tert.; Augustin. [12] Augustin.; Cael. Aur. [13] Amm. [14] Liu.; Sil.; Ambros.; Auson.; Vulg.; Oros. [15] Quint.; Inscrr. [16] Coripp. [17] Cic., *semel*, (Poet. de Diu. 1, 106); Sen. Poet.; Iuuen.; Claud. [18] Mart. Cap.; Ven. Fort.; Cledon. [19] Lucr.; Sen.; Stat. [20] *Adi.* = Verg.; Val. Fl.; Ambros. [21] Plin.; Apul.; Ser. Samm.; Plin. Val. [22] Cic., *semel*, (de Diu. 2, 115); Amm. [23] Lucr. [24] Isid.; Mar. Vict.; Not. Tir. [25] Cic., *semel*, (Fin. 4, 68). [26] Cic., *semel*, (pro Dom. 23, 60).

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LAEVIVS.
dulciore-loquus, *ap. Gell.* 19, 7, 13

VARRO.
aeri-fice, *Sat. Men.* 201
ardi-fetus, *Id.* 204
olli-coquus, *L. L.* 5, 104
omni-carpus, *Id.* 5, 97
*ueneri-uagus, *Sat. Men. p.* 164, 5 *R.*

LVCRETIVS.
aucti-ficus, 2, 571
fluctí-fragus,[1] 1, 305
largi-fluus, 5, 596
nocti-uagus,[2] 5, 1191
paci-ficus,[3] 7, 68
rauci-sonus,[4] 5, 1082
silui-fragus, 1, 275
suaui-dicus, 4, 178
tabi-ficus,[5] 6, 737
terri-ficus,[6] 2, 632; *al.*
terri-loquus, 1, 108
ueri-dicus,[7] 6, 6

LABERIVS.
testi-trahus, *Com. Inc. Fab.* 20

TRAG. INC.
uersuti-loquus,[8] *Fab.* 114; *R.*

CATVLLVS.
fluenti-sonus, 64, 52
iusti-ficus, 64, 406
multi-uolus,[9] 68, 128

COLVMELLA.
melli-ficus, 9, 13, 14; *al.*
nubi-fugus, *Poet.* 10, 288

PETRONIVS.
septi-fluus, *Poet.* 133, 3 *ed. Buech.*

PLINIVS.
feti-ficus, 9, 161
humi-ficus, 2, 223
monstri-ficus,[10] 2, 7
somni-ficus,[11] 25, 150; *al.*
ueli-ficus, 13, 70

MARTIALIS.
cunni-lingus,[12] 12, 59, 10
multi-sonus,[13] 4, 53, 9

IVVENALIS.
pinni-rapus,[14] *s. m.*, 3, 158

GELLIVS.
algi-ficus, 19, 4, 4
calori-ficus, 17, 8, 12
frigori-ficus, 17, 8, 14
ieiuni-dicus, 6, 14, 5

APVLEIVS.
amori-ficus, *Herb.* 123
beati-ficus,[15] *Dogm. Plat.* 1, 5
candi-ficus, *Poet. Apol.* 6
dulci-loquus,[16] *Id.* 9 *extr.*
expergi-ficus, *Flor.* 13
omni-canus, *Id. ib.*
oui-parus,[17] *Apol.* 38
uiui-ficus,[18] *Ascl.* 2
uiui-parus, *Apol.* 38
uomi-ficus,[19] *Herb.* 108

[1] Cypr. [2] Verg.; Stat.; Val. Fl.; Faust. ap Augustin. [3] *Cic. Att., *semel*; Mart.; Vulg.; *adu.* — Cypr. Ep. [4] Catull. [5] Cic., *semel*, (Tusc. 4, 36); Lucan.; Suet.; Augustin. [6] Verg.; Ou.; Val. Fl.; Plin. Ep.; Solin. [7] Cic., *semel*, (Diu. 1, 45, 101); Liu.; Plin.; Lact.; Augustin.; Eutych. [8] Ambros. [9] Vulg. [10] Val. Fl.; Solin. [11] Mart. Cap. [12] Auct. Priap.; *form cun(n)iligus* — C. I. L., IV., 1331. [13] Stat.; Boeth. [14] Schol. Iuuen. [15] Augustin.; Eccl. [16] Auson.; Sidon. Ep.; Augustin.; Anthol. Lat.; Gloss. Labb. [17] Auson.; Fulg. [18] Amm.; Eccl. [19] Cael. Aur.

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Tertvllianvs.
aqui-genus, *adu. Marc.* 2, 12
aqui-legus,[1] *Anim.* 33
dei-ficus,[2] *Apol.* 11
subtili-loquus, *adu. Marc.* 5, 19
terri-genus,[3] *Id.* 2
uentri-loquus,[4] *Id.* 4, 25; *al.*

Commodianvs.
caeli-loquus, *Instr.* 2, 18, 3

Solinvs.
aesti-fluus,[5] *ap. Paucker.*
uersi-ficus,[6] 11, 6

Avienvs.
fluctí-genus, *Arat.* 1157

Ivvencvs.
luci-fluus, 3, 294; *al.*
multi-fluus, 1, 586
sancti-ficus, *Praef.* 1 *fin.*

Chalcidivs.
silui-caedus, *Tim.* 128

Avsonivs.
langui-ficus, *Ecl. in Vers. Qu. Cic.* 6
limi-genus, *Mosell.* 45
modi-ficus, *Parent.* 27, 2
pulti-ficus, *Eclyll.* 12, 5
uesti-fluus, *Id.* 2; *al.*

Ammianvs.
male-fidus,[7] 30, 7, 8

Hieronymvs.
mali-loquus,[8] *Ep.* 148, 16
multi-nubus, *Id.* 123, 10

Prvdentivs.
quadri-fluus,[9] *Cath.* 3, 105
sancti-loquus,[10] *Apoth.* 1070
saxi-genus, *Cath.* 5, 7
tabi-fluus,[11] *Apoth.* 891
urbi-cremus, *Ham.* 726

Paulinvs Nolanvs.
bacchi-sonus, *Carm.* 26, 289
belli-sonus, *Id.* 23, 424
caeli-fluus, *Id.* 30, 780
hymni-sonus, *Id.* 22, 200
uermi-fluus, *Id.* 22, 134

Avgvstinvs.
luci-ficus,[12] *c. Faust.* 22, 9
mari-ambulus, *in Ps.* 89, 9
psalmi-dicus, *Alterc. Eccl. et Syn. p.* 1137 *M.*
terri-crepus, *Conf.* 8, 2, 3

Macrobivs.
sensi-ficus,[13] *Sat.* 7, 9, 20
sicci-ficus, *Id.* 7, 16, 34

Theodorvs Priscianvs.
uisi-ficus, 4, 2

Martianvs Capella.
astri-ficus, 6, 584; *al.*
astri-loquus, 8, 808
astri-lucus, 9, 889
astri-sonus, 9, 811
blandi-ficus, 9, 888
docti-ficus,[14] 6, 569
igni-uagus,[15] 9, 896
multi-uidus, 2, 109
nocti-uidus, 6, 571

[1] Cassiod.; Inscrr. [2] Cypr.; Eccl.; Cael. Aur. [3] Ven. Fort.; Hilar.; *form -na subst. masc.* — Lucr.; Ou.; Sil. et Al. [4] Hier. [5] Anthol. Lat. 720, 3. [6] Optat. Ep.; Schol. Bern. ad Verg. [7] Rufin. [8] Arnob. Iun. [9] Eccl. [10] Paul. Nol. [11] Ven. Fort. [12] Cael. Aur. [13] Th. Prisc. [14] Prisc.; Ven. Misc. [15] Coripp.

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omni-sonus,[1] 9, 912
suaui-loquus,[2] 1, 3

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
aqui-ducus, *Chron.* 3, 8, 119
ari-ficus, *Id.* 4, 1, 9
felli-ducus, *Id.* 3, 4, 63
felli-fluus, *Acut.* 3, 19, 188
luci-ficus, *Id.* 2, 9, 45
molli-ficus, *Chron.* 4, 1, 9
omni-pauus, *Acut.* 3, 12, 108
uentri-fluus, *Chron.* 1, 4, 134

CASSIVS FELIX.
leni-ficus, 34, *p.* 73, 12 *R.*

SIDONIVS APOLLINARIS.
docti-sonus, *Carm.* 15, 180
rhonchi-sonus, *Id.* 3, 8

SEDVLIVS.
grandi-sonus, *Carm.* 1, 2

DRACONTIVS.
splendi-fluus, *Hexaem. Epil.* 2

BOETHIVS.
aequi-sonus, *de Music.* 5, 6; *al.*

frondi-fluus, *Consol. Phil.* 1, *Metr.* 5, 14
multi-uocus, *in Aristo. Praedic.* 1, *p.* 115
scienti-ficus, *ap. Paucker.*
speci-ficus, *ap. Paucker.*
uni-sonus, *Inst. Mus.* 5, 5; *al.*

ENNODIVS.
uersi-loquus, *ap. Paucker.*

FVLGENTIVS.
Christi-genus, (*Ps-Fulg.*), *Serm.* 52
maesti-ficus, *Id.* 14
splendi-fice, *Myth.* 1, *Praef.* 25 *M.*

CASSIODORVS.
bi-nubus, *Hist. Sacr.* 9, 38

VENANTIVS FORTVNATVS.
(almi-ficus, *Carm. Spur.* 3, 2)
igni-uomus,[3] *Carm.* 3, 9, 3
undi-fragus, *Id.* 3, 4, 1; *al.*
undi-uagus,[4] *Vit. S. Mart.* 3, 485

ISIDORVS.
luci-petus, 12, 8, 7

§ 78. VERBS IN **-ficare**: The verb *facere* plays an important part in the *sermo plebeius*, both in Word-Formation and Syntax. Its periphrastic use with nouns or adjectives, in place of a simple verb, formed a favorite means in the speech of the people for adding greater length and weight to their utterances. Abundant proof of this is furnished by the plebeian authors in a long line of examples such as *aequabile facere*, Plaut., *Capt.* 302, (= *aequare*); *saucium facere*, Sisenn. *Fr.* 36; Turpil., (= *sauciare*); *trucidationem facere*, Cato, p. 39, 15 Iord., (=*trucidare*); *iugulationem facere*, Auct. Bell. Hisp. 16, 5; 16, 6, (=*iugulare*); *iactus facere*, Id. 9, 3, (= *iacere*); *regressus et morationes*

[1] Paul. Nol. [2] Inscrr. [3] Gloss. Labb. [4] Coripp.

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facere, Vitr. 9, 4, 11, (=*regredi et morari*); and others cited by Wölfflin and Köhler.[1]

Similarly compound verbs formed with **-facere**, and more especially with the modified stem **-ficare**, were common in the *sermo plebeius*, and frequently indistinguishable from the simple verb:[2] *conf. humilificare* = *humiliare*, *clarificare* = *clarare*, etc. The forms in **-ficare** were noticeably avoided by the best authors; the language possessed altogether 125 of these verbs (146, including prepositional compounds),[3] but of these 96 were *recc.*, while the classic writers have barely 9 % of the whole: I have found in Cic. only the following 15:

aedificare,	laetificare,	sacrificare,
amplificare,	ludificare, -ri,	significare,
excarnificare, *p. p. p.*,	mitificare,	testificare,
exsacrificare,	modificare,	turpificare, *p. p. p.*,
gratificare,	praesignificare,	uelificare.

They first become numerous in the African writers,[4] who show a fondness for all classes of derivatives from *facere*, such as those in **-ficium**, and **-ficus**, already considered, and the still more cumbersome substantives in **-ficatio**, such as *fructificatio*, *nullificatio*, *sanctificatio*, *uiuificatio*, Tert.; *clarificatio*, Cypr.; Augustin.; *tabificatio*, Augustin.; *crassificatio*, *fortificatio*, Cael. Aur. That they were regarded with disfavor in the literary language, even at a comparatively late period, may be inferred from Prisc. 8, 5, 25, who relegates *ludificare* to archaic Latin,[5] and from Hier.'s sweeping condemnation of *nullificare*,[6] *Ep.* 106, *annihilisti uel nullificasti et si qua alia possunt inueniri*

[1] *Conf.* Wölfflin, Cass. Fel., p. 421; Koehler, Bell. Afr., p. 84; Landgraf, Cic. Rosc. p. 21; Thielmann, Apoll.-Roman., p. 15. [2] Rebling, p. 25, "Ausgebreitet war die Bildung transitiver Verba aus Adjectiven auf ficare," citing *inter alia* "magnificare, das Heumann Poecile in seinem Aufsatz über den sermo plebeius zur Zeit Ciceros anführt;" Wölfflin, *l. l.*, p. 425, "Dass diese Bildungen ihren Boden vorwiegend in der Vulgärsprache hatten, scheint daraus hervorzugehen, dass sie einmal im Kirchenlatein . . . sehr ausgedehnt, und dann, dass sie in den romanischen Sprachen . . . erhalten sind;" Rönsch, p. 175 *sq.*; Kraut, Sall., p. 6; Landgraf, Cic. Rosc., p. 32; Schulze, Diss. Hal., VI., p. 228. [3] Paucker, Zeitschr. f. Vergl. Sprachf. 26, p. 410 *annot.* [4] Wölfflin, *l. l.; conf.* Thielmann, ALL. VIII., p. 244, "an magnifico . . . schloss das afrikanische Latein die so häufigen Bildungen auf -ficare; Id. ib. p. 512. [5] Landgraf, Cic. Rosc. p. 32, "Verbum ludificare, quo Cicero uno loco, p. Qu. § 54 utitur, Priscianus . . . in uetustissimis numerat;" Hellmuth, Prior. Cic. Oratt., p. 29, "(compos. cum -facere, -ficare) potius uetustiorem colorem ducere uidentur." [6] *Conf.* Forcell. Lex. ed De Vit, s. u., "Hier. damnat monstrum uerbi."

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apud imperitos portenta uerborum. They had, however, taken so strong a hold upon ecclesiastical Latin, through the influence of Tert., and the early African translations of the Scriptures, (the so-called "Itala"), and it is not surprising to find a few recurring in the writings of Hier. himself,[1] such as *mortificare, sanctificare, uiuificare;* one at least is coined by him: *prodificare,* of which he says apologetically, *nos dicere possumus prodificatam. Porro Graece melius appellatur* ὠφελησείσα, *Nom. Hebr. col.* 102.

As is well shown by Wölfflin, a further proof of the fondness of the *sermo plebeius* for these verbs is found in the abundance of them in the Romance languages. According to Meyer-Lübke, however, the modern examples belong rather to the literary than the popular speech, although new formations by analogy are made with comparative freedom: *conf.* **Ital.** *diversificare, personificare, ramificare;* **Fr.** *cocufier, doctorifier;* **Span.** *amortiguar, averiguar, santiguar,* etc.[2]

PLAVTVS.
causificari,[3] *Aul.* 755
deludificare, *Rud.* 147
fumificare, *Mil.* 412
laetificare,[4] *Pers.* 760; *al.*
ludificare,[5] (-cari), *Bacch.* 642; *al.*
magnificare,[6] *Men.* 371; *al.*
pacificari,[7] *Stich.* 517

ENNIVS.
augificare, *Tr.* 105

ACCIVS.
orbificare, *Tr.* 421

AFRANIVS.
*uelificari,[8] *Com.* 267

POMPONIVS.
notificare,[9] *Tr.* 4

SISENNA.
carnificare,[10] *Fr. Inc.* 1

VARRO.
adsignificare,[11] *R. R.* 2, 11, 10
uocificare,[12] *Id.* 3, 16, 8

LVCRETIVS.
munificare, 2, 625
terrificare,[13] 1, 134

LABERIVS.
elucificare, *Com.* 78

[1] Goelzer, p. 190. [2] Wölfflin, *l. l.;* Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Rom. Spr., II., p. 609. [3] Apul. Met. [4] Cic., *bis,* (Nat. Deor. 2, 102 & 130); Lucan.; Plin.; Vulg.; Pall. [5] *Verb. act.* — Cic., *semel,* (Quinct. 54); Lucr.; Sall.; Auien.; *uerb. depon.* — Cic., *semel,* (Rosc. Am. 55); Ter.; Liu.; Plin. Ep.; Tac. [6] Ter.; Cornif. Rhet.; Plin.; Vulg.; Eccl. [7] Sall.; Liu.; Iustin.; *uerb. act.* — Catull.; Liu.; Sen.; Claud. in Rufin. [8] Cael. ap. Cic. Ep.; Cic., *semel,* (Agr. 1, 27); Prop.; Flor.; Mela; *uerb. act.* — Prop.; Plin.; Hyg.; Iuuen.; Schol. Iuuen. [9] Ocil. Serg. ap. Poet. Lat. Min. [10] Liu.; Tert.; *uerb. depon.,* ap. Prisc. 8, 15. [11] Vell. Long. [12] Gell. [13] Verg.; Stat.

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Catvllvs.
horrificare,[1] 64, 269

Hyginvs.
donificare, *Fab.* 112

Plinivs.
cerificare, 9, 133; *al.*
circumscarificare, 30, 21; *al.*
fetificare,[2] 10, 22; *al.*
internidificare, 10, 95
purificare,[3] 30, 93; *al.*

Gellivs.
expergificare, 17, 12, 1

Tertvllianvs.
angelificare, *p. p. p.*, *Res. Carn.* 26
castificare,[4] *Pudic.* 19
concorporificare, *p. p. p.*, *adu. Valent.* 23
conglorificare, *Res. Carn.* 40; *al.*
contestificare, *Anim.* 1
glorificare,[5] *Idol.* 22
humilificare, *Poen.* 9
iustificare,[6] *adu. Marc.* 2, 19; *al.*
lucrificare, *Praescr.* 24
mortificare,[7] *Res. Carn.* 37
naturificare, *p.p.p.*, *adu. Valent.* 29
nullificare,[8] *adu. Psych.* 15
reuiuificare, *p. p. p.*, *Res. Carn.* 19
sanctificare,[9] *de Orat.* 3; *al.*
uiuificare,[10] *adu. Valent.* 14 *fin.*

Intpr. Irhn.
heredificare, 4, 22, 1

Cyprianvs.
turificare,[11] *p. p. p.*, *Ep.* 55

Commodianvs.
hymnificare, *Instr.* 2, 19, 22

Arnobivs.
auctificare, 7, 27; *al.*

Lactantivs.
clarificare,[12] *Inst.* 3, 18
honorificare,[13] *Id.* 7, 24; *al.*

Marivs Victorinvs.
potentificare, *adu. Arium* 3, 7

Palladivs.
scarificare,[14] 4, 10, 28

Hilarivs.
dulcificare, *in Ps.* 54, *n.* 13
lucificare,[15] *Id.* 118, *n.* 1

Avsonivs.
humificare, *Edyll.* 8, 12

Ambrosivs.
odorificare, *p. p. p.*, *Ep.* 8, 64.

Hieronymvs.
prodificare,[16] *p. p. p.*, *Nom. Hebr. col.* 102
stultificare, *Orig. in Ier. Hom.* 5 *fin.*
uilificare, *in Iesai.* 15, 54, 56

Prvdentivs.
falsificare, *Ham.* 549

[1] Verg.; Sil.; Flor.; Claud. [2] Solin. [3] Suet.; Gell.; Lampr.; Lact. [4] Augustin. [5] Did. Spir. Sanct.; Prud.; Vulg.; Augustin. [6] Hier.; Vulg.; Prud.; Augustin.; Coripp.; Inst. Iust. [7] Vulg.; Augustin. [8] Intpr. Iren.; Commodian.; *conf.* Hier. Ep. 106. [9] Hier.; Vulg.; Prud.; Augustin. [10] Chalcid. Tim.; Hier.; Prud.; Paul. Nol.; Auien. [11] Augustin. Ep. [12] Hier.; Augustin.; Sedul.; Paul. Nol. [13] Augustin. [14] Pelag. Vet. [15] Onom. Lat. Gr. [16] Intpr. Orig. in Matth.

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AVGVSTINVS.
candificare,[1] *Ciu. Dei* 21, 7; *al.*
damnificare,[2] *in Ps.* 118, *Serm.* 31, 2
deificare,[3] *Ciu. Dei* 19, 23, 4
fortificare,[4] *Serm.* 46, 9
imbrificare,[5] *in Ps.* 101, *Serm.* 2, 14
maestificare,[6] *Ep.* 121; *al.*
pinguificare, *Serm.* 361
sentificare,[7] *Conf.* 1, 7
tabificare,[8] *Iul.* 5, 15, 54

MARCELLVS EMPIRICVS.
nigrificare, 35, 21

THEODORVS PRISCIANVS.
bellificare, 4, *Fol.* 316 *a.*

MACROBIVS.
mundificare,[9] 3, 12

MARTIANVS CAPELLA.
astrificare, 6, 585
splendificare, 9, 912

CASSIANVS.
tristificare, *Coll.* 16, 19

CAELIVS AVRELIANVS.
crassificare,[10] *Chron.* 2, 14, 208; *al.*
morbificare, *Salut. Praecc.* 19

CASSIVS FELIX.
lenificare, 73, *p.* 177, 9; *al. R.*

CLAVDIANVS MAMERTVS.
sentificare, *Stat. Anim.* 1, 17; *al.*

BOETHIVS.
diuersificare, *p. p. p., de Vnit. p.* 966
specificare, *in Porphyr.* 4, *p.* 84

CASSIODORVS.
ditificare, *Var.* 8, 26

VENANTIVS FORTVNATVS.
uulnificare, *Misc.* 10, 2

ISIDORVS.
amarificare, 17, 8, 6
pulcrificare, 17, 8, 7

[1] Gloss. Labb. [2] Greg. M.; Cassiod. [3] Cassiod. [4] Cael. Aur.; Th. Prisc. [5] Mart. Cap. [6] Mart. Cap.; Sidon. [7] *form sensificare* — Mart. Cap. [8] Cassiod. [9] Cassiod. [10] Cass. Fel.

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III.—HYBRIDS.

§ 79. THE GREEK ELEMENT IN THE SERMO PLEBEIVS: No sketch of the *sermo plebeius* would be complete without some survey of the numerous Greek loanwords, more or less Latinized in form, which pervade certain localities and periods. In the classical language Greek was always an alien element: the spirit of antagonism toward Hellenic culture, which found its chief exponent in the elder Cato, was slow to die out,[1] and the prejudice against the Greek language survived down to the time of the Empire. Thus Roman magistrates were required to reply in Latin to the Greeks who addressed them, not only at Rome, but in Greece and the Asiatic provinces,[2] and Cic. was once violently attacked for having spoken Greek before the Greek senate at Syracuse.[3] Suet. is authority for the statement that the Emperor Tiberius apologized to the senate, before using the word *monopolium*, and on another occasion ordered that the word ἔμβλημα, which he had used in drawing up a decree should be stricken out.[4]

The same careful avoidance of Greek words is characteristic of classical literature: one of the principal blemishes which Hor. finds in the style of Lucil. is the intermixture of the two languages,[5] and Cic. is equally emphatic in favor of preserving the purity of Latin.[6] In regard to philosophical terminology, however, the latter claims the right to supply the

[1] *Conf.*, for example, the words of Marius, preserved *ap.* Sall. *Iug.* 85, *neque literas Graecas didici: parum placebat eas discere; quippe quae ad uirtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt.*" [2] Val. Max. 2, 2, 2; *conf.* Suet. *Tib.* 71, *militem quoque Graece testimonium interrogatum, nisi Latine respondere uetuit.* [3] Cic. *Verr.* IV., 147, *ait indignum facinus esse, quod ego in senatu Graeco uerba fecissem; quod quidem apud Graecos Graece locutus essem, id ferri nullo modo posse.* [4] Suet. *Tib.* 71; *conf.* Dio Cass. 57, 15. [5] Hor. *Sat.* 1, 10, 20, *quod uerbis Graeca Latinis miscuit; conf.* Id. *ib.* 29–30, *patriis intermiscere petita uerba foris malis, Canusini more bilinguis?* [6] *Conf.* Cic. *Off.* 1, 111, *sermone eo debemus uti, qui innatus est nobis, ne, ut quidam, Graeca uerba inculcantes iure optimo rideamur;* Id. *Tusc.* 1, 15, *Dicam, si potero, Latine. Scis enim me Graece loqui in Latino sermone non plus solere quam in Graeco Latine.* On this whole question, *conf.* Goelzer, p. 221, *sq.*

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deficiencies of his own language by borrowing the Greek word where no convenient paraphrase could be found. Yet even here he is reluctant to avail himself of this license, preferring to resort to the lesser evil of coining a new word in Latin.[1]

Other writers on technical subjects were less conservative: thus the Greek words contained in the comparatively scanty amount which we possess of Varro's writings considerably outnumber all those used by Cic., and are largely grammatical or botanical terms.[2] Similarly the technical terms of architecture, medicine and other sciences, for their knowledge of which the Romans were indebted to Greece, were largely borrowed, but were usually accompanied by an attempt at translation, e.g. Cass. Fel. 41 *in.*, *dypsnia a Graecis dicitur id est difficultas respirationis*, and other instances *passim*.

To the hostility shown by classicism toward Greek the *sermo plebeius*, and notably the closely connected Campanian and African dialects, offer a marked contrast. It must be borne in mind how completely Greek civilization had pervaded southern Italy; all Sicily, Bruttium, Lucania, Iapygia, had come under Hellenic control,[3] while it appears from Strabo that even under the empire Greek manners and speech were still in the ascendancy in Rhegium, Naples and Tarentum.[4] With this foreign element the Romans must have been brought into more or less regular intercourse through the natural growth of commerce, but it was only in consequence of the second Punic war, when all Magna Graecia served for years as a camping-ground for the whole Roman army, and thirty thousand Greeks from Tarentum alone were sold into slavery,[5] that Greek could exert a direct influence upon the popular speech. Good evidence of the extent of this influence is afforded by the plays of Plaut., (covering this period), which are full of curious Greek compounds, and hybrid formations, notably patronymics in **-ides**, verbs in **-issare**, etc., evidently borrowed from the slaves' dialect at Rome, while African Latin, which represents the condition of the *sermo plebeius* down to 147 B.C., includes the Greek element among

[1] *Conf.* Cic. *Acad. Post.* 1, 25–26. [2] *Conf.* Gäbel-Weise, Die Lehn- und Fremdwörter Varros, ALL. VIII., p. 338 *sq.* [3] Stolz, Hist. Gramm. 1, p. 7, citing Nissen, Italische Landeskunde, 1, 553; *conf.* Budinsky, p. 41 *sq.* [4] Strabo, 6, 253. [5] Liu. 27, 15 *sq.*

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its best defined characteristics.[1] In Italy the influence continued to gain ground: in the time of Liu. Greek compounds were common in the popular speech,[2] while even under the Republic Greek words and phrases held a place in the *sermo cotidianus* of the higher classes analogous to that of French expressions in social small-talk of the present day. The letters of Cic. abound with them,[3] and Hor., in spite of his condemnation of the same fault in Lucil., uses them with some freedom in his Satires.[4] Lucr. 4, 1160 *sq.* seems to ridicule this tendency, citing such expressions as *melichrus, chariton mea, cataplexis, ischnon eromenion, rhadine, philema,* etc. At a later period the affectation of Greek became so fashionable among the Roman ladies that Iuuen. (*Sat.* 6, 185 *sq.*) exclaims in disgust:

> quid rancidius, quam quod se non putat ulla
> formosam, nisi quae de Tusca Graecula facta est,
> de Sulmonensi mera Cecropis? Omnia Graece,
> cum sit turpe magis nostris nescire Latine.

This tendency, however, of the *sermo cotidianus* is due to the increased study of the Greek language and literature, rather than to the influence of the popular speech, in which the Greek element was naturally most prominent within the limits of Magna Graecia, after the latter came under Roman dominion. This is well shown in the Pompeian wall-inscriptions, and especially in Petr.,[5] who is lavish of Greek words and phrases such

[1] *Conf.* Sittl, Lokal. Verschiedenh., p. 117, "Der Wortschatz (des Afr. Lat.) wurde erheblich aus der griechischen Sprache bereichert. Nicht etwa blos die Gelehrten schmückten ihre Rede mit griechischen Wörtern, selbst der Prediger, der unmittelbar zum gemeinen Volke sprach, konnte es in Afrika wagen, dem Volke zehnmal so viele griechische Wörter als Cicero seinen Mitbürgern zu bieten;" Thielmann, ALL. VIII., p. 590, "Ueberhaupt bekundet bei den Verben die freie Art ihrer Bildung, wie tief griech. Elemente im afrikanischen Dialekt eingedrungen sein mussten." [2] Liu. 27, 11, 4; *conf.* Ott, Jahrb. 109, p. 762, "Wir haben noch das directe Zeugniss eines competenten Gewährsmannes, des Livius . . ., dass die römische Volkssprache zusammengesetzte griechische Wörter mit einer gewissen Vorliebe recipiert habe." [3] *Conf.* Stinner, p. 6, "(Graeca uocabula) quibus quantopere Cicero delectatus sit in epistolis ita, ut ne uenias quidem petendae causa adderet, quae in ceteris scriptis solet, *ut aiunt, quod uocant, quod appellant Graeci*, et quae sunt generis eiusdem, satis inter omnes constat," citing numerous authorities. [4] *Conf.* Barta, I., p. 17, "Im Umgange mieden selbst vornehme Römer griechische Ausdrücke nicht; . . . Auch die *Musa pedestris* unseres Dichters weist eine beträchtliche Anzahl von solchen aus dem Griechischen entlehnten Ausdrücken auf;" *conf.* Gildersleeve ad Pers. Prol. 6, "Greek was the language of small talk, love talk, parrot-talk." [5] *Conf.* Stolz, Hist. Gramm., I., p. 43, "Diese süditalische Volkssprache ist mit mancherlei griechischen Wörtern durchsetzt; . . . ferner sind häufig griechische Wortstämme mit lateinischer Ableitungssilbe," citing numerous examples.

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as: *alogia*, *peristasis*, *spatalocinaedus*, *topanta*, (=τὰ πάντα), *zelotypus*, etc., besides many hybrids, derived from Greek stems, with Latin endings, as *apoculare se*, (= ἀποκυλίω), *excatarissare*, (= *ex* + καθαρίζω), *percolapare* (= *per* + κόλαφος), and conversely *lupatria* (from Lat. *lupa*, on analogy with Gk. πορνεύτρια = πόρνη, ἑταιρίστρια : ἑταίρα), etc.[1]

The question of these hybrid derivatives is an especially interesting one as they show how completely certain Greek words have become naturalized in the popular speech. They are not confined to any one locality, although outside of the Campanian dialect they are most common in the African writers: Plaut. however is no stranger to such forms;[2] *conf.* *ballist-arius*, *Poen.* 202; *catapult-arius*, *Curc.* 689; *ellebor-osus*, *Most.* 952; *Geryon-aceus*, *Aul.* 554, etc. In classic Latin the tendency was to preserve the original form of Greek words, even to the inflectional endings.[3] The latter usage was first adopted by the poet Accius, as we know from Varr. (*L. L.* 10, 70), who quotes the line from Valerius: *Accius Hectorem nollet facere, Hectora mallet;* in the time of Quint. the same rule was in vogue, although the latter declares himself in favor of the Latin forms of inflection.[4] But even in the classic period hybrids had penetrated the *sermo cotidianus;* thus Cic. in the *Epistt.* employs the unique form *facteon*, modelled on the Greek ποιητέον, and in his earlier orations admits the use of a latinized Greek adverb, *tyrannice*, (τυραννικῶς), *Verr.* 2, 3, 115, like the Plautine *basilice*, *dulice*, *euscheme*.

In later Latin this custom of deforming Greek words with a Latin suffix became general:[5] thus among substantives and adjectives compare such forms as the following, due largely to ecclesiastical writers; **-tio**: *agonizatio*, Greg. Tur.; *cothurnatio*, Tert.; *exorcizatio*, Greg. Tur.; *malaxatio*, Th. Prisc.; *normatio*, Gromat. Vet.; *pausatio*, Hier.; *trullissatio*, Vitr.; Fauorin.; **-tus**: *clericatus*, Augustin.; *diaconatus*, Sulp. Seu. et Al., *episcopatus*, Tert. et Al.; *sub-diaconatus*, Greg. Tur.; **-tor**, **-trix**: *apostatrix*, Vulg.; Eccl.; *baptizator*, Tert. et Al.; *rebaptizator*, Augustin.; *syntonator*, Inscrr.; *zelator*, Ven. Fort.; Ambros.; adjectives in **-alis**: *bibliothecalis*, Mart. Cap. et Al.; *chronicalis*, Greg. Tur.,

[1] *Conf.* Friedländer ad Petr. 37; Stolz, *l. l.* [2] *Conf.* Lorenz ad Most., Einleit., p. 28, Anmerk. [3] Stolz, *l. l.*, p. 32. [4] *Conf.* Quint. 1, 5, 63. [5] *Conf.* Paucker, Add. Lex. Lat., *annot.* 22; 58; Goelzer, p. 224 *sq.*; Bonnet, p. 474.

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episcopalis, Amm.; Eccl.; *gehennalis*, Cassiod.; *hypotenusalis*, Boeth.; *laicalis*, Greg. Tur.; *paschalis*, Augustin. et Al.; *pyctalis*, Seru. ad Verg.; **-arius**, *basilicarius*, Isid. Ep.; *chrismarium*, *eleemosinarius*, *martyrarius*, Greg. Tur.; *naumachiarius*, Plin.; *petaminarius*, Firm. Math.; Salu.; *pyctomacharius*, Firm. Math.; **-osus**: *alopeciosus*, Th. Prisc.; *bromosus*, Cael. Aur.; Eccl.; *bulimosus*, Pelag. Vet.; *catarrhosus*, Th. Prisc.; *dactylosa*, (*s. f.*), Isid.; *hystricosus*, Mart.; *ozinosus*, Pelag. Vet.; *stigmosus*, Petr.; Al.; *thymosus*, Plin.; Macr.; **-aneus**, *euerganeus*, Vitr.; etc. Especially important are the hybrid verbs in **-izare**, (**-issare**), and denominatives in **-are** from Greek substantives, which will be considered separately, (*infra* §§ 80, 81). Conversely a number of Greek suffixes have passed into the *sermo plebeius*, largely through the influence of ecclesiastical Latin; such are **-issa**, **-ista**, **-ismus**, which, owing to their importance in the modern languages, also deserve separate mention, (*conf. infra* § 82). Lastly a small number of true hybrid compounds, bastard formations, as they are aptly termed by Draeger,[1] occur scattered throughout the language, which are certainly at variance with good usage; a list of those will be given, *infra* § 83.

§ 80. Verbs in **-are** from Greek Substantives: Among the Greek loanwords in Latin the proportion of verbs is inconsiderable:[2] on the other hand the number of Greek substantives from which hybrid denominative verbs in **-are** have been formed is quite large: Paucker estimates them at not less than 123, or about 7 % of all the denominatives.[3] But like all hybrid formations, they were avoided by classical writers; the only forms in good usage were *machinari*, *purpurare*, *rhetoricari*, *stomachari*.[4] A few others came into general use in Silver Latin, but the great majority belong to the post-Hadrian period. The following list, which is fairly complete for the earlier language, will serve to show the character of these formations.

Plavtvs.

parasitari, (παράσιτος), *Pers.* 56; *al.*

patagiatus,[5] (παταγεῖον), *Epid.* 231

*pausare,[6] (παῦσις) *Trin.* 187

purpurissatus,[7] (πορφυρίζον), *Truc.* 290

[1] Draeger, Hist. Synt. I, Einleit, p. XX, "Voces hibridae, Bastardbildungen aus greichischen und römischen Elementen." [2] Gäbel-Weise, ALL. VIII, pp. 340. [3] Paucker, Ztschr. f. Vergl. Sprachf., 26, p. 294. [4] Goelzer, p. 295.

[5] *Conf.* Paul. ex Fest. 321, 2. [6] Arnob.; Veg. Vet.; Vulg.; Cael. Aur.; Inscrr. [7] Cic., *semel*, (*Pis. 25); Apul.; Sidon. Ep.

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sycophantari, (συκοφάντης), *Trin.* 789; *al.*

Pacvvivs.
paedagogare,[1] (παιδαγωγός), *Tr.* 192

Novivs.
rhetoricare,[2] (ῥητορικός), *Com.* 5

Varro.
eunuchare, (εὐνοῦχος), *Sat. Men.* 235

Catvllvs.
moechari,[3] (μοιχός), 94, 1

Colvmella.
characatus, (χάραξ), 5, 4, 1; *al.*
emplastrare,[4] (ἔμπλαστρον), 5, 11, 10

Plinivs.
calliblepharatus, (καλλιβλέφαρον), 32, 61
caminare, (κάμινος), 16, 23; *al.*
diadematus,[5] (διάδημα), 34, 79
echinatus, (ἐχῖνος), 15, 92
gyrare,[6] (γῦρος), 5, 62
malthare,[7] (μάλθα), 36, 181
pyxidatus, (πυξίς), 31, 57

Martialis.
entheatus, (ἔνθεος), 12, 57, 11
leucophaeatus, (λευκόφαιος), 1, 96, 5
sardonychatus, (σαρδόνυξ), 2, 29, 2

Fronto.
palaestrare,[8] (παλαίστρα), *de Diff. Voc.* 2202 *P.*

Apvlevs.
diphthongare, (δίφθογγος), *de Diphth.* 29
musicari,[9] (μουσικός), *Ascl.* 9

Tertvllianvs.
galaticari, (Γαλάται), *adu. Psych.* 14
plasmatus,[10] (πλάσμα), *adu. Iud.* 13
prophetare,[11] (προφήτης), *adu. Marc.* 3, 19
zelare,[12] (ζῆλος), *Carm. adu. Marc.* 4, 36

Intpr. Iren.
angariare,[13] (ἀγγαρεία), 1, 24, 4

Tertvllivs Pollio.
epitomare,[14] (ἐπιτομή), *Trig. Tyr.* 30, 22

Pelagonivs.
cauteriare,[15] (καυτήριον), *Vet.* 180; *al.*
clysteriare, (κλυστήρ), *Id.* 132

Vegetivs.
cataplasmare,[16] (κατάπλασμα), *Vet.* 5, 2, 2
phlebotomare,[17] (φλεβοτόμος), *Id.* 1, 24
syncopare, (συγκοπή), *Id.* 2, 25, 1

Avgvstinvs.
anathemare, (ἀνάθημα), *Serm.* 164; *al.*
encaeniare,[18] (ἐγκαίνια), *Tract.* 84 *in Ioann.*

Martianvs Capella.
tetraplare, (τετραπλόος), 9, 952

[1] Fulg. Verg. Cont. [2] *Vb. depon.* — Tert.; Hier. [3] Hor. Sat.; Mart.; Mos. et Rom. Leg. Coll. [4] Pall. [5] Suet. [6] Ambros.; Veg. Vet.; Fulg. Expos. Serm. [7] Schol. Iuuen. [8] Fulg. Myth. [9] Rhemn. Palaem. [10] Vulg.; Prud. [11] Lact.; Augustin.; Eccl.; Inscrr. [12] Vulg.; Augustin. [13] Vlp. Dig.; Vulg.; Augustin.; Paul. Nol. [14] Veg. Mil.; Nepot. Ep. [15] Vulg.; Eccl. [16] Vulg.; Cael. Aur. [17] Augustin.; Cael. Aur.; Th. Prisc.; Fulg. Myth. [18] Cael. Aur.

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Caelivs Avrelianvs.
amylare,[1] (ἄμελον), *Chron.* 2, 13, 177
elleborare, (ἐλλέβορος), *Id.* 4, 3, 77

Sedvlivs.
pompare, (πομπή), *Carm.* 1, 2

Sidonivs Apollinaris.
endromitatus, (ἐνδρομίς), *Ep.* 2, 2
thecatus, (θήκη), *Id.* 1, 2

Fvlgentivs.
enthecatus, (ἐνθήκη), *Myth. Praef. p.* 18

Venantivs Fortvnatvs.
sarcophagare, (σαρκοφάγος), *in Epist. Praem.* 6, 5

Isidorvs.
obelari, (ὀβελός), 1, 20, 21

§ 81. Verbs in **-issare, -izare**: The verbs in **-izare** (in early Latin **-issare**) are neither purely Latin, nor purely Greek, since the verbs in *-ίζειν* upon which they are modelled would be more properly represented in Latin by the third conjugation. Accordingly whether formed from Greek verbs, *baptizare*, *βαπτίζειν*, or from Latin substantives, as *Latinizare*, they partake of a hybrid nature. Their abundance in Plaut. shows that they were received into the *sermo plebeius* at an early date,[2] a view sustained by their frequency in the later African Latin. The literature of the classical period is almost barren of examples; Cic. and Caes. scrupulously avoid them, but the vulgar writer Vitr. has the single form *trulissare* and its derivative *trulissatio*, while Suet. has preserved two others from the same period, *betizare*, *lachanizare*, both of which he characterizes as vulgar, (citing the former among the vulgarisms of the Emperor Augustus).[3] In late literature the suffix becomes far more common, but chiefly in the medical and ecclesiastical vocabularies. It has survived in all the Romance languages, principally in the late Vulg. Lat. form **-idiare**, while survivals of the form **-izare** have a distinctly literary tone.[4]

This whole class of verbs has been exhaustively treated by A. Funck, in articles in the Archiv f. Lat. Lex., III., pp. 398–442; IV., 317–320. The following list is not intended to be complete, but simply to give a general perspective of their use at different periods:

[1] Ps.-Apic.

[2] Rebling, p. 35, "besonders fand das Suffix ιζω, lat. -isso, Eingang in die Umgangssprache;" Guericke, p. 35; Ludwig, p. 32; O. Weise, Ein Beitrag zum Vulgärlatein, Philol. 1889, p. 49. [3] Suet. Aug. 87. [4] *Conf.* Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Roman. Spr., I., p. 610 *sq.*; Id. ib. p. 613, "Izare, die buchwörtlich Form zu dem § 583 besprochenen -idiare;" Schuchardt, Lit. Blatt., Feb. 1884, p. 63.

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PLAVTVS.
apolactizare, *Epid.* 678
atticissare,[1] *Men.* 12
badizare, *Asin.* 706
comissari,[2] *Most.* 317; *al.*
cyathissare,[3] *Men.* 303
*drachumissare, *Pseud.* 808
graecissare,[4] *Men.* 11
malacissare,[5] *Amph.* 315
moechissare, *Cas.* 976
patrissare,[6] *Pseud.* 442; *al.*
purpurissare,[7] *p. p. p.*, *Truc.* 290
sicilissare,[8] *Men.* 12

PACVVIVS.
*matrissare, *Tr.* 139

TERENTIVS.
pytissare,[9] *Haut.* 457

TITINIVS.
uibrissare, *ap. Fest.* 320, 2

CASSIVS HEMINA.
cymbalissare, *ap. Non.* 90

VARRO.
gargarissare,[10] *L. L.* 6, 277

AVGVSTVS IMP.
betizare,[11] *ap. Suet. Aug.* 87

VITRVVIVS.
trulissare,[12] 5, 10, 3; *al.*

PETRONIVS.
catomidiare,[13] 132
exopinissare, 62

PLINIVS.
amethystizare, *p. pr. a.*, 37, 93
astragalizontes, *s. m.*, 34, 55
celatizontes,[14] *s. m.*, 34, 75
hepatizare, *p. pr. a.*, 34, 8
hyacinthizare,[15] *p. pr. a.*, 37, 77
lignyzare, *p. pr. a.*, 37, 94

APVLEIVS.
Pythagorissare, *Flor.* 15, *p.* 19, 17 *Kr.*

ITALA.
agonizare,[16] 1 *Cor.* 9, 25 (*Boern.*)
anathematizare,[17] *Leuit.* 27, 29 (*Lugd.*)
architectonizare, *Exod.* 37 (*Monach.*)
baptizare,[18] *passim.*
catechizare,[19] *Gal.* 6, 6
eunuchizare,[20] *Math.* 19, 12 (*Cod. Gall., etc.*)
iudaizare,[21] *Gal.* 2, 14 (*Boern.*)
prophetizare,[22] *Ezech.* 25, 2
sabbatizare,[23] 2 *Macch.* 6, 6
thymiamatizare, *Luc.* 1, 9

TERTVLLIANVS.
Christianizare, *adu. Marc.* 1, 21

[1] Fest.; Apul.; Mart. Cap.; Sidon. [2] Ter.; Afran.; Liu.; Petr.; Quint.; Suet.; Ambros. [3] Donat.; Macr. [4] Donat.; Diom.; Prisc. et al. Grammatt.; Acro ad Horat.; Schol. Pers. [5] Cassiod. [6] Ter.; Apul.; Donat.; Prisc. et al. Grammatt. [7] Apul.; Sidon. Ep. [8] Consent.; Paul. Diac. [9] Diom.; Donat. et al. Grammatt. [10] Cels.; Plin.; Fronto; Scrib.; Th. Prisc.; Marc. Emp.; Cael. Aur.; Cass. Fel.; Ps.-Apul.; Dynam.; Raban. Maur. [11] *Conf.* Suet. *l.l.*, "*betizare*" *pro languere, quod uulgo* "*lachanizare*" *dicitur.* [12] Compend. Vitr.; Fauent. [13] Spart. [14] *Conf.* Funck, ALL. III., p. 419. "Die öfter ganz griechisch belassene Endung des Particeps zeigt deutlich dass man diese Wörter nur als halblateinisch empfand." [15] Solin.; Isid. [16] Intpr. Iren.; Lucif. Calar.; Augustin.; Eccl. [17] Vulg.; Hier.; Eccl. [18] Tert.; Hier.; Eccl. [19] Vulg.; Eccl. [20] Hier.; Eccl. [21] Ambros.; Hier.; Cassiod. [22] Vulg.; Augustin.; Cassiod.; Eccl. [23] Tert.; Hier.; Augustin.; Eccl.

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Intpr. Iren.
cathematizare, 1, 13, 4; *al.*
cauterizare,[1] 1, 13, 7; *al.*
comoedizare, 2, 14, 1
dogmatizare,[2] 2, 32, 1

Cyprianvs.
pseudo-baptizare, *Sent. Ep.* 4, *p.* 438, 4.

Lampridivs.
pandurizare, *Heliog.* 32, 8

Ambrosivs.
coagonizare, 4, 533 *C.*

Vegetivs.
acontizare, *Vet.* 1, 26, 4
clysterizare,[3] *Id.* 2, 15, 5
pulverizare, *p. p. p.*, *Id.* 2, 26
sinapizare,[4] *Id. ib.*

Caelivs Avrelianvs.
Latinizare, *Acut.* 2, 10, 65; *al.*
phrenitizare, *Id.* 1, *Praef.* 10

Theodorvs Priscianvs.
reumatizare,[5] 2, 58 *ed. Rose.*

Cassivs Felix.
eremizare, *p. p. p.*, 51, *p.* 135, 9 *R.*

Salvianvs.
epicurizare, *Gub. Dei* 1, 15

Boethivs.
catasyllogizare, *M.* 64, 705 *B.*
syllogizare, *Id.*, 675 *A*; *al.*

Iordanis.
tyrannizare,[6] *p. pr. a.*, *Roman.* 308, *p.* 39, 27 *ed. Mommsen.*

Aldhelmvs.
ambizare, *p.* 303
bombizare, *ib.*
teretissare, *ib.*
trutissare, *ib.*

§ 82. Greek Suffixes in Latin: As we have already seen, the bulk of all the hybrid derivatives in Latin are formed by the addition of Latin terminations to Greek stems. There are, however, a few Greek suffixes which became more or less naturalized in Latin, and are deserving of separate consideration, such as **-ades**, used in patronymics, and in the later language the nominal suffixes **-issa, -ista, -ismus.**

a. Hybrid Patronymics: An extreme example of hybrid formations is afforded by the compounds so numerous in Plaut., formed on analogy with Greek patronymics,[7] evidently for the sake of comic effect. Such monstrous formations as many of those cited below, were only possible in a semi-Greek play, addressed to a cosmopolitan audience, to whom such words were merely an absurd exaggeration of what was prob-

[1] Veg. Vet.; Marc. Emp. [2] Augustin.; Eccl. [3] Cael. Aur.; Th. Prisc.; Dynam. [4] Oribas.; Cael. Aur. [5] Marc. Emp.; Oribas. [6] Isid.

[7] O. Weise, Philol. 47 N. F., p. 46; *conf.* list in Lorenz ad Plaut. Most. 356; Id. ad Mil. 314; Fischer, Lucil. p. 11.

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ably familiar to them in the slaves' dialect at Rome. Outside of Plaut. hybrid patronymics are practically confined to Lucil., Lucr., and Verg., and in the case of the last two writers are probably in conscious imitation of Homeric phraseology. At all events the instances are too few to outweigh the undoubtedly plebeian character of the Plautine forms.[1]

Plavtvs.
Argentumextenebronides, *Pers.* 704
collicrepida, *Trin.* 1022
cruricrepida, *Id. ib.*
glandionida, *Men.* 210
Nugicrepiloquides, *Pers.* 703
Nummosexpalponides, *Id.* 704
Numquameripides, *Id.* 705
Pernonides, *Men.* 210
plagipatida, *Capt.* 472
Quodsemelarripides, *Pers.* 705
rapacida, *Aul.* 370
Tedigniloquides, *Pers.* 704
Virginesuendonides, *Id.* 702

Lvcilivs.
Apulidas, *Sat.* 3, 32
Luciliades, *Fr. Dub.* 8
Scipiades,[2] *Fr. Inc.* 6
Tuscolides, *Id. ib.*

Lvcretivs.
Memmiades, 1, 27
Romulides,[3] 4, 681

Clavdianvs.
Honoriades, *Nupt. Honor. et Mar.* 341

b. Substantives in **-issa**: Another Vulg. Lat. suffix,[4] to which the weight of authority attributes a Greek origin, is **-issa**. Its history, however, is by no means clear, and indirectly involves the vexed question of the relation of Etruscan to Latin. Corssen, who claims the kinship of these two languages, regards **-issa** as a purely Italic suffix, citing the Latin *carissa*, (Lucil.), which he derives from the root *car-* (seen also in *car-in-are*), and compares the numerous Etruscan names of women in **-isa, -esa,** such as *Aesialisa, Athialisa, Arnthalisa, Larissa, Marcanisa, Apicesa, Sepiesa*, etc.[5] Other authorities

[1] O. Weise, *l. l.*, "Was wollen gegen solche Formen die wenigen ähnlich gebildeten Patronymika besagen, deren sich Lucilius, Lucrez und Vergil bedienen . . . ? Vielleicht sind sie nach Plautus' Vorbild geschaffen!"

[2] Lucr.; Verg.; Hor.; Prop.; Manil.; Claudian.; Sidon. Apoll. [3] Verg.; Pers.; Prud.; Rutil. Nam.

[4] Corssen, Krit. Beitr., p. 484, "Aus der spätlateinischen Volkssprache sind dann zahlreiche Bildungen auf -issa, -essa, -isa, -esa, u. a. in die Romanischen Sprachen übergegangen;" Meyer-Lübke, Ital. Gramm., § 496, "Aus dem Griechischen dringt -issa ins spätere Vulgärlatein und ins Romanische;" *conf.* O. Weise, *l. l.*, p. 53.

[5] Corssen, *l. l.*, p. 484, "Unrichtig wäre es anzunehmen die lateinische Sprache hätte diese Endung von der Griechischen überkommen. Dass dieselbe vielmehr in Italien von Alters her heimisch war zeigen eine menge Etruskischer Frauennamen, die von Namen des Mannes mit dem suffix -isa, -esa, gebildet sind."

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regard *carissa* as of Greek origin, (= *mulier Carica*),[1] while the source of such forms as *diaconissa, prophetissa*, is unmistakable. Recently Lattes has claimed the identity of the Etruscan suffixes with both the Lat. **-issa** and Gk. *-ίσσα*, all of which he thinks originally had a diminutive force.[2]

But accepting the prevailing view that **-issa** is a Greek suffix, we ought perhaps to see, in its application to purely Latin stems in the *sermo plebeius*, the influence of popular etymology; the suffix might readily have been identified in the minds of the people with the pronoun *ipsa* (Vulg. Lat. *issa*),[3] so common in the slaves' dialect, in the sense of *domina*. Such an hypothesis would explain the extent to which the suffix was used in the late *sermo plebeius*, an extent quite inadequately shown by the few forms preserved in literature, but which is proved by its prevalence in the Romance languages, where it has largely replaced the classical **-trix**.[4]

Lvcilivs.
carissa,[5] *Sat. Fr. Inc.* 59

Cornelivs Nepos.
Scythissa, *Datam.* 1, 1

Tertvllianvs.
prophetissa,[6] *de Praescr.* 51

Hieronymvs.
Aethiopissa, *Ep.* 22, 1
diaconissa,[7] *Id.* 51, 2

Isidorvs.
fratrissa, 9, 7, 17

Gregorivs Tvronensis.
abbatissa,[8] *H. F.* 4, 26; *al.*

Schol. Lvcan.
sacerdotissa, 7, 778

Thes. Nov. Lat.
decanissa, *p.* 167
equitissa, *p.* 185
Leuitissa, *p.* 306

[1] *Conf.* Jordan, Krit. Beitr., p. 88; Fisch, Lucil., p. 24. [2] Lattes, Saggi ed Appunti, p. 173, "di gran lunga i più fra codesti nomi in *-sa* son di donne, giacchè ciò indica dovere essere stati diminutivi. . . . Ma insieme quella considerazione ci richiama al' altro fatto, che i Greci p. e. per 'regina' dissero *βασιλίσσα*, e che nel volgare latino s'usò *fratri-ssa* per *fratr-ia*, ossia 'moglie del fratello;' e fu come dire, 'la piccola *βασιλεύς*' e 'la piccola *frater*;'" with this view it is interesting to compare the derogative force which the suffix afterwards acquired in Ital.; *conf.* Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Roman. Spr., II., p. 413, "in übertragener Bedeutung, zur Angabe des Minderwertigen, wird das Suffix auch in der älteren Litteratursprache verwendet," citing *madrigalessa, sonettessa, pistolessa*, etc. [3] For ps — ss in Vulg. Lat., *conf.* Stolz, Hist. Gramm., p. 320. [4] *Conf.* Diez, p. 673; Meyer-Lübke, *l. l.*

[5] Paul. ex Fest.; Gloss. Isid.; Gloss. Philox. [6] Hier.; Augustin.; Eccl. [7] Cod. Theod.; Cod. Iust.; Inscrr. [8] Greg. M.; Gloss. Labb.; Inscrr.; *conf.* All. II., p. 446.

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c. Substantives in **-ismus**: A large number of Greek words of this class were adopted into Latin, but they belong in the main to the technical vocabularies of grammar, medicine, or theology, such as *barbarismus, soloecismus,* Cornif. Rhet.; Quint.; Gell., etc.; *Christianismus, Iudaismus,* Tert.; Eccl.; *catherismus, crocidismus, dropacismus, eunuchismus, gargarismus, hydropismus,* Cael. Aur., and many others. The chief importance of the suffix is in relation to its bearing upon the Romance languages, and even here it belongs almost exclusively to the cultured speech. Only a few forms in **Ital.** give evidence of a popular origin, such as *Christianesimo, paganesimo.*[1] In literature, however, instances of words formed with this suffix from pure Latin or Romance stems are not rare; *conf.* **Ital.** *Cesarismo, imperialismo;* **Fr.** *Césarisme, italianisme;* **Span.** *francecismo,* etc. Such forms were not unknown in the Vulg. Lat. period; two instances are cited from the later literature:[2]

cerebrismus, *Th. Prisc.* 2 denarismus, *Cod. Theod.* 12, 1, 107; *al.*

d. Substantives in **-ista**: Like the preceding, the chief importance of this suffix is in relation to the Romance languages, where it is fairly frequent.[3] *Conf.* **Ital.** *artista, dentista, papista;* **Fr.** *Bonapartiste, fleuriste,* etc. Two hybrid forms are found in late Latin:[4]

tablista, *Anthol. Lat.* 196, 7 computista, *Mythogr. Lat.* 3, 1, 5; *al.*

§ 83. Hybrid Compounds: As has already been pointed out,[5] true hybrid compounds are very rare in Latin. They are notably absent from writers of the best period, as the following list amply testifies:

Plautus.

antelogium,[6] (*ante* + λόγος), *Men.* 13
biclinium,[7] (*bis* + κλίνη), *Bacch.* 720; *al.*
ferritribax, (*ferrum* + τρίβειν), *Most.* 356
flagritriba, (*flagrum* + τρίβειν), *Pseud.* 137
inanilogista, (*inanis* + λογιστής), *Id.* 256
mantiscinari, (μάντις + *canere*), *Capt.* 896

[1] *Conf.* Meyer-Lübke, Gramm. d. Roman. Spr., II., p. 559. [2] O. Weise, *l. l.*, p. 51. [3] Meyer-Lübke, *l. l.* [4] O. Weise, *l. l.* [5] *Conf. supra*, § 79, p. 319.
[6] Auson.; Fulg. Cont. Verg. [7] *Conf.* Quint. 1, 5, 68.

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pultifagus, (*puls* + *φάγειν*), *Most.* 828
Scytholatronia, (*Σκύθης* + *latro*), *Mil.* 43
ulmitriba, (*ulmus* + *τρίβειν*), *Pers.* 278 *b*.

Varro.
philograecus, (*φίλος* + *Graecus*), *R. R.* 3, 10, 1

Cicero (Epistt.).
Pseudocato, (*ψευδο-* + *Cato*), *ad Att.* 1, 14, 6
Pseudodamasippus, (*ψευδο-* + *Damasippus*), *ad Fam.* 7, 23, 3

Catvllvs.
salaputtium,[1] (*salax* + *πόσθιον*), 53, 5

Vitrvvivs.
pseudourbanus,[2] (*ψευδο-* + *urbanus*), 6, 5, 3
semimetopium, (*semi* + *μετόπη*), 4, 3, 5

Hyginvs.
commeletare, (*con* + *μελετᾶν*), *Fab.* 165

Seneca (Apoc.).
praeputium,[3] (*prae* + *πόσθιον*), *Apoc.* 8, 3

Petronivs.
bilychnis,[4] (*bis* + *λύχνος*), 30, 3
excatarissare, (*ex* + *καθαρίζειν*), 67, 10

Plinivs.
caerefolium,[5] (*χαιρέ(φυλλον)* + *folium*), 19, 170
dialutensis, (*διά* + *lutum?*), 9, 131
melofolium, (*μῆλον* + *folium*), 15, 52
pseudodecimianus, (*ψευδο-* + *decimianus*), 15, 54

Ivvenalis.
drillopota, (*δρῖλος* + *potare*), 2, 95

Tertvllianvs.
protosedere, (*πρώτος* + *sedere*), *Cor. Mil.* 15
zelouira, (*ζῆλος* + *uir*), *Exhort. ad Cast.* 9

Intpr. Iren.
primoplastus,[6] (*primus* + *πλαστός*), 2, 9, 1

Commodianvs.
incopriare,[7] (*in* + *κόπρος*), *Instr.* 1, 19, 6
protolapsus, (*πρῶτος* + *labi*), *Id.* 1, 35, 1

Capitolinivs.
dextrocherium,[8] (*dexter* + *χείρ*), *Max. Duo* 6, 8; *al.*
phallouitrobulum, (*φαλλός* + *uitrum*), *Pertin.* 8, 5

Trebellivs Pollio.
sagochlamys, (*sagum* + *χλαμύς*), *Claud.* 14, 5

Lampridivs.
Pseudoantoninus, (*ψευδο-* + *Antoninus*), *Heliog.* 8, 4

[1] *Conf.* Sen. Contr. 7, 4, 7. [2] Col. [3] Iuuen.; Lact.; Vulg.; *form praepudium* — Not. Tir. [4] Inscrr. [5] Pall.; Ps.-Apic. [6] Prud. [7] Gloss. Isid. [8] Treb. Poll.; Schol. Iuuen.

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Vopiscus.
diloris, (δίς + *lorum*), *Aurel.* 46, 6; *al.*
monoloris, (μόνος + *lorum*), *Id. ib.*
penteloris, (πέντε + *lorum*), *Id. ib.*

Firmicus Maternus.
monoculus,[1] (μόνος + *oculus*), 8, 19; *al.*

Plinius Valerianus.
substypticus, (*sub* + στυπτικός), 5, 31

Ausonius.
myobarbum, (μῦς + *barba*), *Epigr.* 31

Servius.
artigraphus,[2] (*ars* + γράφειν), *ad Aen.* 1, 104; *al.*

Vegetius.
semispathium,[3] (*semi* + σπάθη), *Mil.* 2, 15

Ambrosius.
primigenes, (*primus* + γενής), *de Noe et Arca*, 29, 107

Hieronymus.
coeuangelista, (*con* + εὐαγγελιστής), *in Philem.* 8
cohaereticus, (*con* + αἱρετικός), *Ep.* 92, 5
compropheta, (*con* + προφήτης), *in Ion. ad* 1, 2
pseudomagister, (ψευδο- + *magister*), *in Ephes.* 2, *ad* 4, 11
pseudopastor, (ψευδο- + *pastor*), *Id. ib.*
quadrigamus, (*quattuor* + γάμος), *adu. Iouin.* 1, 8 *extr.*

Vulgata.
euroaquilo, (εὖρος + *aquilo*), *Act. Apost.* 27, 14
scenofactorius, (σκῆνος + *facere*), *Id.* 18, 3

Marcellus Empiricus.
pseudocalidus, (ψευδο- + *calidus*), 36, 74
pseudoflauus, (ψευδο- + *flauus*), 8, 128
pseudoliquidus, (ψευδο- + *liquidus*), 16, 12

Theodorus Priscianus.
septidromus, (*septem* + δρόμος), 4, 3

Martianus Capella.
quadrisemus, (*quattuor* + σῆμα), 9, 981

Sidonius Apollinaris.
bimeter, (*bis* + μέτρον), *Ep.* 9, 15, 1 *ed. Mohr.*
centimeter, (*centum* + μέτρον), *Carm.* 9, 264 *ed. Mohr.*
satirographus, (*satira* + γράφειν), *Ep.* 1, 11, 8 *ed. Mohr.*

Claudianus Mamertus.
quadrigona, (*quattuor* + γῶνος), *Stat. Anim.* 3, 15

Pseudo-Apicius.
tractogalatus, (*tractum* + γάλα), 5, 188; *al.*
tractomelitus, (*tractum* + μέλι), 8, 375
tyropatina, (τυρός + *patina*), 7

Codex Theodosianus.
dinummium, (δίς + *nummus*), 14, 27, 2

[1] Mythogr. Lat.; Gloss. Labb. [2] Pompei. Comment.; Eutych.; Cassiod.; Isid.; *conf. artigraphia*, Anecd. Helu. [3] Isid.

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holouerus,[1] (*ὅλος* + *uerus*), 10, 21, *Lemm.*
limitrophus,[2] (*limes* + *τροφεῖν*), 5, 13, 38
parauerdus,[3] (*παρά* + *uerdus*), 8, 15, 7
pseudocomitatenses, (*ψευδο-* + *comitatus*), 8, 1, 10

Boethius.
semidiametros, (*semi* + *διάμετρος*), *Art. Gramm. p.* 424, 3 & 5 *Fr.*
semispherium, (*semi* + *σφαιρίον*), *Inst. Mus.* 4, 18

Fulgentius.
contheroleta,[4] (*con* + *θηρολέτης*), *Myth.* 3, 2

Venantius Fortunatus.
archisacerdos, (*ἀρχι-* + *sacerdos*), *Carm.* 3, 13, 1

Codex Iustinianus.
melloproximus, (*μέλλειν* + *proximus*), 12, 19, 5

Isidorus.
euroauster, (*εὖρος* + *auster*), 13 11
penteremis, (*πέντε* + *remus*), 19, 1, 23

[1] Cod. Iust. [2] Cod. Iust. [3] Cod. Iust.; Cassiod. [4] Mythogr. Lat.

THE END.

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VITA.

Natus sum Fridericus Taber Cooper Noui Eboraci, quae urbs in Ciuitate eiusdem nominis locata est, ante diem VI Kalendas Iunias anno Domini MDCCCLXIV, patre Varno, matre Maria ex gente Taber, quorum alterum adhuc superstitem esse laetor, alteram morte mihi puero ereptam doleo. Fidei euangelicae addictus sum. Cum a primis annis iniqua ualetudine affectus scholam adire non possem, litterarum elementis a uariis magistris domi imbutus sum; deinde confirmato iam corpore anno quattuordecimo ad Scholam Linguarum ut appellabatur me contuli, quae tum hac urbe florebat auspiciis Lambberti Sauveur magistri doctissimi mihique semper uenerandi, quod primus animum meum ad amorem studiorum philologicorum aduertit, ibique per duos annos linguis Latinae, Graecae, Francogallicae operam dedi. Inde in scholam quae Anglice *The Fifth Avenue School* dicta est, transii, cui tum praefuerunt uiri excellentissimi Gibbens et Beach. Tres post annos in Vniuersitatem Harvardianam almam matrem meam adii quae Cantabrigae in Ciuitate Massachusitense collocata est, ut inter ciues acciperer academicos. Ibi audiui per quattuor annos illustrissimos uiros, inter alios Child, Croswell, Dyer, Hill, Lane, Lowell, MacVane, Norton, Palmer, Parker, Pierce, Wendell, Young, quibus omnibus gratias ago quam maximas, atque anno MDCCCLXXXVI probatione rite habita, ad gradum Baccalaurei in Artibus admissus sum. Tum consiliis patris atque amicorum adductus studiis iurisprudentiae me totum tradidi, atque ab initio auctumni sequentis per octo menses lectiones frequentaui clarissimi atque benignissimi professoris Theodori W. Dwight, qui tum facultati Iurisprudentiae in Collegio Columbiae Noui Eboraci praefuit atque nuper plenus annis abiit, discipulis longe quaerendus ac desiderandus. Vere anni MDCCCXXXVII post probationem habitam, a curatoribus Collegii Columbiae ad gradum Baccalaurei in Legibus admissus sum atque anno sequente probatione altera habita in Iurisconsultorum ordinem in Ciuitate Nouo Eboraco rite adscriptus sum. Mox autem amore linguarum ita adductus sum, ut officio iurisconsulti relicto, ad Collegium Columbiae redirem, quam quasi alteram almam matrem nunc colo. Anno MDCCCLXCI admissus sum ad gradum Magistri in Artibus, eodemque tempore Adiutor in Schola Linguae Latinae factus, eo officio per triennium functus sum. Per quattuor annos lectiones audiui doctissimorum uirorum, Peck, Perry, Merriam, Jackson, Egbert, McCrea. Quibus omnibus quos commemoraui uiris gratias et nunc ago et semper habebo maximas. Praematura morte nuper erepti professoris Merriam semper seruabo memoriam.

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